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BY

E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

EPIGRAPHIST TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS, RETIRED

WITH 55 PLATES

**INDOLOGICAL BOOK HOUSE**  
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## PREFACE

THE printing of this volume was stopped in 1914 by the outbreak of war. In 1920 the Government sanctioned a resumption of printing, and the re-composition of those sheets which had been already struck off, but had become antiquated in the meantime owing to fresh researches. I have tried to sift critically, and to quote, when necessary, whatever has been written by scholars on the subject in the course of nearly a century. The transcripts of the texts are based on mechanical copies furnished by the Archæological Survey Department under orders of Sir John MARSHALL. The most perfect among these were contributed by my former assistant, now Government Epigraphist for India, Rao Bahadur H. KRISHNA SASTRI. The plates issued with this volume are collotype reproductions of negatives which were prepared under my personal supervision by Mr. Carl PLETTNER. With the exception of the two Shāhbāzgarhī edicts VII and XII, the impressions of the two Kharōshthī versions of the fourteen rock-edicts proved unsuitable for reproduction, partly owing to the extreme roughness of the rocks on which these records are engraved, and partly because Sir Aurel STEIN's careful estampages of them had become torn and damaged by frequent use. It is a pleasant duty to thank those scholars who have rendered me valuable assistance. Before the war I could avail myself of the ever ready advice of my late friend Dr. J. F. FLEET. To the late Professor Arthur VENIS I am indebted for detailed criticisms of my rendering of the Gīrnār and Kālsī versions. Professor A. A. MACDONELL kindly looked at the proof-sheets of portions of the texts and translations. The proofs of the introduction were minutely examined by two old friends, Mr. Robert SEWELL and Professor Th. ZACHARIAE.

E. HULTZSCH.

HALLE,  
*October, 1922.*

## POSTSCRIPT

THE issuing of this volume was still delayed by the printing of the collotype plates when I received from Mr. H. HARGREAVES, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Frontier Province, Peshawar, a fresh set of inked estampages of the two north-western versions of the rock-edicts. These estampages have been made with great care and skill, and enable me at the last moment to furnish illustrations of the whole of the Shahbāzgarhi and Mānsehrā edicts. The overlapping sections were clipped and pinned together in my presence by Mr. PLETTNER. In this way the creases and slips disfiguring other facsimiles which I had received in a pasted condition were avoided. Although, owing to the rough surface of the rocks, the new estampages are not quite perfect in every detail, they are the first ever made which admit of reproduction by photography, and they will thus allow students to check the transcripts of those valuable ancient records, and to acquire a first-hand knowledge of the whimsical and often ambiguous Kharōshthī characters. Scholars will feel much indebted to Mr. HARGREAVES, who has now supplied this want, and to Sir John MARSHALL, at whose instance the new impressions were prepared by him.

E. H.

HALLE,  
*January, 1924.*

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## ABBREVIATIONS

- AJP = American Journal of Philology.  
ASSI = Archaeological Survey of Southern India.  
ASWI = Archaeological Survey of Western India.  
BRWW = Buddhist Records of the Western World (Beal).  
CR = Comptes Rendus. Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres.  
EI = Epigraphia Indica.  
GGA = Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.  
GN = Nachrichten der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.  
Grammatik = Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen (Pischel).  
IA = Indian Antiquary.  
IF = Indogermanische Forschungen.  
Ind. Alt. = Indische Alterthumskunde (Lassen).  
Ind. Pal. = Indian Paleography (Bühler).  
JA = Journal Asiatique.  
Jaartelling = Over de Jaartelling der Zuidelijke Buddhisten (Kern).  
JAOS = Journal of the American Oriental Society.  
JASB = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.  
JBBRAS = Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society.  
JPASB = Journal & Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.  
JRS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.  
KZ = Kuhn's Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung.  
Lotus = Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi (Burnouf).  
Memoirs, ASB = Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.  
SBE = Sacred Books of the East.  
Skt. = Sanskrit.  
SPAW = Sitzungsberichte der Königl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.  
VOJ = Vienna Oriental Journal.  
ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

# INTRODUCTION

## CHAPTER I. DESCRIPTION OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

### FIRST PART: THE ROCK-EDICTS

THE above term is meant to comprise (1) the existing versions of the well-known 'fourteen edicts', and (2) the two 'separate edicts' which the Dhauli and Jaugada versions substitute for edicts XI to XIII. It does not include the minor rock-inscriptions, which will be treated in the fourth part.

#### I. THE GIRNAR ROCK (Text, p. 1).

This famous set of Aśoka's fourteen edicts is found about a mile to the east of Junāgarh, the capital of the Junāgarh State in the Kāthiāwār Peninsula, 'and at the entry of the dell or gorge which leads into the valley that girdles the mighty and sacred Gīrnār' mountain.<sup>1</sup> The inscription 'covers considerably over a hundred square feet of the uneven surface of a huge rounded and somewhat conical granite boulder, rising 12 feet above the surface of the ground, and about 75 feet in circumference at the base.'<sup>2</sup> The boulder bears, beside Aśoka's edicts, two other valuable documents: An inscription of the *Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman* records the restoration of the lake Sudarśana, which had been 'originally constructed by the *Vaiṣya Puṣhyagupta*, the provincial governor (*rāṣṭrīya*) of the *Maurya* king *Chandragupta*, and subsequently adorned with conduits by the *Yavana* king *Tushāspa* for *Aśoka* the *Maurya*.'<sup>3</sup> Among local names it mentions *Girinagara*, i. e. the town of Junāgarh or its ancient representative, and *Ūrjayat*, i. e. the mountain now called Gīrnār.<sup>4</sup> The third inscription on the boulder is dated in the reign of the *Gupta* king *Skandagupta* and records further repairs of the lake Sudarśana made in A. D. 456-7 by *Chakrapālita*, the son of *Parnadatta* who was governor of *Surāshṭra*.<sup>5</sup>

The Aśoka inscription occupies the north-east face of the boulder. The fourteen edicts are arranged in two columns and divided from one another by straight lines. As may be seen on the third of the plates issued with Wilson's article in *JRAS*, 12. 153 ff., the left column consists of edicts I to V and the right one of edicts VI to XII; and

<sup>1</sup> ASWI, 2. 94. The position of the inscribed stone is marked on Lieutenant Postans' sketch of Gīrnār in *JASB*, vol. 7, plate 54.

<sup>2</sup> ASWI, 2. 97. A photograph of the boulder is given on the plate facing page 94 of the same volume.

<sup>3</sup> Lüders, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* (EI, vol. 10, Appendix), p. 99.

<sup>4</sup> EI, 8. 42. The later (Prākṛit) form of Ūrjayat is Ujjayanta. Cf. Hēmachandra's *Anekārthasamgraha*, III, 279, and his *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*, IV, 97; ASWI, 2. 154 ff., and 8. 328 ff.; Tawney's translation of Mērutuṅga's *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, Index. Another name of the Gīrnār mountain is *Rāvata* or *Rāvātaka*. See e.g. Hēmachandra's two *Kōśas*, loc. cit.: *Māgha's Śiṣupālavadha*, IV, 1; GN, 1921. 41.

<sup>5</sup> Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 57 f.

edicts XIII and XIV are placed below V and XII. When Major James Tod visited Gīrnār in December 1822, the inscription seems to have been intact.<sup>1</sup> Subsequently portions of edicts V and XIII were blasted with gunpowder by the workmen of a pious merchant who constructed a causeway from Junāgarh to Gīrnār.<sup>2</sup> At the recommendation of the late Dr. Burgess a shed has been specially built to protect the boulder from the sun and rain.

The first decipherment of the Brāhmī alphabet and, with it, of the Gīrnār inscription, is due to the learning and ingenuity of James Prinsep.<sup>3</sup> His transcript and translation were based on tracings on cloth which had been taken in 1835 by Captain Lang for the Rev. Dr. J. Wilson of Bombay.<sup>4</sup> Fresh copies were made by Lieutenant Postans and Captain Lang in 1838,<sup>5</sup> and by Captain (afterwards General) Le Grand Jacob and Professor Westergaard in 1842.<sup>6</sup> These materials were utilized by Mr. E. Norris for drawing up an improved plate of the Gīrnār inscription, from which Professor H. H. Wilson's transcript and translation in JRAS, vol. 12 (1850), were made. No better materials were available to three other scholars who examined the Gīrnār version, viz. Professor Chr. Lassen (*Indische Alterthumskunde*), E. Burnouf (*Lotus de la Bonne Loi*; Paris, 1852), and Professor H. Kern (*Over de jaartelling der Zuidelijke Buddhisten en de Gedenkstukken van Aśoka den Buddhist*; Amsterdam, 1873).

The first perfectly mechanical estampages of the Gīrnār edicts were prepared in 1875 by Dr. J. Burgess. These were reproduced by collotype in 1876 in ASWI, 2. 98 ff., and also in IA, 5. 257 ff., with an English translation of Kern's Dutch versions of part of the edicts.

A complete edition of the Gīrnār edicts is included in Senart's *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, vol. I. An abridged English translation of his work appeared in IA, vols. 9 and 10. In JA (8), 12. 311 ff., Senart added the results of his inspection of the Gīrnār rock *in situ*. Bühler published a number of corrections and the text of edict XIII in his *Beiträge zur Erklärung der Aśoka-Inscripten* (ZDMG, vols. 37-48), and the full text of the Gīrnār version in EI, 2. 447 ff. The plates which accompany this article are much clearer than those issued in 1876, but seem to have been touched up by hand. *A Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions* printed at Bhavnagar (without year) contains the text, Sanskrit and English translations, and facsimiles, of the Gīrnār edicts.

Two fragments of the lost portion of edict XIII were recovered recently and are now preserved in the Junāgarh Museum.<sup>7</sup> Both of them were discussed by Senart (JRAS, 1900. 335 ff.), and the second of them also by Bühler (VOJ, 8. 318 ff.). Both pieces are shown in the plate which accompanies my transcript of edict XIII.

As regards the Brāhmī alphabet of the Gīrnār inscription I can refer the reader to Bühler's *Indian Paleography*, edited by Fleet (IA, vol. 33, Appendix), § 16. The chief peculiarity of the Gīrnār alphabet is the addition of the horizontal bar, marking the length of initial ā, at the top of a, while it is elsewhere attached to the middle of the letter. The formation of groups of consonants, and the peculiar way in which the letter r is expressed in combination with other consonants, will be discussed in the chapter on the Gīrnār dialect (below, p. lviii. f.).

<sup>1</sup> ASWI, 2. 95.

<sup>2</sup> JASB, 7 (1838). 219 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Id., p. 871 ff.

<sup>7</sup> They may be identical with two fragments picked up by Lieutenant Postans in 1838; see JASB, 7. 874.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. JASB, 7. 874.

<sup>5</sup> Id., pp. 157, 228, 334, 336.

<sup>6</sup> JBBRAS, 1. 257 f., and 2. 410.

## II. THE KĀLSI ROCK (Text, p. 27).

This set of the fourteen edicts is engraved near **Kālsī**, a town in the Chakrātā tahsil of the Dehra Dūn district of the United Provinces. About one and a half miles to the north of Kālsī 'is a huge boulder of quartz on the western bank of the Jumna, just above the junction of the Tons river, and about fifteen miles to the west of Mussooree.'

'The block is 10 feet long and 10 feet high, and about 8 feet thick at bottom. The south-eastern face has been smoothed, but rather unevenly, as it follows the undulations of the original surface. The main inscription is engraved on this smoothed surface, which measures 5 feet in height, with a breadth of  $5\frac{1}{2}$  feet at top, which increases towards the bottom to 7 feet  $10\frac{1}{2}$  inches. The deeper hollows and cracks have been left uninscribed, and the lines of letters are undulating and uneven. Towards the bottom, beginning with the tenth edict, the letters increase in size until they become about thrice as large as those of the upper part. Owing either to this enlargement of the letters, or, perhaps, to the latter part of the inscription being of later date, the prepared surface was too small for the whole record, which was therefore completed on the left-hand side of the rock. On the right-hand side an **elephant** is traced in outline.'

'When first found by Mr. Forrest early in 1860, the letters of the inscription were hardly visible, the whole surface being encrusted with the dark moss of ages; but on removing this black film, the surface becomes nearly as white as marble.'<sup>1</sup>

Senart's edition of the Kālsī text in his *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, vol. I, was based on Cunningham's eye-copy of the inscription. Bühler published both the text and a translation from a rubbing supplied by Cunningham (ZDMG, vols. 37 and 40), and a revised version of the text of edict XIII from an impression prepared by Burgess (id., 43, 162 ff.). A collotype of the first half of Cunningham's rubbing was issued with ZDMG, vol. 39. In EI, 2. 447 ff., Bühler re-edited the Kālsī text, which was accompanied by reproductions of inked estampages by Burgess.

The Kālsī alphabet exhibits the following chief peculiarities. The letter **kh** has a loop at the bottom; see Bühler's *Ind. Pal.*, plate 2, No. 10, columns II and III. A similar loop is found occasionally in the centre of **j** (id., No. 15, column III) and of **s** (id., No. 39, column VII). The end of an edict is marked by a symbol resembling a crescent. From edict X the characters get larger, and the two letters **s** and **sh** are frequently used. The former of these occurs already twice in edict IV, l. 13,<sup>2</sup> and the second twice in the Queen's edict on the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar, ll. 1 and 4, once on the Sarnāth pillar, l. 10, and once at Maski, l. 2. In a few lines of the first part of the Kālsī inscription (29, 33-36, 39) the punctuation mark **1**, which occurs once in each of ll. 13, 25, 31, is employed many times. The same mark is found in the Sāhasrām and Maski rock-inscriptions.

## III. THE SHAIBAZGARHI ROCK (Text, p. 50).

While the alphabet of the two preceding sets of the fourteen edicts is the Brāhmī, this one is written in those north-western cursive characters running from the right to the left which used to be called Indo-Bactrian or Ariano-Pāli, but to which Bühler restored the indigenous name **Kharoṣṭhī**. The honour of the decipherment of this alphabet is divided between Prinsep, Lassen, Norris, and Cunningham.<sup>3</sup> A number

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 12 f.

<sup>2</sup> Also once in each of the Bairāt, Maski, and Siddhāpura rock-inscriptions, and twice at Jatiāga-Rāmdevara.

<sup>3</sup> JASB, 23, 714; *Ind. Pal.*, § 6.

of Kharoṣṭhī letters had been already identified from bilingual coins of the Indo-Grecian and Indo-Scythian kings, before the Shāhbāzgarhī inscription was discovered.

Shāhbāzgarhī is a village on the Makām river, nine miles from Mardān, the headquarters of the Yūsufzai subdivision of the Peshāvar district of the North-West Frontier Province. The inscription is about half a mile distant from this village and two miles from the village of Kapurdagarhī.<sup>1</sup> It is engraved on a large shapeless mass of trap rock, lying about 80 feet up the slope of the hill, with its western face looking downwards towards the village of Shāhbāzgarhī.<sup>2</sup> The edicts I to XI are on the east face (edict VII being entered on the left at the top of the rock), and the edicts XIII and XIV are on the west face. Edict XII is engraved on a separate boulder, which is now enclosed within a wall.

M. (afterwards General) Court, of Mahārāja Ranjit Singh's service, first notified the existence of a Kharoṣṭhī inscription near Shāhbāzgarhī in 1836 and gave a few letters copied by himself. In 1838 Captain Burnes, being at Peshāvar, sent an agent to Shāhbāzgarhī, who returned with an imperfect paper impression. In the same year Mr. C. Masson obtained through a young man a partial impression on calico. He then proceeded to the spot himself and prepared fresh copies.<sup>3</sup> His zeal deserves much praise, as at that time a journey through such an unpacified tract involved considerable personal risk. Masson's materials were brought to Europe and examined by Norris, who first read in them the word *Devanampiyasa*. With the help of this discovery, Dowson ascertained that the portion of which a facsimile is given in JRAS, 8 (1846), 303, is a duplicate of edict VII of the Girnār inscription. Norris further found that the front of the rock contained the edicts I to XI, and traced on the back of it portions of edict XIII. He also published the text of edict VII (id., p. 306 ff.). In 1850 Wilson contributed a tentative transcript of both faces of the Shāhbāzgarhī rock, accompanied by plates drawn by Norris from Masson's copies (id., 12, 153 ff.). An independent eye-copy of the Shāhbāzgarhī inscription was prepared by Cunningham (*Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 10).

Senart's transcript in his *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, vol. I, had still to be based on the same imperfect materials. Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji furnished transcripts of the Shāhbāzgarhī and other versions of edict I (IA, 10, 107) and of edict VIII (JBBRAS, 15, 284). After the return from a trip to India, Senart published the results of his examination of edicts I to XI *in situ* (JA (8), 11, 521 ff.). The missing edict XII was discovered on a separate boulder by Captain Deane and edited both by Senart (id., p. 511 ff.) and by Bühler (EI, 1, 16 ff.). The latter published the whole Shāhbāzgarhī version in ZDMG, 43, 128 ff., and a fresh transcript and a translation of it in EI, 2, 447 ff., from estampages by Burgess. The only portions of which mechanical copies have been made public so far are edict VII (ZDMG, vol. 43) and edict XII (EI, 1, 16).

#### IV. THE MANSEHRA ROCK (Text, p. 71).

Like the Shāhbāzgarhī version this set of the fourteen edicts is written in the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet. Mānsehrā is the head-quarters of a tahsil in the Hazāra district of the North-West Frontier Province. The inscription is found to the north of the village and is engraved on three boulders. Of these, the first bears edicts I to VIII, the second edicts IX to XI on its north face and edict XII on its south face, and

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Id., p. 9. For a sketch-map of the locality see Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, vol. V, plate 3.

<sup>3</sup> JRAS, 8, 293 ff.

the third edicts XIII and XIV. The two first inscribed stones were discovered by Cunningham,<sup>1</sup> and the third in 1889 by a native subordinate of the Panjāb Archaeological Survey.<sup>2</sup>

Senart was the first to transcribe edict XII (JA (8), 11 (1888), 511 ff.) and, from insufficient materials, portions of edicts I to XI (id., 12, 319 ff.). Bühler edited the whole Mānsehrā version first in ZDMG (43, 273 ff., and 44, 702 ff.), and a second time in EI (2, 447 ff.), from estampages by Burgess. JA (8), vol. 12 contains three plates reproduced from Cunningham's casts of edicts I to XII. These are so indistinct that they must be pronounced useless.

#### V. THE DHAULI ROCK (Text, p. 84).

**Dhauli** is a village in the Khurdā subdivision of the Purī district, Orissa, about seven miles south of Bhuvanēśvar. The inscribed rock near the village was discovered in 1837 by Lieutenant Kittoe, who calls it 'Aswastama'.<sup>3</sup> It is situated on a rocky eminence forming one of a cluster of hills, three in number, on the south bank of the Dyah river.

'The hills before alluded to rise abruptly from the plains and occupy a space of about five furlongs by three; they have a singular appearance from their isolated position, no other hills being nearer than eight or ten miles. They are apparently volcanic, and composed of upheaved breccia with quartzose rock intermixed.'

'The *Aswastama* is situated on the northern face of the southernmost rock near its summit; the rock has been hewn and polished for a space of fifteen feet long by ten in height, and the inscription deeply cut thereon.'

'Immediately above the inscription is a terrace sixteen feet by fourteen, on the right side of which (as you face the inscription) is the fore half of an elephant, four feet high, of superior workmanship; the whole is hewn out of the solid rock.'

While Prinsep was examining a lithograph of Kittoe's copies, he found that the greater part of the Dhauli inscription was identical with the Gīrnār edicts (JASB, 7, 157). He further ascertained that the Dhauli rock omits edicts XI to XIII of the Gīrnār version, but compensates for them by two separate edicts (id., p. 219). These two he edited with a tentative translation (id., p. 438 ff.), adding Kittoe's lithograph of the whole Dhauli inscription (id., plate 10). As may be seen on this plate, the inscription is arranged in three columns. The middle column contains edicts I to VI, and the right column edicts VII to X and XIV,<sup>4</sup> and below them, within a border of straight lines, the second separate edict, while the first separate edict occupies the whole of the left column.

Cunningham<sup>5</sup> showed that it would be more correct to exchange the two designations 'first and second separate edict': the separate edict engraved in continuation of edict XIV ought to be called No. I, and the one engraved separately on the left No. II. This order is confirmed by the Jaugaḍa rock (No. VII, below) where Prinsep's No. II is actually placed above No. I. But as all editors (besides Kern) have followed

<sup>1</sup> JA (8), 11, 508.

<sup>2</sup> ZDMG, 44, 702.

<sup>3</sup> Can this name be due to a misreading of the word *gajātams* (see Text, p. 50), which is engraved below the figure of an elephant on the north face of the Kālāi rock, and which might have been originally engraved on the Dhauli rock too? See, however, Text, p. 92, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> JASB, 7 (1838), 435-7. For a sketch of the elephant see id., plate 25, and for a photograph of it, the frontispiece of V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*.

<sup>5</sup> The commencement of each fresh edict is marked by a short horizontal dash.

<sup>6</sup> *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, pp. 16, 20.

Prinsep's arrangement, a change of numbers would now lead to much confusion, and it will be sufficient to keep in mind that the separate edict No. I was engraved *after* No. II.

The two separate edicts were re-edited and translated by Burnouf (*Lotus*, p. 671 ff.) and, from Cunningham's copies, by Kern (JRAS, 1880. 379 ff.). Senart's edition of them<sup>1</sup> was based on estampages by Burgess. The same applies to Bühler's editions of the Dhauli version. He published the whole of it twice: once in German (ZDMG, 39. 489 ff., and 41. 1 ff.) and once in English (ASSI, 1. 114 ff.). His second edition is accompanied by photo-lithographs (plates 64-66).

## VI. THE JAUGADA ROCK (Text, p. 101).

A duplicate of the Dhauli edicts is engraved at **Jaugada**, a ruined fort in the Berhampur taluka of the Ganjam district, Madras, about eighteen miles north-west of Ganjam town, on the northern bank of the Rishikulya river.

The inscribed rock 'is situated in what appears to have once been an extensive but now deserted town, surrounded by the debris of a lofty wall.'

'The rock is part of a large mass of rock or rocks, rising to various heights, and covering a large space of ground, I should say many thousand square yards.'<sup>2</sup>

'The Jaugada inscriptions are written on three different tablets on the vertical face of the rock.'

'The first tablet contained the first five edicts, but about one-half has been utterly lost by the peeling away of the rock.'

'The second tablet comprised the next five edicts, namely, 6 to 10, to which was added the 14th or closing edict of the other versions. About one-third of this tablet has been lost by the peeling away of the rock.'

'The third tablet contained the two separate or additional edicts which are found at Dhauli.'

'These two additional edicts are enclosed in a frame which separates them from the collected series of Aśoka's edicts.'

'The separation of these two edicts is more distinctly marked by the accompaniment of the *svastika* symbol at each of the upper corners of the upper inscription, and of the letter *m* at the upper corners of the lower inscription.'<sup>3</sup>

'Copies of the inscriptions were taken in 1850 by the present Sir Walter Elliot, who was perfectly aware that they contained only another version of Aśoka's edicts, which had already been found at Shālbāzgarhī, Gīrnār, and Dhauli.'<sup>4</sup>

Thanks to orders of the Government of Madras, the rock is now protected by an iron roof and railing.

The two separate edicts of Jaugada were edited with those of Dhauli by Prof. Kern. The first purely mechanical estampages of the rock were prepared by Burgess. On these Senart's edition of the two separate edicts was based.<sup>5</sup> Bühler published edicts I to X and XIV from a photograph by Mr. Minchin (ZDMG, vols. 37 and 40) and the two separate edicts from Burgess's estampages (id., 41. 1 ff.). His

<sup>1</sup> *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, 2. 105 ff., and IA, 19. 82 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. W. F. Grahame in IA, 1 (1872). 219.

<sup>3</sup> Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 191. In JPASB, 17. 232 f., Harit Krishna Deb very ingeniously explains the *svastika* symbol as a monogram consisting of two Brāhmī *o*'s, and the *m* as the final letter of the sacred syllable *om*.

<sup>4</sup> Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 18. For further attempts to copy the Jaugada inscriptions I may refer to the same page, and to R. Sewall's *Lists of Antiquities*, vol. I, p. 4.

<sup>5</sup> For references see above, under Dhauli.



second edition of the whole Jaugaḍa version (ASSI, I. 114 ff.) is accompanied by photo-lithographs (plates 67-69).

#### VII. THE BOMBAY-SOPARA FRAGMENT (Text, p. 118).

**Sōpārā** is an ancient town in the Bassein tāluka of the Thāna district, Bombay. There Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī discovered in 1882 a broken block of basalt bearing about one-third of the eighth rock-edict of Aśoka. The existing fragment suggests that a complete set of his edicts must have been engraved near Sōpārā.

'The stone was found near the Bhātēlā pond to the east of the town close to the old landing-place.'

The Pandit published a tracing and transcript of the fragment, along with the text of five other versions of edict VIII. The original stone is now preserved in the Museum of the **Bombay Asiatic Society**.

### SECOND PART: THE PILLAR-EDICTS

This term is meant to comprise the Aśoka inscriptions on the Delhi-Tōprā pillar and on the five other pillars which bear six of the seven edicts inscribed on it. The minor pillar-inscriptions will be treated separately in the third part. The 'Queen's edict' and the 'Kauśāmbī edict', however, are included in the second part, because they are inscribed on the Allahabad-Kōsam column which bears also six of the chief pillar-edicts.

#### I. THE DELHI-TOPRA PILLAR (Text, p. 119).

This famous monument 'is a single shaft of pale pinkish sandstone, 42 feet 7 inches in length, of which the upper portion, 35 feet in length, has received a very high polish, while the remainder is left quite rough.'<sup>1</sup> It used to be known by the names of 'Bhima-sēna's pillar', 'Golden pillar', 'Firōz Shāh's pillar', and 'Delhi-Siwālik pillar'. Shams-i Sirāj, a historian of **Firōz Shāh** (A.D. 1351-88), informs us that it stood originally 'in the village of Tobra, in the district of Sālaura and Khizrābād, in the hills';<sup>2</sup> that Sultan Firōz had it carried to Delhi; and that he erected it again on the top of his palace at Firōzābād. From Tobra near Khizrābād, which was ninety *kōs* from Delhi, the column was carried on a truck with forty-two wheels to the bank of the Jamnā, whence it was floated down the river to Firōzābād (Delhi) on a number of large boats.

Cunningham (*Arch. Reports*, 14. 78 f.) identified the village of Tobra, where the pillar stood originally, with the present **Tōprā**, on the direct line between Ambālā and Sirsāvā, eighteen miles to the south of Sādhōrā, and twenty-two miles to the south-west of Khizrābād. The pillar is standing to the present day on the roof of the three-storied citadel (*kōṭlā*) of Firōz Shāh outside the 'Delhi Gate' to the south-east of modern **Delhi**.<sup>3</sup> An elevation of the building, with the pillar on the top of it, was published in 1788 in the first volume of the *Asiatic Researches*, p. 379, and a sketch of it in 1803 in vol. 7, p. 175, plate 4.

<sup>1</sup> JBRAS, 15. 282.

<sup>2</sup> Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> Elliot-Dowson's *History of India*, 3. 350.

<sup>4</sup> See a note by Lieutenant Kittoe, JASB, 6. 796 f., and the map facing p. 185 of Baedeker's *Indien*.

The Delhi-Tōprā pillar bears seven edicts of Aśōka, of which the last and longest is unique, while other specimens of the first six edicts have been discovered elsewhere. The first six edicts and the eleven first lines of the seventh edict are arranged in four columns on the north, west, south, and east faces of the pillar; the eleven remaining lines of the seventh edict run all round the pillar.

Besides the Aśōka edicts and several minor records of pilgrims and travellers,<sup>1</sup> the pillar bears three short inscriptions of the Chāhamāna Visaladēva of Śākambārī, son of Annalladēva (EI, 9. 67, n. 5), dated A.D. 1164, which have been edited last by Kielhorn from Fleet's impressions (IA, 19. 215 ff.).

The Delhi-Tōprā pillar-inscription is the first record of Aśōka that was read and translated in 1837 by Prinsep (JASB, 6. 566 ff.). Facsimiles of this inscription had been in the possession of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 'since its very foundation, without any successful attempt having been made to decipher them' (id., p. 566).

'On searching the Society's portfolio' Prinsep 'found the five original manuscript plates of Captain Hoare, whence the engravings published in the *Researches*<sup>2</sup> seem to have been copied.'

'I found also two much larger drawings of the first and last inscription of the series, apparently of the actual dimensions.—These I suppose to have been the originals presented to Sir William Jones by Colonel Polier, and therefore of themselves venerable for their antiquity!' (id., p. 567).<sup>3</sup>

The ingenious manner in which Prinsep succeeded in deciphering the ancient Brāhmī alphabet deserves to be recorded here in his own words:

'In laying open a discovery of this nature, some little explanation is generally expected of the means by which it has been attained. Like most other inventions, when once found it appears extremely simple; and, as in most others, accident, rather than study, has had the merit of solving the enigma which has so long baffled the learned.'

'While arranging and lithographing the numerous scraps of facsimiles for Plate XXVII,<sup>4</sup> I was struck at their all terminating with the same two letters, *ꣳꣳ*. Coupling this circumstance with their extreme brevity and insulated position, which proved that they could not be fragments of a continuous text, it immediately occurred [to me] that they must record either obituary notices, or more probably the offerings and presents of votaries, as is shown to be the present custom in the Buddhist temples of Ava; where numerous *dhvajās* or flag-staffs, images, and small *chaityas* are crowded within the enclosure, surrounding the chief cupola, each bearing the name of the donor. The next point noted was the frequent occurrence of the letter *ꣳ*, already set down incontestably as *s*, before the final word:—now this I had learnt from the Saurāshtra coins, deciphered only a day or two before, to be one sign of the genitive case singular, being the *ssa* of the Pāli, or *śya* of the Sanskrit. "Of so and so the gift", must then be the form of each brief sentence; and the vowel *ā* and Anusvāra led to the speedy recognition of the word *dānam* (gift), teaching me the very two letters, *d* and *n*, most different from known forms, and which had foiled me most in my former attempts. Since 1834 also my acquaintance with ancient alphabets had become so familiar that most of the remaining letters in the present examples could be named at once on re-inspection. In the course of a few minutes I thus became possessed of the whole

<sup>1</sup> See Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, I. 167, and 5. 143 f.

<sup>2</sup> See *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 7, plates 6–10.

<sup>3</sup> *Inscriptions from Sanchee, taken in facsimile on paper by Capt. E. Smith, Engineers.*

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Asiatic Researches*, I. 379.

alphabet, which I tested by applying it to the inscription on the Delhi column (id., p. 460 f.).

The first four edicts were examined by Burnouf in his *Lotus*, and the fourth and sixth by Kern in his *Jaartelling*. Senart's edition and translation of the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edicts in his *Inscriptions de Piyadasi* (2. 1 ff.) were based on Cunningham's eye-copies. In 1884 Fleet issued excellent photo-lithographs, to which Bühler added transcripts in the Nāgarī character (IA, 13. 306 ff.), and which were utilized in Sir George Grierson's English translation of Senart's French article (IA, vols. 17 and 18). Finally Bühler edited and translated the seven pillar-edicts twice, in German (ZDMG, vols. 45 and 46) and in English (EI, 2. 245 ff.).

## II. THE DELHI-MIRATH PILLAR (Text, p. 137).

This pillar now stands on the so-called 'Ridge' to the north-west of modern Delhi.<sup>1</sup> Like the Delhi-Tōprā pillar, it was carried to Delhi by Firōz Shāh. Shams-i-Sirāj tells us that it stood before in the vicinity of Mirāth, now a town and the head-quarters of a district of the United Provinces, and that Firōz Shāh re-erected it at Delhi on a hill in the Kushk-i-Shikār or 'Hunting-Palace',<sup>2</sup> which is known to have been situated on the Ridge.<sup>3</sup>

The pillar bears, besides some modern scribbings,<sup>4</sup> a more or less damaged version of the first five edicts of the Delhi-Tōprā pillar. A lithograph of its inscription was published by Prinsep in JASB, vol. 6 (1837), plate 42, from impressions forwarded by Major P. L. Pew, who added the following particulars:

'This very ancient Hindu pillar was dug out of some ruins near a well, and was probably destroyed by the blowing up of a powder magazine which I understand once existed near the spot. It consists of five pieces.'

'The pillar is sandstone, and to its perishable nature is to be attributed the imperfect state of the inscriptions' (id., p. 795).

Padre Tieffenthaler, who visited Delhi towards the middle of the eighteenth century, already saw the same five pieces lying on the top of the Ridge, and also ascribed the destruction of the pillar to gunpowder.<sup>5</sup>

'There the five pieces remained undisturbed for upwards of a century, when the inscribed portion was sawn off' and 'sent down to Calcutta to the Museum of the Asiatic Society. Within the last few years this piece has been returned to Delhi, and the pillar has again been set up in its old position.'<sup>6</sup>

IA, vol. 19 contains a facsimile of the Delhi-Mirāth pillar-edicts by Fleet with transcripts by Bühler (p. 122 ff.), who reprinted the text twice, in ZDMG (vols. 45 and 46) and in EI (2. 245 ff.).

A fragment bearing portions of the two last lines of the sixth edict was offered to the British Museum in 1913. Its dimensions render it very probable that it belonged originally to the Delhi-Mirāth pillar.

<sup>1</sup> The position of the pillar is marked on plate 25 (facing p. 132) of Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, vol. I. See also the map facing p. 185 of Baedeker's *Indien*.

<sup>2</sup> Elliot-Dowson's *History of India*, 3. 353.

<sup>3</sup> Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 1. 168.

<sup>4</sup> Id., 5. 144.

<sup>5</sup> Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 37.

<sup>6</sup> Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 1. 167.

<sup>7</sup> Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 37.

### III and IV. THE LAURIYA-ARARAJ AND LAURIYA-NANDANGARH PILLARS (Text, pp. 141 and 145).

The inscriptions on these two pillars were already known to Prinsep when he edited the Delhi-Toprā pillar-edicts in 1837 (JASB, 6. 566 ff.). Both pillars bear the first **six edicts**, the first four on the east face and the last two on the west face. Mr. B. H. Hodgson had called them the Radhia and Mathiah pillars.<sup>1</sup> Cunningham ascertained that the villages of Radhia and Mathiah are  $2\frac{1}{2}$  and three miles distant from them, and proposed to call them the Lauriyā-Ararāj and Lauriyā-Navandgarh pillars.<sup>2</sup> His reasons were the following: Each of the two pillars stands near a village named **Lauriyā**, the former of which is in the Champāran district, North Bihār, twenty miles NW. of Kāsariyā, while the second is fifteen miles NNW. of Betiyā in the same district. Both names are derived from the pillars themselves, which were mistaken by the people for *lingas* (Hindī *lauṛā*). To distinguish the two different villages of Lauriyā, Cunningham combined with the former **Ararāj**, the name of a neighbouring temple of Śiva, and with the second Navandgarh, the name of a ruined fort in its vicinity. V. A. Smith (JRAS, 1902. 153, note) added that 'Navandgarh' is a mistake for '**Nandangarh**'.

The Lauriyā-Ararāj pillar 'is a single block of polished sandstone,  $36\frac{1}{2}$  feet in height above the ground.'<sup>3</sup> According to V. A. Smith it was originally surmounted by a figure of **Garuḍa**.<sup>4</sup>

The Lauriyā-Nandangarh pillar 'is formed of a single block of polished sandstone, 32 feet  $9\frac{1}{2}$  inches in height.'

'The capital, which is 6 feet 10 inches in height, is bell-shaped, with a circular abacus supporting the statue of a lion facing the north. The abacus is ornamented with a row of Brahmani geese pecking their food.'<sup>5</sup>

Besides the Aśoka edicts, the pillar bears a record of the emperor **Aurangaib** and a few modern scribbles. It is now worshipped as a symbol of Śiva, and its erection is ascribed to the Pāṇḍava Bhīma.<sup>6</sup>

Bühler edited the inscriptions of the Lauriyā-Ararāj and Lauriyā-Nandangarh pillars twice, in ZDMG (vols. 45 and 46) and in EI (2. 245 ff.). His second article was accompanied by photo-lithographs of Mr. Garrick's impressions.

### V. THE RAMPURVA PILLAR (Text, p. 151).

Another copy of the first **six edicts** is engraved on a lion-pillar of polished sandstone, which was discovered by Mr. Carleyle in 1837 at **Rāmpurvā** in the Champāran district,  $32\frac{1}{2}$  miles north of Betiyā.<sup>7</sup> The relative positions of Lauriyā-Ararāj, Lauriyā-Nandangarh, and Rāmpurvā are shown on V. A. Smith's sketch map in JRAS, 1902. 162, and on plate I of Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, vol. 16.

<sup>1</sup> See JASB, 3 (1834). 481 ff., where a drawing of the Mathiah pillar and a lithograph of its inscription are given (plates 27 and 29). The first lithograph of the Radhia pillar appeared in vol. 4 (1835), p. 124, plate 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 39 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Asoka*, sec. ed., p. 147, and ZDMG, 65. 227.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.*, p. 40.

<sup>5</sup> Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 1. 72 f. For pictures of the pillar see *id.*, plates 22 and 25; vol. 16, plate 27; the frontispiece of V. A. Smith's *Asoka*, sec. ed.; and plate 2 of his *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*.

<sup>6</sup> Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 41.

<sup>7</sup> Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 22. 51.

'The pillar has fallen down, and is now lying partly in water.' The upper part of the lion is gone, but the lower part of the animal, with the bell capital and circular abacus with the well-known geese and conventional flowers, is still in very fair condition. The capital was fixed to the shaft by a massive copper bolt.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Garrick prepared impressions of that side of the pillar which could then be reached. Bühler's transcripts of them (ZDMG, vols. 45 and 46; EI, 2. 245 ff., with photo-lithograph) show that it contained portions of the first four edicts.

To Sir John Marshall we are indebted for complete impressions of the six edicts and for the discovery of the missing lion-capital.<sup>2</sup> The length of the shaft was found to be 44 feet 9½ inches, of which 8 feet 9 inches are left rough-dressed, having originally been buried in the ground. As on the two Lauriyā pillars, the inscription is divided into two columns on opposite faces of the pillar.

The pillar has now been removed some 200 yards from its former position and lies horizontally on a small mound. To protect the inscription from the weather, a small brick shed has been erected over the centre of the pillar.<sup>3</sup>

#### VI. THE ALLAHABAD-KOSAM PILLAR (Text, p. 155).

This pillar now stands inside the fort at Allahabad. It 'is a single shaft of polished sandstone 35 feet in length.' 'Its total length, including the base, is forty-two feet seven inches.'<sup>4</sup>

*Habent sua fata columnae!* The history of the Allahabad pillar is as chequered and curious as that of the two Delhi pillars. On examination it is found to contain on it four strata of literary records:

- (1) The original inscriptions of Aśoka, viz.:
  - (a) the first six edicts of the Delhi-Tōprā pillar;
  - (b) the so-called 'Queen's edict' (to the right of 2);
  - (c) the so-called 'Kauśāmbi edict' (above b).
- (2) An inscription of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Samudragupta (below 1).
- (3) An interlineation in Nāgarī characters.
- (4) An inscription of the emperor Jahāngīr.

A sketch of the pillar by Captain James Hoare and a rough copy of portions of its inscriptions appeared in 1801 in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 7, plates 13 and 14. In 1834 Lieutenant T. S. Burt published, at Prinsep's request, drawings of the pillar (JASB, vol. 3, plate 3), which was then lying on the ground, having been taken down by Colonel Kyd in 1804.<sup>5</sup> 'The common legend of the natives', he says, 'states the pillar to be the *gadā* or staff of Bhimasēna' (p. 105). Prinsep added a lithograph of Burt's copies of the Aśoka inscriptions and a classified table of letters (plates 4 and 5). Although yet unable to read the alphabet, he very shrewdly guessed the actual value of post-consonantal *ā*, *e*, and Anusvāra.

<sup>1</sup> See Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, vol. 22, plate 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*, vol. 16, preface, p. viii. See also plate 28.

<sup>3</sup> JRAS, 1908. 1086, and plate I, fig. 1.

<sup>4</sup> See *Annual Report of the Arch. Survey of India, Eastern Circle*, for 1912-1913, p. 36.

<sup>5</sup> Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 37.

<sup>6</sup> Lieutenant Burt in JASB, 3. 105.

<sup>7</sup> See Lieutenant Kittoe's note in JASB, 4. 127.

Six months later he recognised the consonants *y*, *v*, *s* (p. 485), and three years after he deciphered the six Aśoka edicts, together with those of the Delhi-Tōprā pillar.<sup>1</sup>

'The capital of the column was no doubt of the usual bell-shape of Aśoka's other pillars, but of this there is now no trace. The circular abacus, however, still remains, with its graceful scroll of alternate lotus and honeysuckle, resting on a beaded astragalus of Greek origin. This was once surmounted by the statue of a lion;<sup>2</sup> but the lion must have disappeared many centuries ago, as when the pillar was re-erected by Jahāngir in A.D. 1605, it was crowned by a globe, surmounted by a cone, as described and sketched by Padre Tieffenthaler in the middle of the next century.'<sup>3</sup>

In 1838 the pillar was set up again by Captain Edward Smith and provided with a newly designed lion which, according to Cunningham (*Arch. Reports*, I, 300), looks 'not unlike a stuffed poodle stuck on the top of an inverted flower pot.'

As regards the set of six edicts (1, *a*), 'the present confused appearance of it is due chiefly to the later inscriptions [3] that have been engraved between the original lines of writing. The most serious damage that has been done to it is due to seven entire lines and the greater part of the eighth, line 16, having been entirely destroyed to make room for a circular inscription of Jahāngir [4]'<sup>4</sup> IA, vol. 13 contains a facsimile of the six edicts by Fleet and a Nāgarī transcript by Buhler (p. 306 ff.), who reprinted the text twice, in ZDMG (vols. 45 and 46) and in EI (2, 245 ff.).

The Queen's edict (1, *b*) was already transcribed and translated by Prinsep,<sup>5</sup> while the Kauśāmbī edict (1, *c*) was first noticed by Cunningham.<sup>6</sup> Both were edited by Senart<sup>7</sup> and, with Fleet's facsimiles, by Buhler (IA, 19, 122 ff.). The Kauśāmbī edict was re-edited by A.-M. Boyer.<sup>8</sup>

The Kauśāmbī edict is addressed to the Mahāmātras at Kōsambī (*Kauśāmbī* in Sanskrit). Cunningham concluded from this that the Allahabad pillar must have been originally erected by Aśoka at Kauśāmbī,<sup>9</sup> which is the modern Kōsam on the left bank of the Jamnā, about twenty-eight miles west by south from Allahabad.<sup>10</sup> He further suggested that the removal of the pillar from Kōsam to Allahabad was perhaps due to Firōz Shāh, who is known to have transported the Tōprā and Mirāth pillars to Delhi. But, while Delhi was the capital of Firōz Shāh, Allahabad was founded, or rather refounded, two centuries after him by Akbar.<sup>11</sup> This ruler may have removed from Kōsam the Allahabad pillar, on which inscriptions of his favourite Birbal<sup>12</sup> and of his son Jahāngir are engraved. In this case the pillar would have been still standing at Kōsam when the inscription of Samudragupta (2) was incised on it. This record was last edited by Fleet in his *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 1; it refers to 'this lofty pillar' (*ayam nūchhritāh stambhah*, l. 30).

<sup>1</sup> JASB, 6 (1837) 566 ff. See also id., p. 965 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. JASB, 4, 127.

<sup>3</sup> Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 37. For Captain Hoare's sketch of the pillar see *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 7, plate 13.

<sup>4</sup> Fleet in IA, 13, 305.

<sup>5</sup> JASB, 6, 568 f. and 966 f., with a lithograph on plate 56, fig. 1. See also id., vol. 3, plate 4, bottom.

<sup>6</sup> *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 38.

<sup>7</sup> *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, 2, 99 ff., and IA, 18, 308 f.

<sup>8</sup> JA (10), 10, 120 ff. and 141.

<sup>9</sup> *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 39.

<sup>10</sup> See Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 2; also Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 391 ff., and EI, 11, 91 and 141.

<sup>11</sup> Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 1, 298. For coins struck by Akbar at Allahabad see the *British Museum Catalogue of Moghul Coins*, pp. 48 and 53, Whitehead's *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum*, vol. II, Introduction, p. xlii, and the Catalogues by Wright (1908) and Brown (1920).

<sup>12</sup> Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 39.

The Nāgarī interlineation (3) of the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar 'is merely a series of unconnected scribblings of various dates, cut in most likely by the attendants on the pillar as a pretext for exacting a few rupees from visitors.'<sup>1</sup>

Jahāngīr's inscription (4) records the names of his ancestors and is dated in A.H. 1014 or A.D. 1605.<sup>2</sup>

### THIRD PART: MINOR PILLAR-INSCRIPTIONS

#### I. THE SANCHI PILLAR (Text, p. 160).

**Sārchi**<sup>3</sup> is an ancient site in the Bhōpāl State, Central India,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  miles from Bhilsā and about  $\frac{2}{3}$  mile from the Sanchi railway station. The Aśoka pillar 'is only a fragment of a large polished shaft; but near it there still lies a beautiful broken capital crowned by four lions, which, no doubt, once surmounted it.'<sup>4</sup> It is now lying in the jungle; but apparently it stood originally near the south gate of the great Sārchi Stūpa.<sup>5</sup>

The beginning of the inscription on the pillar is lost, and the first preserved line is badly damaged. A facsimile was published by Burgess in EI, 2. 369. The record was edited and translated by Bühler (id., p. 366 f.) and by Boyer (IA (10), 10. 123 ff. and 141), and re-examined by myself (JRAS, 1911. 167 ff., and 1912. 1055 f.).

#### II. THE SARNATH PILLAR (Text, p. 161).

**Sārṇāth**, about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles to the north of Benares, is believed to be the site of one of the most memorable events in the career of the Buddha: it adjoins the Migadāya (i. e. 'deer-park') at Isipatana in which he preached his first sermon.<sup>6</sup> Here Mr. F. O. Oertel discovered a broken pillar of polished sandstone which bears an edict of Aśoka.<sup>7</sup> He found also the former capital of the column, which 'is surmounted by four magnificent lions standing back to back, and in their middle was a large stone wheel, the sacred *dharmachakra* symbol', of which only fragments remain. 'The lions stand on a drum with four animal figures carved on it, viz. a lion, an elephant, a bull, and a horse, placed between four wheels. The upper part of the capital is supported by an elegantly shaped Persepolitan bell-shaped member.'

In the opinion of a competent judge 'it would be difficult to find in any country an example of ancient animal sculpture superior or even equal to this beautiful work of art, which successfully combines realistic modelling with ideal dignity, and is finished in every detail with perfect accuracy.'<sup>8</sup>

The Chinese traveller, Hsuen Tsang, saw on the site of the Migadāya a stone pillar which stood in front of a Stūpa built by Aśokaśāka, and which was about 70 feet high.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Prinsep in JASB, 6. 967. Cf. Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 38 f.

<sup>2</sup> See Lieutenant Burt in JASB, 3. 108, and Prinsep's foot-note.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar informed me that this, and not Sāchi, is the actual pronunciation of the name.

<sup>4</sup> Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 42.

<sup>5</sup> See EI, 2. 366, n. 2, and JRAS, 1902. 30.

<sup>6</sup> Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 1. 107; SBE, 11. 146, and 13. 90; *Buddhist Birth Stories*, 1. 111 f.

<sup>7</sup> *Arch. Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1904-5, p. 68 ff.

<sup>8</sup> V. A. Smith's *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 60. For photographs of the capital see id., plate 13, and Oertel's article, plate 20.

<sup>9</sup> Beal's BRWW, 2. 46.

As Oertel (op. cit., p. 69) has calculated the actual height of the Sārnāth pillar at about 37 feet above ground, Hiuen Tsiang seems to have overestimated its height, unless he refers to a different pillar.

Unfortunately the three top lines of the inscription are broken away, and the fourth line is badly damaged. But Oertel succeeded in recovering three inscribed fragments which, as Professor Vogel has proved, contain the two first *akṣaras* of each of lines 1-3, and the end of lines 3 and 4 (EI, 8. 166 f.). The remainder of the inscription was found *in situ* underground, and is in a state of nearly perfect preservation.

The stump of the pillar bears also two short records of a later date: an inscription of king **Aśvaghōṣa** which is engraved in continuation of the last line of the Aśoka edict, and a Buddhist inscription in early **Gupta** characters above the Aśvaghōṣa epigraph. These three records were first published, with collotypes, by Vogel in EI, 8. 166 ff., and the Aśoka edict was re-edited by Boyer (JA (10), 10. 119 ff.), Senart (CR, 1907. 25 ff.), and Venis (JPASB, 3. 1 ff.). See also my remarks in JRAS, 1912. 1053 ff.

### III. THE RUMMINDEI PILLAR (Text, p. 164).

In December 1896 Dr. Führer found a pillar bearing an inscription of Aśoka about thirteen miles south-east of the Nigāli Sagar pillar (below, No. IV) in the Nepalese Tarāi. The pillar stands near the shrine of **Rummindēi**, about a mile to the north of the village of **Paṇariyā**, which is about two miles north of Bhagvānpur, the head-quarters of the Nepalese tahsil of that name, and about five miles to the north-east of Dulhā in the British district of Basti.<sup>1</sup>

The new Aśoka pillar is a mere stump, but still *in situ* and surrounded by a brick railing. 'It is of hard sandstone of the usual yellowish colour, and rises to a height of 21 feet or so.'<sup>2</sup> The inscription on it was edited, with facsimile, by Bühler in 1898,<sup>3</sup> and records that Aśoka visited the spot and erected the pillar 'because the **Buddha Śākya-muni** was born here', and that the king exempted the village of **Lummini** from taxes.

Both Lummini and the modern name Rummindēi must be identical with the **Lumbini** grove, the traditional site of the Buddha's birth.<sup>4</sup> This identification is confirmed by Hiuen Tsiang, who mentions a pillar set up by **Aśoka-rāja** in the Lumbini garden, and near the pillar the 'river of oil',<sup>5</sup> which is now called Tilar-nadi, i.e. apparently 'the teli's or oilman's river'.<sup>6</sup> He further states that the pillar bore on the top the figure of a horse, and that it had been struck by lightning and broken off in the middle. This agrees with Mukherji's description of the Rummindēi pillar (p. 34). He tells us that 'its upper portion is gone, and of what remains the top is split into two halves, the line of fissure coming down to near the middle height. The capital was of the usual bell-shaped form, of which the base, broken into two halves, exists . . . . The stone horse, which crowned the capital, is gone with the upper portion of the shaft';

<sup>1</sup> See V. A. Smith in IA, 34. 1, and cf. plates 18 and 19 of Babu P. C. Mukherji's *Antiquities in the Tarai* (Calcutta, 1901).

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 34. For a drawing of the pillar see id., plate 20, fig. 3, and for photographs of it, the plate facing p. 27 of Führer's *Monograph on Buddha Sakyamuni's Birth-place* (Allahabad, 1897) and the plate facing p. 148 of V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*.

<sup>3</sup> EI, 5. 1 ff. For subsequent articles on the Rummindēi inscription see IA, 43. 17.

<sup>4</sup> See the Introduction to the *Jātaka*, vol. I, pp. 52 and 54. For other forms of the word *Lumbini* see IA, 43. 18.

<sup>5</sup> Beal's BRWW, s. 24 f.

<sup>6</sup> See V. A. Smith's preface to Mukherji's *Antiquities*, p. 6.



but it seems to be alluded to in the inscription itself. Finally, the temple of Rummindēi contains an ancient sculpture which represents the nativity of the Buddha (op. cit., plate 24, a). This is an additional piece of evidence in favour of the identity of the locality with the *Lumbini-vana*.

#### IV. THE NIGALI SĀGAR PILLAR (Text, p. 165).

In March 1895 another Aśoka pillar of polished sandstone was discovered by Führer in the Nepalese Tarāi on the western bank of a large tank called **Nigālī Sāgar**, about a mile south of **Niglivā**. This village lies about thirteen miles north-west of Rummindēi and belongs to the Nepalese tahsil of Taulivā (about seven miles north-west of Piprāvā in the British district of Basti).<sup>1</sup>

The pillar is now called *Nigālī* or 'the smoking-pipe' of Bhīmasēna.<sup>2</sup> It is not *in situ*, and only two broken portions of it are preserved. The upper piece is about 14 feet 9½ inches long and bears a few mediæval drawings and scribblings. The lower portion is about 10 feet long and bears an inscription of Aśoka in four lines; some letters at the beginning of the two last lines are broken away.<sup>3</sup>

The inscription was first edited by Bühler in VOJ, 9, 175 ff., and again, with facsimile, in EI, 5, 1 ff. It records that Aśoka 'enlarged the *Stūpa* of the **Buddha Kōṇākamaṇa** to the double (of its original size)', and that later on he visited the spot in person and erected the pillar.

**Hiuen Tsiang** seems to mention the Nigālī Sāgar pillar.<sup>4</sup> He states that it stood in front of a *Stūpa* containing relics of **Kanakamuni Buddha**, that it was surmounted by a lion, was about 20 feet high (which is less than the length of the two preserved pieces combined), bore an inscription, and had been erected by **Aśoka**. The *Stūpa* referred to by Hiuen Tsiang cannot be traced near the spot where the two portions of the pillar have been found.<sup>5</sup>

### FOURTH PART: MINOR ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS

#### I. THE RUPNATH ROCK-INSCRIPTION (Text, p. 166).

**Rūpnāth** is an out-of-the-way place of pilgrimage in the Central Provinces, fourteen miles west of Sleemanabad railway station<sup>6</sup> on the line from Jabalpur to Katni.

The Rūpnāth rock is a single flinty block of dark-red sandstone lying at the foot of the **Kaimur** range of hills, just below the fertile plateau of **Bahuriband**.<sup>7</sup> Here a small stream breaks over the crest of the Kaimur range, and, after three low falls, forms a deep secluded pool at the foot of the scarp. Each of these pools is considered holy, the uppermost being named after Rāma, the next after Lakshmaṇa, and the lowest

<sup>1</sup> For the relative positions of Niglivā and Rummindēi see plate 1 of Mukherji's *Antiquities in the Tarai*.

<sup>2</sup> Id., p. 30, and Führer's *Monograph*, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> For photographs of the pillar see plates 3, 4, 5 of Führer's *Monograph*, and for a drawing of it, Mukherji's *Antiquities*, plate 16, fig. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Beal's BRWW, 2, 19.

<sup>5</sup> See V. A. Smith's preface to Mukherji's *Antiquities*, p. 3 f.

<sup>6</sup> See V. A. Smith's *Asoka*, sec. ed., p. 133, n. 1.

<sup>7</sup> A small town thirty-two miles to the north of Jabalpur; see Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*.

after Sitā. The spot, however, is best known by the name of Rūpnāth, from a *linga* of Śiva which is placed in a narrow cleft of the rocks on the right.<sup>1</sup>

'The detached boulder, upon which the edict of Aśoka is inscribed, lies just above the west margin of the lower pool under a great tree, the inscription being upon its flat top and near one edge. The rock is one of many that have fallen at some time or another from the cliffs above, and it is possible that it has fallen since the inscription was cut upon it.'<sup>2</sup>

'The edict of Aśoka is inscribed on the upper surface of the rock, which has been worn quite smooth by people sitting upon it for hundreds of years at the annual fairs. It is now of a very dark dirty-red colour, and the inscription might easily escape observation. The lines follow the undulations of the rock, and are neither straight nor parallel with each other. The inscription is  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet long and 1 foot broad, and consists of six lines, of which the last has only five letters.'<sup>3</sup>

The Rūpnāth edict was copied in 1871-2 by Cunningham (*Arch. Reports*, 7. 59) and published with a facsimile in 1877 by Bühler (*IA*, 6. 149 ff.), who re-edited it twice afterwards.<sup>4</sup> Senart's treatment of it is included in his *Inscriptions de Piyadasi* (2. 165 ff.) and in Sir George Grierson's translation (*IA*, 20. 154 ff.). Fresh impressions of the inscription were prepared by the late Dr. Bloch.<sup>5</sup>

## II. THE SAHASRĀM ROCK-INSCRIPTION (Text, p. 169).

**Sahasrām** is a town and the head-quarters of a subdivision in the Shahabād district, South Bihār. 'About two miles to the east of the town rises one of the last spurs of the Kaimur range of hills called **Chandan-Pir**, after a Muhammadan saint, who took up his abode on the top of the hill.'<sup>6</sup>

The edict of Aśoka 'is found in an artificial cave a short distance below, which is generally known as the *Chirāghdān* or 'lamp' of the saint. The roof of the cave is formed by a large projecting mass of rock that has most effectually preserved the greater part of the inscription, which is in excellent order, except in three or four places where the rock has peeled off. The entrance, which is only 4 feet high, is to the west between two built walls. By making an opening in one of these walls, my assistant, Mr. Beglar, obtained a good photograph of the inscription.'<sup>7</sup>

The Sahasrām edict was published three times by Bühler and twice by Senart along with the Rūpnāth one (No. 1, above). In editing it the third time (*IA*, 22. 299), Bühler noted that Beglar's photograph still shows a number of letters which have since disappeared owing to the disintegration of the rock, and which are already missing in Fleet's facsimile (*loc. cit.*). To the kindness of Sir John Marshall I owe a copy of this valuable photograph, which I have utilized for my transcript of the text.

## III. THE BAIKAT ROCK-INSCRIPTION (Text, p. 171).

A much damaged version of the Rūpnāth-Sahasrām edict was discovered in 1871-2 by Mr. Carlleyle about a mile to the north-east of **Bairāt**, the head-quarters

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Cousens in *Progress Report*, ASWI, 1903-4, p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> *IA*, 7. 141 ff., and, with Fleet's facsimile, *id.*, 22. 299 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Annual Report*, AS, *Eastern Circle*, 1907-8, p. 19.

<sup>6</sup> Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 11. 132 f.

<sup>7</sup> Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 20 f.

of a tahsīl in the Jaipur State, Rājputānā, about forty-two miles north-by-north-east of Jaipur City.

'This edict is engraved on a block lying separately, but immediately below the hill locally known as *Bhām-ki-dūngri* . . . . It is inscribed on the eastern face and near the lower end of the rock.'

The inscribed block 'is 17 feet in height by 24 feet in length from east to west, and 15 feet in thickness from north to south.'

The inscription was edited by Bühler and Senart along with the Rūpnāth and Sahasrām ones (Nos. I and II, above). No facsimile of it has yet been published except Cunningham's eye-copy in his *Inscriptions of Asoka*, plate 14, No. x.

#### IV. THE CALCUTTA-BAIRAT ROCK-INSRIPTION (Text, p. 172).

The block which bears this very interesting and valuable record is now preserved in Calcutta by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It was discovered in 1840 by Captain Burt 'upon a hill lying adjacent to' Bairāt, the town near which some years later Carlleyle found the preceding inscription (No. III). Burt reported that he found the inscription 'on a hard, grey granite block, irregularly shaped, and measuring about two feet in two of its dimensions, and a foot and a half in the third' (JASB, 9. 616). His copy of the inscription was lithographed by Captain Kittoe, and transcribed and translated by the same 'with the aid of the learned Pandit Kamala Kanta' (id., p. 617 and plate).

Burt's copy formed the basis of the editions of Burnouf (*Lotus*, p. 710 ff.), Kern (*Faartelling*, p. 32 ff.), and Wilson (JRAS, 16. 357 ff., with lithograph). Senart edited the record in his *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, 2. 197 ff., and published a revised edition of it, from an estampage by Burgess, in IA, 20. 165 ff. A photograph of Burgess' estampage appeared in JA (8), 9. 498.

As Burt had stated that Bairāt was six *kōs* distant from 'Bhabra' (JASB, 9. 616), the inscription has been styled generally 'the Bhabra edict'. But this name implies a double mistake: the town from which it is derived is not called 'Bhabra', but Bhābrū, and the latter is twelve miles distant from Bairāt, the finding-place of the block.<sup>3</sup> According to Cunningham (*Arch. Reports*, 2. 247), 'the hill on which the inscription was found forms a conspicuous object about one mile to the south-west of the town [of Bairāt]. It is about 200 feet high, and is still known by the name of *Bijak-Pahār* or "inscription hill".' It is covered with ruins which Cunningham (id., p. 248) took to be the remains of two Buddhist monasteries.

'The inscription stone originally lay, I am told, near the shrine of Hanūmān below the rock known as *tōp* or "cannon", on the first or lower platform on the summit of the hill.'

In order to distinguish this inscription from the preceding one (No. III), I propose to call it 'the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription'.

#### V. THE MASKI ROCK-INSRIPTION (Text, p. 174).

Another, damaged, version of the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Bairāt edicts was discovered on January 27, 1915, by Mr. C. Beadon, a gold-mining engineer, in the

<sup>1</sup> D. R. Bhandarkar, *Progress Report, AS, Western Circle*, 1909-10, p. 45 f. Cf. Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 23. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 6. 98.

<sup>3</sup> See D. R. Bhandarkar, *Progress Report, AS, Western Circle*, 1909-10, p. 45.

<sup>4</sup> D. R. Bhandarkar, loc. cit.

neighbourhood of **Maski**, a village in the Lingsugur tāuka of the Raichur district of the Nizam's Dominions, about forty-six miles west-south-west from Raichur. I am indebted to Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri for the subjoined note on Maski :

'By enquiries made at the place, I gather that the spelling of the village named Maski is different with different communities. The masses of illiterate agriculturists pronounce it Maṣgi or Maṣigi; the Brahmin classes call it Maski, and the Muham-madans Masgi. A Chālukya inscription of the time of Jagadekamalla (Śaka 949) calls the place *Rājadhāni piriya-Mosaṅgi*, i.e. "the royal residence of great Mosaṅgi". Another inscription of the same king in the village refers to that quarter as the *Brahmapuri of Mosamgi*. A later record of the Yādava king Siṅghaṇa of the thirteenth century calls the place again *Rājadhāni piriya-Mosaṅgi*. In two other inscriptions of the place belonging to the reigns of Achyutarāya and Sadāśivarāya, its name is mentioned as *Mosage*, the chief town of *Mosage-nāḍu*.'

To these remarks we may add that **Mosaṅgi**, the ancient form of the name of Maski, suggests its identity with the battle-field of **Musaṅgi**, where, according to Tamil records, the Chālukya king Jayasimha II was defeated by Rājendra-Chōla I.<sup>1</sup>

A careful transcript and translation of the Maski inscription (with plates) was published by H. Krishna Sastri,\* who describes the site as follows :

'The cavern in which the inscribed boulder stands is formed of a huge rock resting at various points of its periphery on other smaller ones, some of which are partly buried in the gravelly soil below. The boulder, which is a block of crystalline grey granite of irregular shape, stands at the southern entrance into the cavern, with the writing facing inwards. The surface of the boulder has peeled off at various places, sometimes right up to the depth to which the letters were incised, and measures roughly 8 feet 9 inches by 5 feet' (p. 2).

In the year 1916, the third of the great war, Fleet drew attention to the new inscription in JRAS, 1916. 572 ff.; Senart examined it in detail in JA (11), 7. 425 ff.; and I, having received a copy of Krishna Sastri's article from my friend Konow, re-published the text in ZDMG, 70. 539 ff.

The chief interest of the Maski inscription consists in the fact that the king is here called not only *Devāna priya*, but in addition to it **Aśoka**,—a name which was hitherto known only from Buddhist literature and from the *Purāṇas*.

## VI, VII, VIII. ROCK-INSRIPTIONS IN THE MYSORE STATE (Text, p. 175).

These three records, which resemble the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāt, and Maski edicts, but add to them a second edict, were discovered and edited with lithographs by Mr. B. L. Rice in 1892.<sup>2</sup> They were discussed by Senart, who added a transcript and translation of the Brahmagiri version (JA (8), 19. 472 ff.), and by Bühler, who corrected a few details (VOJ, 7. 29 ff.). In 1894 Bühler re-edited the three inscriptions with photo-lithographs prepared from inked estampages (EI, 3. 134 ff.). Transcripts and facsimiles are given also in Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. 11, from which I borrow the following careful description of the localities (Introduction, p. 2 f.):<sup>3</sup>

'The Aśoka inscriptions discovered by me were three in number, situated on hills on the right and left banks of the Janagi-halla or Chinna Haggari river, where it crosses

<sup>1</sup> See *South-Ind. Inscriptions*, I. 95 f.; EI, 9. 230; Fleet in JRAS, 1916. 574.

<sup>2</sup> *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, No. 1; *The New Asokan Edict of Maski*, 1915.

<sup>3</sup> *Edicts of Aśoka in Mysore*, nine pages of foolscap, dated Bangalore, February 1892.

<sup>4</sup> See also Fleet's remarks in JRAS, 1909. 997 f.

the Molkaṃmuru tāluq [of the Chitaldroog district of the Mysore State] from west to east. They are all in the neighbourhood of Siddāpura,<sup>1</sup> between 14° 47' and 51' north latitude and about 76° 51' east longitude. The best preserved is the Brahmagiri inscription, engraved on the top of a great boulder of gneiss, at the north-west base of the hill of that name, at a point called the *Ganjigunte-māle*. The boulder was well known throughout the neighbourhood as the *Akshara-gundu* or "letter-rock", and was supposed to be endued with medicinal virtues. Accordingly, in various ailments of human beings and in diseases of cattle, the stone was washed and the water used for the purpose given to the patient to drink. It was the favourite seat for goatherds in the heat of the day when the flocks were collected into the shade of the surrounding rocks, and for ryots watching the crops in the neighbouring fields. The inscription is cut on the undressed horizontal surface of the rock, which slopes down somewhat at the end of the lines. It consists of thirteen not very regular lines, covering a space of 15' 6" by 11' 6". Half a dozen letters at the beginning of the 6th and 7th lines have been defaced by lodgment of water in a depression in the stone.'

'The second inscription is less than a mile to the west of the first, and close to Siddāpura, on a ledge, facing south, some way up a rocky group of hills called *Yenamana Timmayyana gundlu* or "the buffalo-herd Timmayya's rocks". It consists of twenty-two lines, covering a space of 13' 6" by 8', and is engraved in lines of varying length on the sloping and peeling horizontal surface of the rock. A great boulder overhangs the inscription on the north, under the eaves of which the lines end, leaving a very small space between the inscribed floor and the rock above. Considerable portions have been defaced, as the shady ledge on which the inscription is cut formed a favourite shelter for goats and cattle.'

'The third inscription is on the western summit of the *Jatīṅga-Rāmeśvara* hill, which is some three miles or more north by west of Brahmagiri. The inscription is cut on a very irregular slanting horizontal surface of rock, facing north-east, which has been quarried at some period. Overhanging the inscription on the south is an immense boulder, which still shows the marks of the mason's punches used in splitting off a considerable portion of its northern face. The floor on which the inscription is cut is immediately in front of the stairs leading up to the *Jatīṅga-Rāmeśvara* temple. Consequently all pilgrims to the shrine used to walk right over the inscription, and have no doubt done so for centuries. Moreover, owing to the convenient shadow of the overhanging boulder, the site of the inscription was the favourite resort of the bangle-sellers at the annual festival. Hence the rock is called the *Baleḡūra-gundu* or "bangle-sellers' rock", and various holes have been punched in different parts of the rock on which the inscription is cut to receive the posts of the booths or tents erected by them at the annual fair. For the foregoing reasons it is not surprising that the inscription is very greatly defaced, so much so indeed that it is difficult to tell exactly where it begins or where it ends. So far as can be made out, it consists of at least twenty-eight lines, covering a space of 17' 6" by 6' 6". There is a guiding line engraved in the margin to the left, apparently to show the direction of the lines, but those above this mark do not seem to have been parallel with those below it.'

From a foot-note<sup>2</sup> we are glad to learn that 'erections have now been put up over this and the other Aśoka inscriptions by the Mysore Government for their protection, and the headman of the village has the keys as custodian'.

<sup>1</sup> According to Krishna Sastri, the actual pronunciation of this name is Śiddāpura.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, vol. 11, Introduction, p. 2, n. 2.

## IX. THE BARĀBAR HILL CAVE-INSRIPTIONS (Text, p. 181).

'The Hills called Barābar are isolated rocks of syenitic granite rising abruptly from the plain about 15 miles north of the city of Gayā' in South Bihār. 'Although Barābar is that by which the cluster is commonly known, each hill has a name of its own, the highest being called "Barābar", also "Siddhēśvar" from a temple to Mahādēva that once crowned it.'<sup>1</sup>

'All of these possess some Buddhistic remains, but the most interesting are the caves of Barābar and Nāgārjuni, which were hewn out of the solid rock upwards of two thousand years ago.'<sup>2</sup>

'There are altogether seven caves in these hills, four of which belong to the Barābar or Siddhēśvara group, and three to the Nāgārjuni group.'<sup>3</sup> Each of the three Nāgārjuni caves contains an inscription of Dashedalatha Devānampiya, i.e. Aśoka's grandson Daśaratha.<sup>4</sup> Among the four Barābar caves, three bear an inscription of king Devānampiya, and one (the so-called 'Lomaśa Rishi cave') a Vaishṇava inscription of the Maukharī Anantavarman, which seems to show that the original name of the Barābar Hill was Pravaragiri.<sup>5</sup>

According to the second and third Barābar inscriptions the name of the Barābar Hill was then Khalatika. Both the first and second inscriptions of king Devānampiya and the three Nāgārjuni inscriptions of Daśaratha specify as donees the monks of the Ajivika sect. In three cases an attempt has been made to chisel away the word Ajivikehi. This was probably done in the time of the Maukharī Anantavarman, who assigned one of the Barābar caves to Kṛishṇa, and two of the Nāgārjuni ones to Śiva and Pārvatī.<sup>6</sup>

The three Barābar inscriptions of king Devānampiya were first lithographed and discussed by Captain Kittoe.<sup>7</sup> They were examined by Burnouf (*Lotus*, p. 779 ff.) and edited by Senart<sup>8</sup> and, with Fleet's facsimiles, by Bühler (*IA*, 20. 361 ff.).

## CHAPTER II. THE AUTHOR OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

THE king at whose orders the rock- and pillar-edicts published in the first and second parts of this volume were engraved, gives his name or title in various Prākṛit forms of which the Sanskrit would be Devānampriyaḥ Priyadarśi rājā.<sup>9</sup> This full

<sup>1</sup> Captain Kittoe in *JASB*, 16 (1847). 402.

<sup>2</sup> Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 1. 40.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.*, p. 44. For the modern names of the single Barābar caves and for plans of them see *id.*, plates 18 and 19. Cf. also Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, revised by Burgess and Spiers, 1. 130 ff.; *Cave Temples of India*, p. 37 ff.; V. A. Smith's *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 20.

<sup>4</sup> For the bibliography of these inscriptions see Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* (*EI*, vol. 10, Appendix), Nos. 954-6.

<sup>5</sup> See Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 222.

<sup>6</sup> See *id.*, Nos. 48-50.

<sup>7</sup> *JASB*, 16. 401 ff., and plate 9, figures 4-6.

<sup>8</sup> *Inscriptions de Priyadarśi*, 2. 209 ff., and *IA*, 20. 168 ff.

<sup>9</sup> In a few cases (Kāleś rock-edict I, A; Shāhbāzgarhi rock-edict II, A; Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, O and X) the word rājā is omitted, and once (Shāhbāzgarhi, I, A) the word Priyadarśi. Cf. Fleet, *JRAS*, 1908. 48a.

form of his title is shortened into *Devānāmpriyaḥ* in section C of, the Dhauli and Jaugaḍa rock-edict X, in all texts of the rock-edicts XII and XIII after the opening section, in which the full style is preserved, and in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, RR. In the two separate rock-edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, in the Queen's pillar-edict, and in the Kauśāmbī pillar-edict, *Devānāmpriyaḥ* alone is found.

Among the records published in the third and fourth parts of this volume, the Rummindei and Nigāli Sāgar pillars exhibit the full form *Devānāmpriyaḥ Priyadarśi rājā*. The Maski rock-inscription opens with the genitive case of *Devānāmpriya Aśoka*. On the Sarnāth pillar and in the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāt, and the three Mysore rock-inscriptions we have only *Devānāmpriyaḥ*. On the Sāmclū pillar this word is lost; but the contents of the Sāmclū and Sarnāth pillars are so nearly related to those of the Kauśāmbī edict on the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar, that they can be safely referred to the same royal author. The same applies to the rock-inscriptions at Rūpnāth, &c., which remind us of the rock- and pillar-edicts in many significant details.<sup>1</sup>

There remain the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription and the three Barābar Hill cave-inscriptions. In the former the king styles himself *Priyadarśi rājā*, and in the three others *rājā Priyadarśi*. In the Calcutta-Bairāt record the king shows a strong interest in Buddhism. It would be, therefore, hypercritical not to assign this document to the same sovereign who paid visits to Sāmbūdhī (rock-edict VIII, C), to Lūhmini (Rummindei pillar), and to the *Stūpa* of Kōṇākamaṇa (Nigāli Sāgar pillar). We cannot, however, decide with certainty whether the three Barābar Hill inscriptions belong to the same king or to another member of his dynasty. In favour of the former alternative it may perhaps be urged that two of the caves on the Barābar Hill were dedicated to the Ājivikas when the donor had been 'anointed twelve years'. For, this happens to be the regnal year in which the author of the rock- and pillar-edicts commenced to issue 'rescripts on morality'; see the pillar-edict VI, B, and cf. the rock-edict IV, K.

The etymological meaning of the term *Devānāmpriya* is 'dear to the gods'. According to Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini, II, 4, 56, and V, 3, 14, this word was used as an honorific like *bhavan*, *dirghayuh*, and *āyushman*.<sup>2</sup> Pāṇini himself does not mention *Devānāmpriya*, but states that the termination of the genitive case is preserved at the end of the first member of compounds if the meaning is abusive (बन्धा आक्षेपे, VI, 3, 21). The *Kāṣikā* commentary adduces the two examples चोरसकुलं, 'the family of a thief', and दुष्यन्सकुलं, 'the family of a low-caste man'.<sup>3</sup> Kātyāyana affixes to Pāṇini's *Sūtra* five *Vārttikas*, the third of which states that the compound *Devānāmpriya* ought to be added. Neither the *Mahābhāṣya* nor the *Kāṣikā* have the word दूष्य, 'with the meaning of "fool"', which the *Siddhāntakaumudī* adds to the *Vārttika*. This secondary meaning of *Devānāmpriya* was already known to Patañjali's commentator Kaiyaṭa,<sup>4</sup> while Kātyāyana and Patañjali ignore it, although Patañjali on Pāṇini, II, 4, 56, seems to have used *Devānāmpriya* in an ironical sense. In Bāṇa's

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the foot-notes on the translation of the Rūpnāth edict, *passim*, and Bühler, IA, 7, 144 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Weber's *Ind. Studien*, 13, 337, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. दुष्यन्सकुलं in the *Kāṣikā* on the next *Sūtra*. It is worth noting that in the drama *Mudrārākhana* Chāṇakya uses the term दुष्यन्स with reference to Chandragupta.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Bālamandaram* on Pāṇini, VI, 3, 21. Kaiyaṭa's commentary is not accessible to me.

*Harshacharita* it is found twice as an honorific.<sup>1</sup> In the same way *Devānuppiya* is employed frequently in Jaina literature.<sup>2</sup>

In the *Dīpavaṃsa*, *Devānāmpīya* is prefixed to the name of Aśoka's contemporary, Tissa of Ceylon, and is often used alone to denote him,<sup>3</sup> and in the Nāgārjūṇi Hill cave-inscriptions it follows the name of Aśoka's grandson *Daśaratha*.<sup>4</sup> In a few of the inscriptions published in this volume it is employed as a synonym of *rājan*, 'a king': In the Kālsī, Shāhbāzgarhi, and Mānsehrā texts of the rock-edict VIII, A, the king's predecessors are called *Devānāmpīyā* and *Devanāmpriya*, while the Gīrnār and Dhāuli versions have *rājāno* and *lājāne*; and the word *Devānāmpīye* in the second separate edict at Dhāuli (twice in section G and thrice in I) corresponds to *lājā* in the Jaugada text of the same edict (sections H and J).

As stated above (p. xxviii), another epithet of the king to whom the inscriptions published in this volume are due was *Priyadarśin*, 'he who glances amiably'. Both *Piyadassi* and *Piyadassana*, 'of amiable appearance', occur repeatedly in the *Dīpavaṃsa*<sup>5</sup> as equivalents of *Aśoka*, the name of the great Maurya king.<sup>6</sup> In the drama *Mudrārākṣasa*,<sup>7</sup> *Piyadassana* is prefixed to Chandasiri, i.e. *Chandragupta*, the name of Aśoka's grandfather.

Before discussing Prinsep's identification of the king *Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin* of the inscriptions with the Maurya king Aśoka, it will be advisable to quote from the texts a few details which are of leading importance in this connexion. The opening section of the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription informs us that *Priyadarśin* was a *Magadha* king, i.e. a ruler of Magadha. From the rock-edict V, M, we learn that his capital was *Pāṭaliputra*; for, the words 'both in Pāṭaliputra and in the outlying [towns]' at Gīrnār correspond to 'here and in all the outlying towns' at Kālsī, Shāhbāzgarhi, Mānsehrā, and Dhāuli. In the second and thirteenth rock-edicts the king refers to a number of contemporary Yōna, i.e. Greek, kings: the rock-edict II, A, mentions 'the Yōna king *Antiyoka* (*Antiyaka* at Gīrnār, *Antiyoga* at Kālsī and Mānsehrā) and the kings who are the neighbours of this Antiyoka'; and the rock-edict XIII, Q, 'the Yōna king *Antiyoka* (*Antiyoga* at Kālsī and Mānsehrā), and beyond him four kings, viz. *Turamāya* (*Tulamaya* at Kālsī), *Antekina* (*Antikim* at Shāhbāzgarhi), *Makā* (*Magā* at Gīrnār), and *Alikasudara* (*Alikyashudala* at Kālsī)'.

The great decipherer of the old Brāhmī alphabet, James Prinsep, at first ascribed the edicts to *Devānāmpīya Tissa* of Ceylon.<sup>8</sup> This is of course impossible because we know now that the author of the edicts calls himself a king of Magadha, and that he resided at Pāṭaliputra. The discovery of the Nāgārjūṇi Hill cave-inscriptions of Dashedatha *Devānāmpīya*, whom Prinsep at once identified with *Daśaratha*, the grandson of the Maurya king Aśoka (id., p. 676 ff.), and the fact that Turnour had found *Piyadassi* or *Piyadassana* used as a surname of Aśoka in the *Dīpavaṃsa*, induced Prinsep to abandon his original view, and to identify king *Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin* with Aśoka himself (id., p. 790 ff.). A *limine*, another member of the Maurya dynasty

<sup>1</sup> See Kielhorn in JRAS, 1908, 505.

<sup>2</sup> See Pischel's *Gammatik*, § 111. Hoernle and Pischel derived the word from Skt. *deva + anupriya*. Hémachandra (*Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*, III, 17) assigns to *Devānāmpriya* the meaning of 'fool'.

<sup>3</sup> See Fleet in JRAS, 1908, 485.

<sup>4</sup> IA, 20, 364 f.

<sup>5</sup> See the Index to Oldenberg's edition.

<sup>6</sup> Similarly, in the fourth act of the drama *Priyadarśikā*, its heroine is called both *Priyadarśikā* and *Priyadarśana*.

<sup>7</sup> Hillebrandt's edition, p. 159, lines 1 and 5; cf. his article on the *Kautilyāśāstra* (Breslau, 1908), p. 30.

<sup>8</sup> JASB, 6 (1837), 472 f., 566 f.



might be meant as well; for, as stated above (p. xxx), the eighth rock-edict shows that the king's predecessors also bore the title *Devānāmpriya*, and the *Mudrārākṣasa* applies the epithet *Priyadarśana* to Chandragupta. Every such doubt is now set at rest by the discovery of the Maski edict, in which the king calls himself *Devānāmpriya Aśoka*.

In February, 1838, Prinsep published the text and a translation of the second rock-edict. He found in the Girnār version of it (l. 3) the words *Antiyako Yona-rājā*, and in the Dhauli version (l. 1) *Antiyoke nāma Yona-lājā*, and identified the Yona king Antiyaka or Antiyoka with **Antiochus III** of Syria.<sup>1</sup> In March, 1838, he discovered in the Girnār edict XIII (l. 8) the names of *Turamāya*, *Antikona*,<sup>2</sup> and *Magā*, whom he most ingeniously identified with **Ptolemy II** Philadelphus of Egypt, **Antigonus** Gonatas of Macedonia (?), and **Magas** of Cyrene. At the same time he modified his earlier theory, and now referred the name *Antiyoka* to **Antiochus I or II** of Syria, preferably the former (id., p. 224 ff.).

On the Girnār rock the name of a fifth king, who was mentioned after *Magā*, is lost. The Shāhbāzgarhī version calls him *Alikasudara*. Norris recognised that this name corresponds to the Greek *Ἀλῖφάρδος*, and suggested hesitatingly that **Alexander of Epirus**, the son of Pyrrhus, might be meant by it.<sup>3</sup> This identification was endorsed by Westergaard,<sup>4</sup> Lassen,<sup>5</sup> and Senart.<sup>6</sup> But Professor Beloch now thinks that **Alexander of Corinth**, the son of Craterus, has a better claim.<sup>7</sup>

As will appear in the sequel, the mention of these five contemporaries in the inscriptions of king *Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin* confirms in a general way the correctness of Prinsep's identification of the latter with Aśoka, the grandson of Chandragupta whose approximate time we know from Greek and Roman records. Antiochus I Soter of Syria reigned 280–261 B.C., his son Antiochus II Theos 261–246, Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt 285–247, Antigonus Gonatas of Macedonia 276–239, Magas of Cyrene c. 300–c. 250, Alexander of Epirus 272–c. 255, and Alexander of Corinth 252–c. 244.<sup>8</sup> The rock-edict XIII cannot be placed earlier than twelve years after Aśoka's *abhisheka*, when he commenced publishing 'rescripts on morality'.<sup>9</sup> If we assume that the rock-edicts are arranged in chronological order, it cannot have been issued earlier than thirteen years after the *abhisheka*, when Aśoka appointed 'Mahāmātras of morality' as he tells us in edict V. If the Alikasudara of edict XIII is Alexander of Epirus, its date would fall between 272 and 255, and if Alexander of Corinth is meant, between 252 and 250. For fixing the period of Aśoka's reign within narrower limits, we are thrown back on what information can be gathered from Indian and classical literature concerning Aśoka's grandfather Chandragupta.

<sup>1</sup> JASB, 7. 156 ff.

<sup>2</sup> In reality Girnār and Kālsī read *Antekina*, and Shāhbāzgarhī *Antekun*. Buhler (ZDMG 40. 137) justly remarked that these two forms would rather correspond to Antigēnes than to Antigonus. But no king named Antigēnes is known to us, although it was the name of one of the officers of Alexander the Great, who was executed, together with Eumenes, in 316 B.C., being then satrap of Susiana.

<sup>3</sup> JRAS, 8 (1846). 305.

<sup>4</sup> *Zwei Abhandlungen*, translated from the Danish into German by Stenzler (Breslau, 1862), p. 120 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Alt.*, 2 (2nd ed.). 253 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *IA*, 20. 242.

<sup>7</sup> *Griechische Geschichte*, vol. 3, part 2, p. 105.

<sup>8</sup> The figures of these reigns are taken from Beloch's *Griech. Geschichte*, vol. 3.

<sup>9</sup> See the pillar-edict VI, B, and cf. the rock-edict IV, K.

The historical tradition of India, Ceylon, and Burma is unanimous in naming as the founder of the **Maurya** dynasty **Chandragupta**, and as his two immediate successors **Bindusāra** and **Aśoka**. The pseudo-prophetic account of the *Furānas* runs thus :

'Kauṭilya (or Chāṇakya) will establish king Chandragupta in the kingdom. Chandragupta will be king twenty-four years, Bindusāra twenty-five years, and Aśoka thirty-six years.'<sup>1</sup>

According to the *Dīpavaṃsa*, Chandragupta reigned twenty-four years (V, 73, 100), and Bindusāra's son Aśoka thirty-seven years (V, 101).<sup>2</sup>

The *Mahāvamsa* states that the Brāhmana Chāṇakya anointed the Maurya Chandragupta (V, 16 f.), and that Chandragupta reigned twenty-four years, his son Bindusāra twenty-eight years (V, 18), and Bindusāra's son Aśoka (V, 19) thirty-seven years (XX, 6).

Buddhaghōṣa's *Samantapāsādikā* agrees with the *Mahāvamsa* in allotting twenty-four years to Chandragupta and twenty-eight years to Bindusāra.<sup>3</sup>

The Burmese tradition assigns twenty-four years to Chandragupta and twenty-seven years to Bindusāra.<sup>4</sup>

It will be seen that all sources agree in fixing the length of Chandragupta's reign at twenty-four years. To Bindusāra the Ceylonese chronicles allot twenty-eight years, Bigandet twenty-seven years, and the *Purāṇas* twenty-five years.

The Ceylonese sources state that Aśoka succeeded his father Bindusāra **214 years** after Buddha's Nirvāṇa,<sup>5</sup> and that his anointment took place four years after his father's death, or **218 years** after the Nirvāṇa.<sup>6</sup> The Burmese tradition confirms the two dates 214 and 218.<sup>7</sup>

As, according to the Ceylonese sources, Bindusāra ruled twenty-eight years and Chandragupta twenty-four years, the former would have reigned A. B. 186-214, and the latter A. B. 162-186.<sup>8</sup> If we deduct the year of Chandragupta's accession to the throne (162) from the traditional date of the Nirvāṇa, 544 B. C., the result is 382 B. C. This would be about sixty years earlier than the actual accession of Chandragupta as ascertained from Greek sources.<sup>9</sup> For, luckily the approximate time of king Chandragupta of Pāṭaliputra has been already settled by one of the great pioneers of Indian research, Sir William Jones,<sup>9</sup> who identified him with Σανδράκορρος of Παλιβοθρα, the contemporary of Seleucus Nikator.

Various devices were proposed in order to account for this chronological error, until Fleet showed that the Buddha-varsha of 544 B. C. is a comparatively modern fabrication, of the twelfth century, and that the difference of about sixty years is the quite natural

<sup>1</sup> See Pargiter's *Dynasties of the Kali Age* (Oxford, 1913), p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> The length of Bindusāra's reign is not specified in the *Dīpavaṃsa*; but the period of twenty-eight years is deducible from statements made in chapter XI, verses 5, 12, 13, about king Muṭṭasiva of Ceylon. See Fleet in JRAS, 1908, 481, and 1909, 25.

<sup>3</sup> *Vinaya-piṭaka*. ed. by Oldenberg, 3, 321.

<sup>4</sup> Bigandet's *Life or Legend of Gaudama*, 4th ed., 2, 128.

<sup>5</sup> *Dīpavaṃsa*, VI, 20 f.

<sup>6</sup> *Dīpavaṃsa*, VI, 1, 21 f.; *Mahāvamsa*, V, 21 f.; *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 299.

<sup>7</sup> Bigandet's *Life of Gaudama*, 2, 128 f.

<sup>8</sup> According to Bigandet's *Life of Gaudama*, 2, 128, Chandragupta reigned A. B. 163-187, and Bindusāra 187-214. If, as the *Purāṇas* assert, Bindusāra reigned only twenty-five years, he would have succeeded Chandragupta in A. B. 189.

<sup>9</sup> In his *Anniversary Discourse*, delivered February 28, 1793, and published in 1795 in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 4. The passage is reprinted in his *Works* (London, 1799), I, 152 f., and in the *Centenary Review of the ASB*, part 2, p. 85 f.

result of accumulated mistakes which were made in rounding off the figures of the regnal years of the kings of Ceylon.<sup>1</sup>

While thus the alleged date of the Nirvāṇa in 544 B.C., and that of Chandragupta's accession in 382 B.C., have no practical value, the traditional interval of 218 years between the Nirvāṇa and Aśoka's *abhisheka* might still be considered authentic. There are, however, two facts which in my opinion render it somewhat suspicious. It includes a period of 100 years between the Nirvāṇa and the Second Council.<sup>2</sup> Such a nice round sum as just 100 years looks very much like a clumsy guess and a pure invention.<sup>3</sup> Secondly, the traditional figures of the Northern Buddhists are almost totally at variance with those of the Southern Buddhists.<sup>4</sup>

The leading passage concerning Chandragupta's date is found in Justin's *Epitoma Pompei Trogi*, XV, 4 :<sup>5</sup>

'[Seleucus] multa in Oriente post divisionem inter socios regni Macedonici bella gessit. Principio Babyloniam cepit; inde auctis ex victoria viribus Bactrianos expugnavit. Transitum deinde in Indiam fecit, quae post mortem Alexandri, veluti a cervicibus iugo servitutis excusso, praefectos eius occiderat. Auctor libertatis Sandrocottus fuerat, sed titulum libertatis post victoriam in servitutem verterat; siquidem occupato regno populum, quem ab externa dominatione vindicaverat, ipse servitio premebat. Fuit hic humilis quidem genere natus, sed ad regni potestatem maiestate numinis impulsus. Quippe cum procacitate sua Nandrum regem offenderisset, interfici a rege iussus salutem pedum celeritate quaesierat. Ex qua fatigatione cum somno captus iaceret, leo ingentis formae ad dormientem accessit sudoremque profluentem lingua ei detersit expurgatumque blande reliquit. Hoc prodigium primum ad spem regni impulsus contractis latronibus Indos ad novitatem regni sollicitavit. Molienti deinde bellum adversus praefectos Alexandri elephantus ferus infinitae magnitudinis ultro se obtulit et veluti domita mansuetudine eum tergo excepit duxque belli et proeliorum insignis fuit. Sic adquisito regno Sandrocottus ea tempestate, qua Seleucus futurae magnitudinis fundamenta iaciebat, Indiam possidebat, cum quo facta pactione Seleucus compositisque in Oriente rebus in bellum Antigoni descendit.'

McCordle translates this as follows :<sup>6</sup>

'[Seleucus] waged many wars in the East after the partition of Alexander's empire among his generals. He first took Babylonia, and then with his forces augmented by victory subjugated the Bactrians. He then passed over into India, which after Alexander's death, as if the yoke of servitude had been shaken off from its neck, had put his prefects to death. Sandrocottus had been the leader who achieved their freedom, but after his victory he had forfeited by his tyranny all title to the name of liberator; for, having ascended the throne, he oppressed with servitude the very people whom he had emancipated from foreign thralldom. He was born in humble

<sup>1</sup> JRAS, 1909. 333. 335.

<sup>2</sup> *Vinaya-piṭaka, Chullavagga*, beginning of last chapter (XII); *Dīpavaṇṇa*, IV, 47, and V, 15 f.; *Mahāvāṇisa*, IV, 8; *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 293.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Rhys Davids and Oldenberg in SBE, 13. xxii: 'This is no doubt a round number, and the exact year of the date of the Buddha's death is open to question.'

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Geiger's translation of the *Mahāvāṇisa*, p. lx f., where the figures of the Northern Buddhists are specified, and Westergaard's *Zwei Abhandlungen*, p. 94 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Ruchl's edition (Leipzig, 1886), p. 119

<sup>6</sup> *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great* (Westminster), p. 327 f.

life,<sup>1</sup> but was prompted to aspire to royalty by an omen significant of an august destiny. For when by his insolent behaviour he had offended king Nandrus,<sup>2</sup> and was ordered by that king to be put to death, he had sought safety by a speedy flight. When he lay down overcome with fatigue and had fallen into a deep sleep, a lion of enormous size approaching the slumberer licked with its tongue the sweat which oozed profusely from his body, and when he awoke quietly took its departure. It was this prodigy which first inspired him with the hope of winning the throne, and so, having collected a band of robbers, he instigated the Indians to overthrow the existing government. When he was thereafter preparing to attack Alexander's prefects, a wild elephant of monstrous size approached him, and kneeling submissively like a tame elephant received him on to its back and fought vigorously in front of the army. Sandrocottus having thus won the throne was reigning over India when Seleucus was laying the foundations of his future greatness. Seleucus, having made a treaty with him and otherwise settled his affairs in the East, returned home to prosecute the war with Antigonos.<sup>3</sup>

The same transactions are referred to in Appian's *Ρωμαϊκά*, book *Συριακή*, chap.<sup>4</sup> 55:<sup>5</sup>

[Σέλευκος] τὸν Ἰνδὸν περάσας ἐπολιμήσεν Ἀνδρόκοττον βασιλεῖ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν Ἰνδῶν, μέχρι φιλίαν αἰτῶ καὶ κήδος συνέβητο.

[Seleucus] crossed the Indus and waged war on Androcottus, king of the Indians who dwelt about it, until he made friends and entered into relations of marriage with him.<sup>6</sup>

According to Strabo, Seleucus ceded to Sandrocottus a tract of land to the west of the Indus, entering into a matrimonial alliance with him and receiving in exchange five hundred elephants.<sup>7</sup> We know from various sources that Megasthenes became the ambassador of Seleucus at Chandragupta's court.<sup>8</sup> Strabo adds that Deimachus was sent on an embassy to Chandragupta's son, whom he calls Amitrochades:<sup>9</sup>

Ἐκτεμνήσαν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὰ Παλίμβοθρα, ὃ μὲν Μεγασθένης πρὸς Σανδρόκοττον, ὃ δὲ Διμαχὸς πρὸς Ἀμιτροχάδην, τοὺς ἐκείνου υἱὸν κατὰ πρὸςβίαν ὑπομνήματα δὲ τῆς ἀποδημίας κατέλιπον τοιαῦτα.

Megasthenes and Deimachus were sent on an embassy, the former to Sandrocottus at Palimbothra, the other to Amitrochades his son; and they left accounts of their sojourn in the country.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to the *Andhravatskhata*, Chandragupta was a Vrishala, i.e. a member of the Śudra caste; see above p. xxix, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> This 'Nandrus' must be the last king of the Nanda dynasty which, according to Indian tradition, was overthrown by Chandragupta; see A. von Gutschmid, *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, *Neue Folge*, 12 (1877), 262. Instead of the accusative 'Nandrum' the older editions read 'Alexandrum'; cf. Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, 2 (sec. ed.), p. 207, n. 3. The original reading might have been 'Nandum'.

<sup>3</sup> Monckssohn's edition (Leipzig, 1879), 1, 426.

<sup>4</sup> McCrindle's translation, *IA*, 6, 114.

<sup>5</sup> Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, 2 (sec. ed.), 217 f.; V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 132 f.; Krom *Hermes*, 44, 154 ff.

<sup>6</sup> S. Hwanbeck, *Megasthenes Indica* (Bonn, 1846), p. 19; C. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, 2 (Paris, 1848), 398; McCrindle, *IA*, 6, 115.

<sup>7</sup> *Geographie*, ed. Müller et Dubner, II, 1, 9 (p. 58 f.).

<sup>8</sup> The subsequent quotation from Athenaeus shows that this is a clerical mistake for *Ἀμιτροχάδην* or *Ἀμιτροχάτην*.

<sup>9</sup> McCrindle's translation, *IA*, 6, 115.

It may be concluded from this interesting notice that Chandragupta's son and successor Bindusāra had the surname **Amitraghāta**,<sup>1</sup> i.e. 'the slayer of enemies'. The same king is referred to as a contemporary of **Antiochus** (I Soter of Syria) in a curious anecdote preserved by Athenaeus:<sup>2</sup>

Ὅθια δὲ ἦσαν περισπούδαστοι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις αἱ ἰσχάδες . . . ὥς καὶ Ἀμιτροχάτην τὸν τῶν Ἰνδῶν βασιλέα γράφει Ἀντιόχῳ ἀξιοῦντα, φησὶν Ἡγήσανδρος, πέμψαι αὐτῷ γλυκὺν καὶ ἰσχάδας καὶ σοφιστὴν ἀγοράσαντα. καὶ τὸν Ἀντιόχον ἀντιγράφει· ἰσχάδας μὲν καὶ γλυκὺν ἀποστελωμένον σοι, σοφιστὴν δ' ἐν Ἑλλήσιν οὐ νόμιμον πωλεῖσθαι.

'Dried figs were so eagerly desired by all men . . . that even Amitrochates, the king of the Indians, wrote to Antiochus asking him, says Hegesander, to purchase and send him sweet wine, dried figs, and a sophist; and that Antiochus wrote back: "We shall send you dried figs and sweet wine; but it is not lawful in Greece to sell a sophist."'

If this statement of Athenaeus is combined with the preceding one of Strabo, it appears that the friendly intercourse which had existed between Seleucus and Chandragupta, was continued by their respective sons and successors, Antiochus I and Bindusāra-Amitraghāta, and that Megasthenes, the ambassador of Seleucus at the court of Chandragupta, was succeeded by Deimachus, the ambassador of Antiochus I at the court of Bindusāra-Amitraghāta. From Pliny<sup>3</sup> we learn that another Greek potentate, Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt (B.C. 285-247), sent **Dionysius** as ambassador to an unnamed Indian king, who may be supposed to have been either Bindusāra or Aśoka.<sup>4</sup>

I now return to the question of Chandragupta's date. Seleucus I Nikator of Syria (B.C. 312-280) 'arrived in Cappadocia in the autumn of 302 [the year preceding the battle of Ipsus]. The march thither from India must have required at least two summers. Consequently, the peace with Chandragupta has to be placed about the summer of 304, or at the latest in the next winter.'<sup>5</sup> Thus the coronation of Chandragupta falls between B.C. 323 (Alexander's death) and 304 (the treaty with Seleucus). As the consolidation of an empire which, as described by Megasthenes in his *Ἰνδικά*, reached from Paṭnā to the Indus, must have been a matter of many years, I feel inclined to shift the date of Chandragupta's accession towards the earlier limit and to adopt as a working date the year B.C. 320 which Fleet has proposed.<sup>6</sup> With this starting-point, and if the length of reigns as given in the *Mahāvamsa* is accepted, **Chandragupta** would have ruled 320-296, and **Bindusāra** 296-268. **Aśoka** would have been crowned (four years after his father's death) in B.C. 264. This date is confirmed approximately by Aśoka's thirteenth rock-edict, which, as stated above (p. xxxi), cannot be placed earlier than twelve or thirteen years after his *abhiśhīka*. 264-12/13 = 252/251 would be one or two years before the last possible year (B.C. 250) in which all the Greek kings mentioned in that edict were still alive. This synchronism would prove that the date of Chandragupta's coronation, on which that of Aśoka's coronation depends, can hardly be placed later than B.C. 320. It would follow further that the *Antiyoka* of edict XIII (and probably also of rock-edict II) was not Antiochus I, but

<sup>1</sup> See P. von Bohlen, *das alte Indien* (Königsberg, 1830), I. 92. The word *amitrāghāta* is mentioned by Patañjali on Pāṇini, III, 2, 87; cf. JRS, 1909. 425.

<sup>2</sup> *Δειννοσοφορία*, ed. Kaibel (Leipzig, 1890), XIV, 67 (vol. 3, p. 444).

<sup>3</sup> *Naturalis historia*, ed. Mayhoff, VI, 17 (vol. 1, Leipzig, 1906, p. 454 f.).

<sup>4</sup> As stated above (p. xxxi), Ptolemy II is mentioned in Aśoka's rock-edicts.

<sup>5</sup> Beloch's *Griechische Geschichte*, vol. 3, pt. 1, p. 146, n. 3.

<sup>6</sup> JRS, 1906. 985.

**Antiochus II** (261-246), and that the *Ahikavadana* of edict XIII was not Alexander of Epirus, but Alexander of Corinth (252-c. 244). But we must remember that the above figures rest only on the Ceylonese tradition, while the *Purāṇas* assign to Bindusāra twenty-five instead of twenty-eight years, and that, accordingly, Chandragupta's coronation might fall about three years later than B.C. 320. Besides, it must be kept in mind that the upper limit of Chandragupta's coronation is the death of Alexander the Great in B.C. 323. The working date of B.C. 320 has the advantage of being the mean of the two outside dates 323 and 317.

I now append a list of the regnal dates which are incidentally mentioned in Aśoka's inscriptions, adding in brackets the year B.C. to which each year of his reign may be supposed to correspond.

1. **Eight years** after the coronation (B.C. 256). The king conquered (the country of) the Kaliṅgas; rock-edict XIII.
2. **Ten years** after the coronation (B.C. 254). He went (on a visit) to Sambhōdhi (i.e. Bōdh-Gayā); rock-edict VIII.
3. **Twelve years** after the coronation (B.C. 252):
  - (1) He ordered his officers to set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years; rock-edict III.
  - (2) He promoted morality by public shows of edifying subjects; rock-edict IV.
  - (3) He published rescripts on morality; pillar-edict VI.
  - (4) He gave two caves to the Ājivikas; two of the Barābar Hill cave-inscriptions.
4. **Thirteen years** after the coronation (B.C. 251). He appointed superintendents of morality; rock edict V.
5. **Fourteen years** after the coronation (B.C. 250). He enlarged the *Stūpa* of Kōṇākamana to the double (of its size); Nigālī Sāgar pillar.
6. **Nineteen years** after the coronation (B.C. 245). He gave a cave (to the Ājivikas); the third Barābar Hill cave-inscription.
7. **Twenty years** after the coronation (B.C. 244). He visited the Buddha's birth-place at Lumbini and the *Stūpa* of Kōṇākamana; Rummindēi and Nigālī Sāgar pillars.
8. **Twenty-six years** after the coronation (B.C. 238). He issued the pillar-edicts I, IV, V, VI.
9. **Twenty-seven years** after the coronation (B.C. 237). He issued the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII.

## CHAPTER III.

### ASOKA'S EMPIRE AND ITS ADMINISTRATION

In the preceding chapter it was shown that the king *Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin* of the inscriptions can be no other than the Maurya king Aśoka of Magadha. It will appear from the two next chapters (IV and V) that his edicts are not concerned with public affairs, but are of an almost purely religious character. In spite of this we may glean from them some details of historical importance which are mentioned incidentally.

The extent of Aśoka's empire may be guessed already from the distribution of his rock-edicts, which it seems were engraved along the very confines of his territories. In the west they are found at Girnār on the Kāthiāvār peninsula and at Sōparā on the

Bombay coast; in the south in the Raichur district of the Nizam's Dominions and in the Chitaldroog district of the Mysore State; and in the east at Dhauli and Jaugada in the Puri and Ganjam districts. The north-eastern boundary line is marked by the rock-edicts at Shāhbāzgarhi and Mānsehra in the Peshāwar and Hazara districts and at Kālsī in the Dehra Dūn district, and it is continued by the Nigālī Sāgar and Rummindēl pillars in the Nepalese Tarāi and by the Rāmpurvā pillar in the Champāran district.

The capital of this vast empire was Pāṭaliputra, which, as stated above (p. xxx), is mentioned as such in the fifth rock-edict. The two syllables *Pāṭa*, which are preserved at the beginning of the third line of the Sarnāth pillar-inscription, are probably the remainder of the same name. Both the *Dipavamsa* (V, 25, &c.) and the *Mahāvamsa* (V, 28) are aware of the fact that Pāṭaliputra was Aśoka's capital. From the *Mudrārākṣasa* and from classical authors we learn that it had been already the residence of his grandfather Chandragupta. As I have stated before (p. xxxii), we owe to Sir William Jones the identification of Pāṭaliputra with the Παλιβοθη or Παλιμβοθη of the Greeks. Megasthenes, who represented Seleucus at Chandragupta's court, described it as a very large city:<sup>1</sup>

Καὶ λέγει Μεγασθένης, μήκος μὲν ἔχειν τὴν πόλιν κατ' ἐκότερον τὴν πλευρὴν ἑκατέρωθεν αὐτῇ ἰσότης φύεται· ἐς ὑδρομήκοντα σταδίους, τὸ δὲ πλάτος ἐς πεντακαίδεκα· τόφρον δὲ περιβεβλημένη τῇ πόλει τὸ ὕψος ἐξέκλυτον, τὸ δὲ βάθος τριήκοντα πήχειν· πύργους δὲ ἰσοδομήκοντα καὶ πεντακοσίους ἔχειν τὸ τεῖχος καὶ πόλιν τέσσαρας καὶ ἑξήκοντα.

'Megasthenes informs us that this city stretched in the inhabited quarters to an extreme length on each side of eighty stadia, and that its breadth was fifteen stadia, and that a ditch encompassed it all round which was six hundred feet in breadth and thirty cubits in depth, and that the wall was crowned with 570 towers and had four-and-sixty gates.'<sup>2</sup>

The identity of Pāṭaliputra with the modern Paṭṇā is well known to the Hindūs.<sup>3</sup> The capital belonged to the ancient province of Magadha,<sup>4</sup> which is now called South Bihār. In accordance with this, Aśoka styles himself *Māgadha*, i.e. king of Magadha, at the commencement of the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription. In the rock-edict VIII, C, he refers to his visit to another locality which was included in the province of Magadha.<sup>5</sup> This is Sainbōdhi, now Bōdh-Gayā to the south of Paṭṇā.

The Kauśāmbī edict on the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar mentions Kōsāmbī (*Kausāmbī* in Sanskrit), which is the modern Kōsam (see above, p. xx) to the west of the Magadha province. From the fact that Aśoka addressed the Kauśāmbī edict to his *Mahāmātras* at Kōsāmbī, it may be concluded that in his time, just as in later times,<sup>6</sup> Kauśāmbī was the head-quarters of a province.

Two other chief towns of provinces are referred to in the Dhauli separate edict I, AA and BB, viz., Ujjainī (*Ujjayinī*) and Takṣhaśilā (*Takshasilā*). Aśoka's governor of the former was a royal prince (*kumāra*). In Buddhist tradition Aśoka himself is stated to have held the appointment of viceroy at Ujjayinī in the life-time of his father Bindusara.<sup>7</sup> Ujjayinī, the capital of Avanti, and the Ὀζήνη of the *Periplus* and of Ptolemy, is the modern Ujjain in the Gwalior State. Takṣhaśilā, the Tékela of the

<sup>1</sup> Arrian's *Tyrbuch*, ed. by Eberhard in *Arriani Scripta Minora* (Leipzig, 1885), X, 6 f. (p. 13).

<sup>2</sup> M'Crimble's translation, I A, 6, 131.

<sup>3</sup> Wilson's *Theatre of the Hindus*, 3rd ed., 2, 136.

<sup>4</sup> BRWW, s. 82 f.; Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 453 ff.

<sup>5</sup> BRWW, s. 115.

<sup>6</sup> BRWW, I, 235 f.; EI, II, 141.

<sup>7</sup> *Dipavamsa*, VI, 15; *Mahāvamsa*, V, 39, and XII, 8.

Greeks, was identified by Cunningham with *Shāhdhōri* in the Rāvalpindī district, Panjāb.<sup>1</sup>

From the commencement of the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura rock-inscriptions we learn that the head-quarters of Aśoka's southernmost province was a place of the name *Suvarṇagiri*, and that his representative there, just as at Ujjayinī, was a royal prince (*aryaputra*). Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura belonged to the district of *Isila*, which was subordinate to the viceroy at Suvarṇagiri. *Isila* may have been the ancient name of Śiddāpura. *Suvarṇagiri* is perhaps identical with its synonym *Kanakagiri* in the Nizam's Dominions, south of Maski where an edict of Aśoka has been found, and north of the ruins of Vijayanagara in the Bellary district of the Madras Presidency.<sup>2</sup>

At the beginning of the rock-edict XIII, Aśoka informs us that, when he had been anointed eight years, he conquered the country of *Kaliṅga*<sup>3</sup> on the eastern coast. To this province we have to allot Dhauli and Jaugada in the Puri and Ganjam districts, where copies of the rock-edicts I-X and XIV and of two separate edicts are found. The two separate edicts at Dhauli were addressed to the *Mahāmātras* at *Tōsali*, who were headed by a royal prince (*kumāra*, sep. ed. II, A). The head-quarters of the district to which the modern Jaugada belonged was called *Samāpā*,<sup>4</sup> and the Jaugada rock had then the name *Khōpiṅgala*.<sup>5</sup>

The second and third cave-inscriptions on the Barābar Hill give the ancient name of this hill as *Khalatika*. The Rummindei pillar has preserved the designation of the site of Buddha's birth, viz. *Lumbini*, or, as it is called in Buddhist works, *Lumbinī*.

All the geographical names enumerated so far must have been included in Aśoka's empire. Besides them, the king refers to tribes outside his territories, whom he calls his 'borderers' (*anta*).<sup>6</sup> Several of these are mentioned by name. According to the rock-edict V, J, his western borderers were 'the *Yōnas*, *Kambōjas*, and *Gandhāras*, the *Rāṭhikas* (*Ristika*, which is probably a clerical mistake for *Rāṣṭika*, at Gīrnār) and *Pitṇikas* (also spelt *Pitṇika* or *Petṇika*).<sup>7</sup> As I shall show below (p. xxxix), the *Yōnas* seem to have formed a small state on the north-west frontier, which was ruled over by a Greek prince. The *Kambōjas* have to be placed in Kābul.<sup>8</sup> *Gandhāra* is now included in the North-West Frontier Province; at the time of the *Sī-yu-ti*, its capital was *Purushapura*, now *Peshāvar*.<sup>9</sup> The *Rāṭhikas* or *Rāṣṭikas* (= *Rāṣṭrika* in Sanskrit) are perhaps the people of Kāthiāvār, whose governor bore the title of *Rāṣṭriya*.<sup>10</sup> The *Pitṇikas* or *Pitṇikas*<sup>11</sup> have not yet been localized.

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. Reports*, 2, 116, and *Ancient Geography*, p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Text, p. 177, n. 5.

<sup>3</sup> In a passage which is based on Megasthenes, Pliny (VI, 19) mentions the 'island' of *Madagalinga*, i.e. 'the three *Kaliṅgas*' (from Telugu *mūḍu*, 'three', + *Kaliṅga*); see IA, 6, 338, and Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar*, Introduction, p. 32 f. In another place (VI, 17) he refers to the *Mactocalingae* or *Maccocalingae* as a tribe of Brāhmanas. *Maccocalinga* is probably a corruption of *Muktalinga*, which would be the Tamil form of the Telugu *Madugalinga*. For instances of the synonymous Sanskrit expression *Trikaliṅga* see Kielhorn's *List of Northern Inscriptions* (EI, vol. 5, Appendix), p. 117, s.v. The earliest king of *Kaliṅga*, of whom inscriptions have been preserved, is Khāravēla; see Lüders' *List of Brāhmi Inscriptions* (EI, vol. 10, Appendix), p. 160 f.

<sup>4</sup> See the Jaugada separate edict I, B, and II, B.

<sup>5</sup> See the Jaugada rock-edict I, A.

<sup>6</sup> See Rüpnāth, Sahasrām, and Bairāt, H; Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura, I.

<sup>7</sup> See Text, p. 10, n. 1.

<sup>8</sup> See Beal's BRWW, 1, 97. The *Gandhāris* are mentioned already in the *Rigveda*, and *Gandāra* in the inscriptions of Darius; cf. Zimmer's *Altind. Leben*, p. 30 f.

<sup>9</sup> See the Junāgarh inscription of Rudradāman, EI, 8, 46, n. 7. For other proposed identifications of the word *Rāṣṭrika* see Text, p. 56, n. 21.

<sup>10</sup> The identification of *Pitṇika* with *Pratiṣṭhāna* is phonetically impossible; see Bühler, ZDMG, 37, 262.



According to the rock-edict XIII, Q, Aśoka's borderers to the south were 'the Chōḍas and Pāṇḍyas, as far as Tāmraparṇī.' The two former are the two well-known principal dynasties of the Tamiḷ country, and Tāmraparṇī is one of the ancient names of the island of Ceylon.<sup>1</sup> The Chōḍas or Chōḷas (*Śōḷa* in Tamiḷ) were known to Ptolemy,<sup>2</sup> the Pāṇḍya king (*Πανδύας*) to the author of the *Periplus* as well, and Tāmraparṇī (*Ταμραπάρνη*) already to Megasthenes. The rock-edict II, A, inserts between the Pāṇḍyas and Tāmraparṇī two other borderers, viz. *Sattiyaputra* (*Sāṭiyaputa* at Kālsī) and *Kēralaputra*. The former has not yet been identified successfully.<sup>3</sup> The latter is the king of Kērala or Malabar, who is called *Κηρίβορπος* in the *Periplus*<sup>4</sup> and *Κηρίβορπος* by Ptolemy.<sup>5</sup>

The two sections in which the Chōḍas, the Pāṇḍyas, and Tāmraparṇī are referred to (II, A, and XIII, Q), mention, along with them, as Aśoka's borderers, the Yōna king Antiyoka and his four neighbours.<sup>6</sup> The next section of the rock-edict XIII (R) distinguishes from them some tribes 'here in the king's territory' (*iha rāja-vishaye*), viz. 'the Yōnas and Kambōjas, the Nābhakas and Nābhapañktis (*Nabhīti* at Shāhbāzgarh), the Bhōjas and Pitinikas (*Pitinikya* at Kālsī), the Andhras and Pārindas.' The words 'here in the king's territory' distinctly keep the Yōnas of section R apart from the Yōna kings of section Q. Both here and in the rock-edict V, J, they are associated with the Kambōjas and Pitinikas, and in the second place all three of them are stated to have belonged to Aśoka's western borderers. Consequently, these Yōnas seem to have formed a small state on the north-west frontier, which was ruled over by a Greek prince;<sup>7</sup> and the Bhōjas, who are coupled with the Pitinikas in the rock-edict XIII, R, will have to be looked for in the west as well. Perhaps they have to be connected with those Bhōjas whose king (*Bhōjadhiraḷa*) is mentioned by Kalhaṇa as a contemporary of Śaṅkaravarman of Kāśmīr.<sup>8</sup> Andhra is the old name of the Telugu people on the eastern coast, and also the designation of an ancient dynasty which ruled over a considerable part of the Deccan after the decline of the Maurya empire.<sup>9</sup> Pliny, who borrowed his information from Megasthenes, mentions the *Andaræ*, i.e. the Andhras, as a great and powerful race.<sup>10</sup> As the rock-edict XIII, R, couples the Andhras with the Pārindas, these too must have been an eastern tribe.<sup>11</sup> The Nābhakas and Nābhapañktis may have to be placed at the Nepalese frontier of Aśoka's empire.<sup>12</sup>

From the preceding list of geographical names we may derive some information about the scheme of Aśoka's administration. Three of the provinces of his empire were

<sup>1</sup> See Text, p. 3, n. 10.

<sup>2</sup> See Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar*, Introduction, p. 95 f.

<sup>3</sup> See Text, p. 3, n. 7.

<sup>4</sup> ed. Fabricius (Leipzig, 1883), § 54 (p. 94).

<sup>5</sup> See Text, p. 3, n. 8, and cf. Bühler, ZDMG, 37, 99.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. xxx f.

<sup>7</sup> Lassen (*Ind. Alt.*, 2 (sec. ed.), 256) identified them with the inhabitants of the tract of land to the west of the Indus which Seleucus is reported to have ceded to Aśoka's grandfather Chandragupta; see above, p. xxxiv.

<sup>8</sup> *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, V, verse 151; cf. EI, I, 155. Sir R. Bhandarkar (*Early History of the Deccan*, sec. ed., p. 11) compares the title *Mahābhōja* in the cave-inscriptions. See also Bühler, ZDMG, 37, 100, and Senart, EI, 7, 50.

<sup>9</sup> See Rapson's *Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, &c., Introduction, p. xv ff.

<sup>10</sup> See IA, 6, 339.

<sup>11</sup> The variant at Kālsī, *Pārada*, might be the same as the Sanskrit *Pārada*, but the Pāradas were probably a people in Gedrosia; see Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, 1 (sec. ed.), 1028.

<sup>12</sup> According to Fa-hian, the mythical Buddha Krakuchchanda was believed to have been born at Na-pi-ka near Kapilavāstu; see BRWW, I, xlviii. The *Brahmapurāṇa* (Aufrecht's Oxford Catalogue, p. 198) assigns Nābhikapura to the territory of the Uttara-Kurus; see Bühler, ZDMG, 40, 138.

entrusted to royal princes (*kumāra* or *āryaputra*), viz. Ujjayini, Tōsali, and Suvarṇagiri (above, p. xxxvii f.). The two *Kumāras* were probably sons of the king himself, and the *Āryaputra* perhaps some other relative of his. The rock-edict V, M, refers to the harems of his brothers, sisters, and other relatives, 'both in Pāṭaliputra and in all the outlying towns', showing thereby that the tradition according to which he had killed all his brothers but one before ascending the throne<sup>1</sup> is opposed to facts. His sons and 'other queens' sons' are mentioned also in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, DD, and his queens in section CC of the same edict. From the Queen's edict on the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar we learn that his second queen had the name *Kāluvāki* and was the mother of *Tivala*.

Another provincial governor was perhaps the *Yavana* king *Tushāspa* who was governing Girmār in the time of the *Maurya* *Aśoka*.<sup>2</sup> Each provincial governor was assisted by a body of high officers named *Mahāmātra*,<sup>3</sup> or, as they seem to be called in one place, *Pradātika*.<sup>4</sup> Other *Mahāmātras* were placed in charge of the districts which were included in each province. Thus the *Mahāmātras* at *Isila* were subordinate to the prince and the *Mahāmātras* at *Suvarṇagiri*.<sup>5</sup> In two places<sup>6</sup> we hear of a council (*parishad*) of the *Mahāmātras* or 'ministers', which was responsible only to the king and received its orders directly from him. The Kausāmbī edict was addressed to the *Mahāmātras* at *Kōsambī*, the Sārnāth edict perhaps to those at *Pāṭaliputra*, and the Queen's edict to 'the *Mahāmātras* everywhere', i.e. to those of all districts. The technical term *āhāra* (= *āhāra* in Sanskrit), 'a district', occurs in the Rūpnāth edict, L, and in the Sārnāth edict, I, where it is opposed to the 'territories surrounding forts' (*kōṭṭa-vishaya* in section J), i.e., apparently, tracts which were not yet fully pacified, but were held by military posts, such as the 'forests' (*aṭavi*) mentioned in the rock-edict XIII, M. The *Mahāmātras* at *Tōsali* and *Samāpā* were exercising judicial functions in the city (*nagara-vyavahāraka* or *nāgaraka*).<sup>7</sup> At the same time they had the control of the king's borderers who were yet unconquered,<sup>8</sup> i.e. they were what is called in the first pillar-edict (section F) *Anta-mahāmātras* or 'superintendents of the borderers'. A new class of *Mahāmātras* was created by *Aśoka* when he had been anointed thirteen years, viz. the *Dharma-mahāmātras* or 'superintendents of morality',<sup>9</sup> whom he employed for converting his subjects to his moral creed. Other special *Mahāmātras* had to supervise Buddhists, Brāhmaṇas and Ājivikas, Nirgranthas, and other sects.<sup>10</sup> Even the control of women was entrusted to separate officers (*stry-adhyaksha-mahāmātra*, rock-edict XII, M). In Buddhist literature the word *Mahāmātra* is frequently used in the sense of 'a minister'. In *Aśoka's* edicts it has evidently a wider meaning.<sup>11</sup>

Another class of high officers were the *Rājūkas*<sup>12</sup> or *Lajūkas*. They were 'placed

<sup>1</sup> *Mahāvamsa*, V, 19 f., 33; *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 299.

<sup>2</sup> See the Junāgarh rock-inscription of Rudradāman, EI, 8, 47.

<sup>3</sup> See the Dhauri separate edict II, A, and the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura rock-inscriptions, A.

<sup>4</sup> See Text, p. 5 and n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> See the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura edicts, section A.

<sup>6</sup> See the rock-edict III, E, and VI, F.

<sup>7</sup> See the first separate edict at Dhauri, A and Y, and at Jaugada, B and Z.

<sup>8</sup> See the second separate edict at Dhauri, F, and at Jaugada, G.

<sup>9</sup> See the rock-edict V, I, and XII, M; the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, P, Y, AA.

<sup>10</sup> See the same pillar-edict, Z.

<sup>11</sup> Thomas (JRAS, 1914, 387) suggests the translations 'official' or 'dignitary'.

<sup>12</sup> See the Girmār rock-edict III, C.

in charge of many hundred thousands of men',<sup>1</sup> and 'either rewards or punishments were left to their discretion'.<sup>2</sup> Bühler has shown that the two dialectical forms *Rājaka* and *Lajaka* are derived from \**Rajjaka*, and that this is an abbreviation of *rajju-gāhaka*, 'rope-holder', which occurs in the *Jātaka*.<sup>3</sup> The *Rajjaka* originally 'held the rope' in order to measure the fields of the ryots and to assess the land-tax. Thus the word became the designation of a revenue settlement officer, just as in British India the chief administrative officer of a district is still called 'collector', because his special duty is the collection of the revenue.<sup>4</sup>

Along with the *Rājaka* and the *Pradātika*, the rock-edict III, C, mentions the *Yūtas* or 'secretaries', who correspond to the *Yukias* of the *Kauṭīliya*.<sup>5</sup> The last section (E) of the same edict suggests that they were employed for codifying royal orders in the office of the *Mahāmātras* or ministers.

The rock-edict XIII, S, refers to 'those to whom the envoys (*dūta*) of *Devānānpriya* do not go'. It may be concluded from this that Aśoka maintained ambassadors not only in the frontier states enumerated in section R, but at the foreign courts named in section Q, viz. those of the five Greek kings, the Chōḍas and Pāṇḍyas, and the island of Ceylon. Similarly, Dionysius may have been the ambassador of Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt at Aśoka's court.<sup>6</sup>

From Indian literature we know that at all times kings used to entertain spies (*chāra* or *gādha-purusha*).<sup>7</sup> It seems probable that these are meant by the word *Purusha* in the pillar-edicts I, IV, and VII, and I have followed V. A. Smith in translating it by 'agents'. These agents were graded into 'high ones, low ones, and those of middle rank' (I, E), were acquainted with the king's wishes, controlled the *Lajakas* (IV, G), and were 'placed in charge of many people' (VII, M). A similar class of officers, which was created by Aśoka himself, were the 'reporters' (*prativādaka*), who were posted everywhere, as he says, 'in order to report to me the affairs of the people at any time, while I am eating, in the harem, in the inner apartment, even at the cowpen, in the palanquin, and in the parks'.<sup>8</sup> It is worth noting that this list does not include vehicles drawn by horses or bullocks, instead of which palanquins were employed in the time of Aśoka. Horses are mentioned only in the pillar-edict V, K. Section I of the same edict refers to the elephant-park (*nāga-vana*) of the king. As Bühler (ZDMG, 46. 78) remarked on the authority of Mēdhātithi,<sup>9</sup> the taming and the sale of elephants used to be a royal monopoly. According to Megasthenes (IA, 6. 239),

<sup>1</sup> See the pillar-edict IV, C, and VII, N.

<sup>2</sup> See the pillar-edict IV, D and J.

<sup>3</sup> See ZDMG, 47. 466 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. *Collector*. Megasthenes (IA, 6. 238) speaks of high officers (*ἀρχισυνταγματάρχαι*) who 'superintend the rivers, measure the land, as is done in Egypt, and inspect the sluices by which water is let out from the main canals into their branches, so that every one may have an equal supply of it. The same persons have charge also of the huntmen, and are entrusted with the power of rewarding or punishing them according to their deserts. They collect the taxes, and superintend the occupations connected with land, as those of the woodcutters, the carpenters, the blacksmiths, and the miners.'

<sup>5</sup> See Text, p. 5, n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. xxxv.

<sup>7</sup> These are evidently the *ἰσπότες* or *ἐνέμενοι* of Megasthenes (IA, 6. 244). According to Arrian (Id., p. 237) 'they spy out what goes on in country and town, and report everything to the king', and according to Strabo (loc. cit.) 'some are entrusted with the inspection of the city, and others with that of the army. The former employ as their confidants the courtesans of the city, and the latter the courtesans of the camp [cf. Māgha, V, 27]. The ablest and most trustworthy men are appointed to fill these offices.'

<sup>8</sup> See the Girnar rock-edict VI, D.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. SBE, 25. 323, note.

'a private person is not allowed to keep either a horse or an elephant. These animals are held to be the special property of the king, and persons are appointed to take care of them.' These officers are the *Atvādhyaksha* and *Hastvādhyaksha* of the *Kaṭṭiya* (p. 132 ff.). The *Gōdhyaksha* of the same work (p. 128 ff.) probably corresponds to the *Vracha-bhāmikas* or 'inspectors of cowpens' in the rock-edict XII, M. The king's cowpen is referred to in the rock-edict VI, D.

At the end of the set of rock-edicts (XIV, E) Aśoka uses the word *lipikara*, 'a writer', the formation of which is taught by Pāṇini (III, 2, 21). The three Mysore edicts were drafted by one of this class, who wrote at the end of his signature the instrumental case *lipikareṇa* in Kharoṣṭhī characters,<sup>1</sup> showing thereby that he had been transferred from North-Western India.<sup>2</sup> The word *lipi*, 'a rescript or inscription', occurs six times in the rock-edicts. The commentary on the *Upāśisūtras* (IV, 119) derives *lipi* from the root *lip*, 'to smear'. This is impossible because the two Kharoṣṭhī versions use instead of *lipi* the form *dīpi*, which is found in the Achæmenidæan inscriptions.<sup>3</sup> Besides, the participles *likhita*, *lekhitā*, *likhāpita* are replaced at Shāhbāzgarhī by *nipista*, *nipesita*, *nipesapita*,<sup>4</sup> which cannot be derived from the Sanskrit root *nish-pish*, 'to crush', but must be connected with the Ancient Persian *ni-pish*, 'to write'.<sup>5</sup> The words *ayi dharmo-dipi nipista*, 'this rescript on morality has been written', at Shāhbāzgarhī, V, O, and XIII, X, remind one most strongly of the cuneiform inscriptions. Thus Darius says at Behistan, column 4, section 15:—*[tu]vam hū hya aparam imām dipim vaināky tyām adam niyapi[shajm]*, 'O thou who shalt see this inscription in the future which I have written';<sup>6</sup> and Xerxes says at Van:—*yanasiy dipim nasy nipishtām akunaush pasāva adam niyashlāyam imām dipim nipish-tanaiy*, 'where [Darius] did not cause an inscription to be written; afterwards I commanded to write this inscription'.<sup>7</sup> The conclusion is irresistible that neither *dipi* nor *nipista* are genuine Indian words, but that they have been taken over from the Ancient Persian language before Pāṇini's time, when the provinces of *Sindhu* and *Gandhāra* belonged to the Persian empire.<sup>8</sup> The Kharoṣṭhī alphabet<sup>9</sup> and the Persepolitan capital<sup>10</sup> came to India from the same source. The preamble of many of Aśoka's edicts: 'king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus', is evidently a reminiscence and modification of the Achæmenidæan formula: *θaṭiy Dārayavaush (Xshayārshā, Artaxshabdrā) xshāyadhiya*, 'says Darius (Xerxes, Artaxerxes) the king'. Tushāspā, the name of the Yavana king who was Aśoka's governor of Gīrnār,<sup>11</sup> seems to be a Persian word like Vishtāspa, Keresāspa, &c., and suggests that Aśoka enlisted Irānians in his service.

<sup>1</sup> Brahmagiri, l. 13; Siddāpura, l. 22; Jaṅga-Rāmēśvara, l. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Bühler, EI, 3, 135.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Westergaard's *Zwei Abhandlungen*, p. 33 f.

<sup>4</sup> See JRAS, 1913, 654.

<sup>5</sup> See id., 1914, 97.

<sup>6</sup> See Tolman's *Ancient Persian Lexicon* (Nashville, 1908), p. 28 f.

<sup>7</sup> See id., p. 53 f.

<sup>8</sup> The provinces of Hindu and Gandāra are mentioned in the inscriptions of Darius at Persepolis and Naqsh-e Rostam, and Herodotus (VII, 65 f.) names the *Indoi* and *Favāpatoi* among the tribes composing the army of Xerxes.

<sup>9</sup> See Bühler's *Ind. Pal.*, § 8.

<sup>10</sup> See the Indices to Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, revised by Burgess and Spiers, 2, 515, and to V. A. Smith's *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 513.

<sup>11</sup> See above, p. xi and n. 2.

## CHAPTER IV. ASOKA'S CONVERSION

FROM Buddhist literature we learn that Aśoka became a convert to and patron of Buddhism. The Kāśmīr historian Kalhaṇa also reports that Aśoka 'adopted the religion of Jina (i.e. Buddha)' and built many *Stūpas*.<sup>1</sup> According to the *Dīpavaṃśa* (VI, 55), he became a Buddhist lay-worshipper (*upāsaka*), and the accounts of the *Mahāvamsa* (V, 72) and of the *Samantapāsādikā* (p. 303) imply the same fact. His conversion took place three full years, i.e. in the fourth year, after his *abhiśhāka*.<sup>2</sup> He is believed to have built no less than 84,000 *Vihāras* in as many towns, besides the *Asokārāma* at Pāṭaliputra, and to have consecrated all these buildings after three years, i.e. in the seventh year of his reign.<sup>3</sup>

Aśoka's inscriptions fully corroborate the tradition that he favoured Buddhism, and show that he was intimately acquainted with its tenets, legends, and literature. This will be clear from the subjoined references.

(1) In the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription the king pays his respects to the *Samgha* or clergy, gives expression to his reverence to and faith in the Buddha, the *Dharma* or doctrine, and the *Samgha*, and recommends to monks and nuns, to laymen and to laywomen, the study of seven 'expositions of the *Dharma*' selected by himself. These seven texts have been actually traced in the Buddhist canon.<sup>4</sup>

(2) In the Kauśāmbī, Sārnāth, and Sārnāth pillar-edicts he orders heretical monks and nuns to be expelled from the *Samgha*. This order of the king is known to the tradition of the Southern Buddhists.<sup>5</sup>

(3) The rock-edict VIII, C, states that when he had been anointed ten years, he paid a visit to *Sārnabōdhi*, i.e. Bōdh-Gayā, the place where the Buddha had attained to perfect knowledge. According to the *Dīvyāvadāna* (p. 393), Aśoka visited Bōdhi in the company of the *Sthavira* Upagupta and distributed there 100,000 (gold pieces).

(4) The same sum he is said to have spent at *Lumbini-vana*, the site of Buddha's birth (id., p. 389 f.). His visit to it is confirmed by the Rummindei pillar, which was erected by him when, having been anointed twenty years, he came himself to the village of *Luhmīnī* and worshipped the spot where the Buddha Śākyamuni was born.

(5) The Nigālī Sāgar pillar records that when he had been anointed fourteen years, he enlarged the *Stūpa* of the (mythical) Buddha Kōṇākamana to the double (of its original size), and that when he had been anointed [twenty] years, he came himself and worshipped that spot.

(6) The Kālsī and Dhāuli rocks bear the figure of an elephant with the labels 'the best elephant' and 'the white (elephant)'.<sup>6</sup> On the Girnār rock the elephant has been destroyed, but the existing label implies that the missing figure represented the Buddha, who is believed to have entered his mother's womb in the shape of a white

<sup>1</sup> *Rājatarangīni*, I, 102. According to I, 106, and VIII, 3391, Aśoka seems to have had the surname *Śāntiśāsada*.

<sup>2</sup> See *Dīpavaṃśa*, VI, 18, 24; *Mahāvamsa*, V, 34; *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 300.

<sup>3</sup> According to the *Mahāvamsa*, V, 209, in his sixth year; but see IA, 20, 233, n. 18.

<sup>4</sup> See Text, p. 174, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> See Text, p. 160, n. 5.

<sup>6</sup> See Text, p. 30, n. 3, and p. 92, n. 1.

elephant;<sup>1</sup> cf. the *Nidānakathā* of the *Jāṭaka*, vol. 1, p. 50, and the representation of the 'descent of the Blessed one' on the Bharaut *Stūpa*.<sup>2</sup>

These six references raise a strong presumption in favour of the view that Aśoka had adopted the Buddhist religion in the course of his reign. Further undeniable evidence is supplied by the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāt, Maski, and the three Mysore rock-inscriptions, which will have now to be considered at some length. These records, or proclamations (*trūvaṇa*) as Aśoka calls them himself, were issued 'two and a half years and somewhat more' after he had become a Buddhist (*Sākyā* at Rūpnāth, *Buddha-Sākyā* at Maski, section B) or a lay-worshipper (*upāsaka*, Sahasrām, &c.), and 'a year and somewhat more' after he had approached the *Samgha* (Rūpnāth, &c., section D). Section B confirms the statement of the *Dīpavaṃsa* that Aśoka became a Buddhist *upāsaka* (above, p. xliii). In section D the word 'approached' (*upēta*) is ambiguous. Bühler, who first edited these inscriptions, took it in the sense of 'entered'; and, by adding thirty-two and a half years (which were derived from the misreading *adhitisāni* at Rūpnāth) and one further year to the traditional date of Aśoka's conversion (three years), he arrived at the conclusion that the Rūpnāth edict was issued shortly before his death (IA, 6. 153). After Oldenberg had shown that *adhitisāni* was a misreading for *adhatisāni*, 'two and a half',<sup>3</sup> Bühler was obliged 'to give up the assumption that the statements of the inscription regarding the time of Aśoka's conversion to Buddhism agree with those of the Buddhist tradition' (EI, 3. 137). As Aśoka is known to have reigned thirty-seven years,<sup>4</sup> Fleet, who followed Bühler in assigning the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts to the last years of the king's life, assumed that he abdicated before the end of it in order to turn a Buddhist monk. But literary tradition knows nothing of such an abdication, unless we can find some reminiscence of it in the fact that 'the *Divyāvadāna* relates that Aśoka died destitute of power and possessions, having given everything that he could give to the Buddhist *Samgha*'.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, an ex-king could not have issued commands (*āṇapayati*, Brahmagiri edict, B) to his former officers. Besides, the Rūpnāth and Sahasrām edicts must be considered the earliest of all the Aśoka inscriptions for two reasons:—(1) they speak of inscriptions on rocks and pillars as a task which it was intended to carry out, and not as a *fait accompli*; (2) they, and the three Mysore records, contain the first elements of Aśoka's *Dharma*, which we find more fully developed in his rock- and pillar-edicts. Bühler (EI, 3. 141) believed that, as the Rūpnāth edict contrasts the words 'since I have approached the *Samgha*' with the words 'since I am a (Buddhist) lay-worshipper', the former cannot convey any other meaning but 'that he had entered the *Samgha*, and had become, at least nominally, a monk; compare the Sanskrit phrases *yajñam, vratam, or brahmacharyam upa-i*'. But the only other testimony for such a *pabbajjā* is that of the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing, who mentions an image of Aśoka dressed in the garb of a Buddhist monk;<sup>6</sup> and the expression *saṃgham upa-i* for the precise idea of 'entering into the monastic order' is, as Senart (IA, 20. 163) reminds us, 'vague and not sanctioned by the ordinary terminology, necessarily fixed at an early date in such a matter; besides, this situation of a king, who, while preserving his royal prerogatives and his royal life, enters into a religious order, is far removed from the idea which we are accustomed to

<sup>1</sup> See Text, p. 27, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cunningham's *Stūpa of Bharhut*, plate 28, and IA, 21. 235, No. 98: *Bhagavato ābhanti* (read thus instead of *abhranti* and see Bühler's *Ind. Pal.*, § 16, section C, No. 6).

<sup>3</sup> See Text, p. 167, n. 17.

<sup>4</sup> See *Dīpavaṃsa*, V, 101; *Mahāvamsa*, XX, 6.

<sup>5</sup> Fleet in JRAS, 1913. 637.

<sup>6</sup> See Senart, IA, 20. 236.

<sup>7</sup> See Fleet, JRAS, 1908. 496.

form with regard to Buddhist monachism in the ancient period.' These considerations induce me to accept the view of Senart, who takes the word *upāṣita* in the sense of 'visited' and finds in it a reference to a state visit paid by the king to the *Samgha*.<sup>1</sup> Aśoka's first visit to the *Samgha* is placed by the *Dīpavamsa* (VI, 78), *Mahāvamsa* (V, 76), and *Samanīpāsādikā* (p. 303) in the very year of his conversion to Buddhism. Senart compares the visit recorded in the Rūpnāth and connected edicts with the festival of the consecration of Aśoka's 84,000 *Stūpas*, which is alleged to have been celebrated three years later, and at which the king is stated to have 'stood in the midst of the *Samgha*':<sup>2</sup>

As stated above (p. xlv), the Rūpnāth edict informs us that, when issuing it, (1) Aśoka had been a Buddhist for more than two and a half years (section B), and (2) more than a year had passed after his visit to the *Samgha* (section D). The word *sumi*, 'I am', in section B of the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Maski edicts proves that the two and a half years of Aśoka's *upāsakattu* did not precede the single year which followed his visit to the *Samgha*, but included the second period.<sup>3</sup> Instead of section C of the Rūpnāth and Sahasrām edicts, the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura edicts read: 'but indeed I had not been very zealous for one year'. This more precise statement implies that the period of somewhat more than two and a half years has to be subdivided into one year with, no doubt, a little more, followed by one year with the balance of the whole period. During this second year, Aśoka, having visited the *Samgha*, showed himself very zealous.<sup>4</sup> In section E of the Sahasrām edict he states that, in consequence of his zeal, 'men in Jambudvīpa (i.e. in India), being during that (i.e. in the preceding) time unmingled with the gods, have (now) been made (by me) mingled with the gods'. This passage has been much discussed and interpreted in various ways. I have suggested that the 'gods' (*dēva*) may be compared with the 'divine figures' (*divyāni rūpāni*) of the rock-edict IV, B, where the king claims to have exhibited 'representations of aerial chariots, representations of elephants, masses of fire, and other divine figures', evidently in order to induce his subjects to lead moral lives and thereby to qualify for heaven.<sup>5</sup> The 'festive meetings' (*saṃāja*) which were approved of by him in the rock-edict I, E, are probably identical with those religious shows instituted by him.

I now pass to the knottiest problem of all those which the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts propound to posterity, viz. the meaning and application of the word *vivāsa* at the end of the Rūpnāth edict. This substantive may be expected to be derived from the same root as, and to be connected in meaning with, the verb *vivaseti* in a preceding section (L). The same verb occurs as *vivāsayati* in section I of the Sārṇāth edict. As I have shown elsewhere,<sup>6</sup> this section adds nothing new to the king's order, but contains further provisions for ensuring a still wider circulation to it, and we have to translate *vivāsayati* at Sārṇāth and, along with it, *vivaseti* at Rūpnāth by 'causing to leave home, causing to start on tour, despatching (messengers)'.<sup>7</sup> Consequently the substantive *vivāsa* seems to mean 'staying away from home, remaining on tour'. A comparison of the wording of section M at Rūpnāth with section J at Sahasrām yields the result that the edict was

<sup>1</sup> See IA, 20, 294, and cf. JA (11), 7, 435 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Dīpavamsa*, VII, 3; *Mahāvamsa*, V, 185; *Samanīpāsādikā*, p. 304.

<sup>3</sup> This point was first recognised by Senart in 1892; see JA (8), 19, 481, and cf. my remarks in JRAS, 1920, 144 f., and Senart in JA (11), 7, 435.

<sup>4</sup> See Rūpnāth, D; Maski, C; Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura, E.

<sup>5</sup> See JRAS, 1913, 653 f.

<sup>6</sup> See Text, p. 163, n. 10, and JRAS, 1912, 1053 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Thomas, JA (10), 15, 518.

issued by a person on tour, who can be no other but Aśoka himself,<sup>1</sup> when he had spent 256 nights<sup>2</sup> on tour. It follows that Aśoka had started on tour a few months after visiting the *Samgha*, which he had done more than a year before issuing the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāt, Maski, and the three Mysore edicts.

The Rūpnāth and cognate edicts do not specify the years of Aśoka's reign in which his conversion and his visit to the *Samgha* took place; but they furnish a few details which enable us to fix their time with great probability, viz.:

- (a) Aśoka became a Buddhist *upāsaka*.
- (b) He visited the *Samgha* one year after (a).
- (c) He started on tour.
- (d) He issued the Rūpnāth edict, &c., more than two and a half years after (a), more than one year after (b), and 256 nights after (c).

On p. xxxvi I gave a conspectus of the regnal dates which Aśoka's inscriptions contain. Of these I here repeat the following ones in tabular form:

|       |                 |                                    |   |
|-------|-----------------|------------------------------------|---|
| No. 1 | Rock-edict XIII | 8 years after the <i>abhishēka</i> | Conquest of Kāliṅga.                              |
| " 2   | " " VIII        | 10 " " "                           | Visit to Sambōdhi.                                |
| " 3   | Pillar-edict VI | 12 " " "                           | Publication of rescripts on morality.             |
| " 4   | Rock-edict IV   | " " " "                            | Institution of public shows of edifying subjects. |

On p. xlv I gave two pieces of evidence to show that (d) the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts must be considered the earliest of all. No. 3 places them twelve years after Aśoka's *abhishēka*, i.e. in the thirteenth year of his reign.<sup>3</sup> If we suppose that they belong to the second half of the thirteenth year, we may combine No. 2 with (a) and assume that Aśoka's visit to Sambōdhi in the eleventh year of his reign was connected with his conversion to Buddhism. In this case (b) would fall in his twelfth year and (c) about the end of the same year. No. 1 explains the conversion by mentioning the circumstances which occasioned it. The king confesses that the Kāliṅga war was the turning-point in his religious career, and that his grief at the enormous loss of human life made him repent of his conquest and aspire henceforth to the 'conquest by morality'.<sup>4</sup> Herewith we may compare the *Mahāvamsa*, V, 189:

'Before, he had been known as Chaṇḍāśoka (i.e. the fierce Aśoka) on account of his evil deeds; afterwards he became known as Dharmāśoka (i.e. the pious Aśoka) on account of his virtuous deeds'.<sup>5</sup>

The *Mahāvamsa* places this change of name and character in the seventh year of Aśoka's reign and his conversion already in the fourth year (above, p. xliii). These dates cannot be reconciled with the epigraphical ones and must be erroneous.<sup>6</sup> But the fact that the Buddhist chronicles agree with the inscriptions in recording a change in Aśoka's policy and principles of government about the time of his conversion proves that their accounts are not purely imaginary, but are based on contemporaneous tradition.

<sup>1</sup> See Text, p. 169, n. 8.

<sup>2</sup> The discovery of the word *lāṭi*, 'a night', which had escaped the attention of scholars for thirty-three years, is due to Thomas; see JA (10), 15. 530.

<sup>3</sup> This view is confirmed by section E of the Rūpnāth edict, which alludes to the same shows as No. 4.

<sup>4</sup> See the rock-edict XIII, P and U.

<sup>5</sup> The same statement is made in the *Dīvyāvadāna*, p. 382.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Senart's remarks, IA, 20. 235.



At the same time they furnish in this manner another piece of evidence in favour of the correctness of Prinsep's identification of Aśoka with the *Devānāmpriya* who issued the edicts published in this volume.

A few words have to be added concerning the 256 nights which the king had spent on tour when he published his first religious proclamations. Aśoka's tours are referred to and their object specified in the rock-edict VIII, in which he states that, after he had gone to Sāmbōdhi (i.e. after his conversion to Buddhism), he commenced to undertake 'tours of morality' (*dharma-yātrā*) for 'visiting Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas and making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality'. This edict was probably not issued before the rock-edict V which records the appointment of *Dharma-mahāmātras* thirteen years after the *abhishēka*. As the tour during which Aśoka issued the Rūpnāth edict had been undertaken in his twelfth year when he commenced to be 'very zealous', it may be concluded that it was his first *dharma-yātrā*. When he issued his proclamation in the second half of his thirteenth year, he had been in camp 256 nights. The special reason which induced him to acquaint us with this figure is not apparent. Fleet has shown that it does not mark any division or total of subdivisions of the year, either lunar or solar;<sup>1</sup> but, as I believe I have shown that the Rūpnāth and other records are not the last, but the earliest of the edicts, I am unable to accept his ingenious suggestion that the 256 nights had been spent in worship because they corresponded to an equal number of years which had then elapsed since Buddha's Nirvāṇa.<sup>2</sup>

It must still be noted that the Calcutta-Bairātī rock-inscription or 'letter to the *Saṅgha*' seems to be earlier than all the other rock- and pillar-edicts. The references to a few Buddhist tracts in this inscription suggest that after his visit to the *Saṅgha*, and before starting on tour, he was engaged in studying the sacred literature. This would place the inscription in the twelfth year of his reign.

The Kauśāmbī, Sāmchī, and Sarnāth edicts cannot be earlier than the six first pillar-edicts, because the first of them is engraved on the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar in a position which shows it to have been a subsequent addition.<sup>3</sup>

## CHAPTER V. ASOKA'S DHARMA

In the last chapter I trust to have proved that Aśoka had already embraced Buddhism when he commenced to issue 'proclamations on morality' (*dharma-trāvaṇa*) or 'rescripts on morality' (*dharma-lipi*) in order to convert his subjects. He tells us himself (pillar-edict VII, J-L):

'The following occurred to me: I shall issue proclamations on morality (and) shall order instruction in morality (to be given). Hearing this, men will conform to (it), will be elevated, and will (be made to) progress considerably by the promotion of morality.'

The date of this propaganda is given in the pillar-edict VI, B:

'(When I had been) anointed twelve years, rescripts on morality were caused to be written by me for the welfare and happiness of the people, (in order that), not

<sup>1</sup> JRS, 1911. 1097.

<sup>2</sup> Id., 1910. 1307 f.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. xix.

transgressing those (rescripts), they might attain a promotion of morality in various respects.'

As shown above (p. xliv), Aśoka's first proclamations (*brāvaṇa*)<sup>1</sup> were the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts. When issuing them, he ordered that his views should be made public by inscribing them on rocks and pillars.<sup>2</sup> In the same year he directed his officers to carry on the propaganda on their quinquennial circuit (rock-edict III, C) :

'Everywhere in my dominions the *Yuktas*, the *Rājaka*, and the *Prādetika* shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years for this very purpose, (viz.) for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business.'<sup>3</sup>

In the next year of his reign he created special '*Mahāmātras* of morality' (*Dharma-mahāmātra*, rock-edict V, I), whom I have mentioned before (p. xl). A fresh set of six edicts was engraved on pillars twenty-six years after the *abhishēka*, and the seventh pillar-edict at Delhi-Tōprā was added in the next year.

European analogies might lead us to expect that Aśoka's conversion to Buddhism would have induced him to persecute the votaries of other religions. In reality the Hindūs have been at all times extremely tolerant to other creeds, and have allowed everybody to try to attain salvation in his own fashion. Among the six orthodox schools of philosophy they count the pantheistic Vēdānta and the atheistic Sāṅkhya, and epigraphical and literary records show that Hindū kings considered it their duty to build temples and to make grants to other gods and denominations than their own. The same tolerance was practised by Aśoka. As a pious Hindū he acknowledged the 'debt' (*riṇa*) which every king owes to his subjects in return for the revenue (*śaśbhāga*) levied from them, and which consists in affording them protection (*pālana*) :

'Whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that I may discharge the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).'<sup>4</sup>

In the same spirit he says :

'All men are my children. As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided by me with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, even so is my desire on behalf of all men.'<sup>5</sup>

This principle is further specified in the pillar-edict VI, C-E :

'(Thinking): "thus the welfare and happiness of the people (will be secured)", I am directing my attention not only to (my) relatives, but to those who are near and far, in order that I may lead them to happiness, and I am instructing (them) accordingly. In the same manner I am directing my attention to all classes. And all the sects have been honoured by me with honours of various kinds.'

<sup>1</sup> Rūpnāth, H, M; Sahasrām, H, J; Brahmagiri and Śiddhāpura, I, K.

<sup>2</sup> Rūpnāth, J, K; Sahasrām, L, M; Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, F.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also the Dhauli separate edict I, Z—CC.

<sup>4</sup> See the rock-edict VI, L, and cf. the second separate edict at Dhauli, H, and at Jaugaḍa, I. On the other hand, the king reminds the *Mahāmātras* that they owe him the debt of obedience in return for the salary received from him; see Id., L and M, respectively, and the first separate edict, Q and R, U and V, respectively.

<sup>5</sup> See the first separate edict at Jaugaḍa, F, G, and the second, E, F.

Accordingly he directed his *Dharma-mahāmāitras* to busy themselves with Brāhmanas and Ibhyas (i.e. Vaiśyas, rock-edict V, K), and with ascetics and householders (pillar-edict VII, Y), placed special officers in charge of the Buddhist clergy, of the Ājīvikas,<sup>1</sup> Nirgranthas (i.e. Jains), and other sects (id., Z), and permitted all sects to reside in any place they liked (rock-edict VII, A). In the very remarkable rock-edict XII, which does him the greatest credit, he gives expression to his impartial consideration for all sects<sup>2</sup> and entreats them in their own interest to respect each other:

'For whosoever praises his own sect or blames other sects,—all (this) out of devotion to his own sect, (i.e.) with the view of glorifying his own sect,—if he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect very severely' (section H).

Hence the king recommends to all sects concord (*samavāya*, section I) and the guarding of speech (*vachō-guṇṭhi*, section D).

There is nothing specifically Buddhistic in those benefactions to which the second rock-edict refers. Aśoka arranged for medical treatment of men and cattle not only in his own dominions, but among his borderers, and caused medicinal herbs, roots, and fruits to be cultivated. Along the roads he had trees planted and wells dug for the benefit of cattle and men.<sup>3</sup> The Delhi-Toprā pillar-edict VII, which was issued twenty-seven years after the *abhisheka*, states that he planted banyan-trees and mango-groves along the roads, that at intervals of eight *kōs* he had wells dug and flights of steps (for descending into the water) built, and that he established numerous places for the supply of drinking-water to cattle and men (sections R-T). When twenty-six years had elapsed after his *abhisheka*, he had ordered the release of prisoners twenty-five times (pillar-edict V, L). This suggests that he used to proclaim an amnesty to criminals at almost every anniversary of his coronation. The fourth pillar-edict records that the king left rewards and punishments to the discretion of his *Lajākas*, in order to ensure impartiality in judicial proceedings, and that he granted three days' respite to prisoners on whom the sentence of capital punishment had been passed. The fifth rock-edict (L) and the first separate edict (Dhauli, J, K, Y; Jaugarā, K, L, Z) also testify to his regard for innocent prisoners.

All these measures were certainly prompted by his care for his subjects, but they do not characterize him as a Buddhist reformer. If we turn to an examination of what he tells us about the nature of his *Dharma*, it appears that the latter is in thorough agreement with the picture of Buddhist morality which is preserved in the beautiful anthology entitled *Dhammapada*, i.e. 'words of morality'. Here we find Buddhism *in statu nascendi*. 'From the definitions or descriptions which the king gives us, it follows that to him *Dharma* ordinarily implies what we call the sum of moral duties.'<sup>4</sup> 'The ideas and the language which are brought to light, from a religious point of view, in our inscriptions, cannot be considered as an isolated expression of individual convictions or conceptions.' The *Dhammapada* 'lays before us an equivalent sufficiently exact to allow

<sup>1</sup> The Barābar Hill inscriptions record a grant of caves to the Ājīvikas, but it is not absolutely certain whether the donor was identical with Aśoka.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also the pillar-edict VI, E, and VII, Y.

<sup>3</sup> Megasthenes speaks of officers who 'construct roads, and at every ten *stadia* set up a pillar to show the by-roads and distances' (IA, 6, 238), and of the 'royal road' (*ὁδὸς βασιλική* = *rāja-pāṭha* in Sanskrit) leading from the western frontier to the capital Pāṭaliputra, which 'has been measured by *schœni* (1 *σχοῖνος* = 40 *stadia*), and is in length 10,000 *stadia*' (id., p. 126).

<sup>4</sup> Senart, IA, 20. 260.

us to consider that they correspond to a certain state of Buddhism, earlier than that which has found expression in the majority of the books which have come down to us.<sup>1</sup>

The word *Dharma* is first mentioned in the Maski edict (section E). It is defined thus in the second portion of the Brahmagiri record (sections M-Q):

'Moreover, *Devānāmpriya* speaks thus: Obedience must be rendered to mother and father, likewise to elders; firmness (of compassion) must be shown towards animals; the truth must be spoken: these same moral virtues (*dharma-guṇa*) must be practised. In the same way the pupil must show reverence to the master, and one must behave in a suitable manner towards relatives. This is an ancient rule, and this conduces to long life. Thus one must act.'

The rock-edicts repeat or amplify the same injunctions:

'Meritorious is obedience to mother and father. Liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas (i.e. Buddhist monks) is meritorious. Abstinence from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious' (III, D).

'Abstinence from killing animals, abstinence from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, obedience to mother (and) father, (and) obedience to the aged' (IV, C).

'Proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas' (IX, G).

'Proper courtesy to slaves and servants, obedience to mother (and) father, liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, (and) abstinence from killing animals' (XI, C).

'Obedience to those who receive high pay, obedience to mother and father, obedience to elders, proper courtesy to friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives, to slaves and servants, (and) firm devotion' (XIII, G).

Finally, the pillar-edict VII, section HH, speaks of a progress 'in obedience to mother and father, in obedience to elders, in courtesy to the aged, in courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, to the poor and distressed, (and) even to slaves and servants'.

A noteworthy point in the above extracts is the equal respect which the king paid to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas.<sup>2</sup> As Senart (IA, 20, 263) has shown, the *Dhammapada*, though a professedly Buddhist work, does exactly the same. There are, however, two edicts in which Aśoka denounces Brāhmaṇical usage. In the ninth rock-edict he condemns 'many and various vulgar ("offensive" at Shāhbāzgarhi) and useless ceremonies' which women are practising 'during illness, at the marriage of a son or a daughter, at the birth of a son, and when setting out on a journey'; and recommends in their stead the practice of morality.<sup>3</sup> Secondly, in the first rock-edict, section B, he directly prohibits the killing of animals at sacrifices. At the end of the same edict, however, he naively confesses that he had not yet been able to carry out fully the 'abstinence from killing animals' which formed part of his moral code, and that three animals were still being killed daily in his kitchen; but he promises that even this

<sup>1</sup> Senart, IA, 20, 26.

<sup>2</sup> Megasthenes mentions the *Βραχμῆναι* and *Σαρμῆναι* as two kinds of φιλόσοφοι; see IA, 6, 243.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the *Maṅgala-sutta* (*Khuddaka-pāṭha*, V; JRAS, 1870, 312 ff.) or *Mahāmaṅgala-sutta* (*Suttanipāṭa*, II, 4), in which the Buddha himself declares what he considers 'the highest *maṅgala*'.

slaughter would be discontinued in future. Along with animal sacrifices he prohibited festive meetings (*samāja*, sections C, D); perhaps because some of them, like the Spanish bull-fights, consisted of contests of animals,<sup>1</sup> and substituted another kind of festive meetings (section E), viz. the edifying shows alluded to in the fourth rock-edict and in the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts (above, p. xlv).

Among Aśoka's 'good deeds' the second pillar-edict (E) gives prominence to various benefits conferred on animals. This statement is explained by the fifth pillar-edict, which contains a detailed list of animals that were declared inviolable either permanently or on certain days, among them the well-known fast-days (*posatha*).<sup>2</sup> From the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII it appears that this limitation of the general principle of *ahiṃsā* was a concession which Aśoka, though a convinced Buddhist, was obliged to make to the majority of his subjects:

'Now this progress of morality among men has been promoted (by me) only in two ways, (viz.) by moral restrictions and by instruction.<sup>3</sup> But among these (two), those moral restrictions are of little consequence; by instruction, however, (morality is promoted) more considerably. Now moral restrictions indeed are these, that I have ordered this, (that) certain animals are inviolable . . . . By instruction, however, the progress of morality among men has been promoted more considerably, (because it leads) to abstention from hurting living beings, (and) to abstention from killing animals' (sections JJ-NN).

One of the items in the lists of virtues which constituted Aśoka's *Dharma* was liberality or charity (*dāna*). He not only practised it on his 'tours of morality' (above, p. xlvii), but organized the distribution of his own gifts and of those of his relatives through his officers; see the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, sections CC, DD:

'Both these and many other chief (officers) are occupied with the delivery of the gifts of myself as well as of the queens, and among my whole harem [they are reporting] in divers ways different worthy recipients of charity both here and in the provinces. And others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the delivery of the gifts of (my) sons and of other queens' sons, in order (to promote) noble deeds of morality (and) the practice of morality.'

According to the next section (EE) 'noble deeds of morality and the practice of morality (consist in) this, that (morality), viz. compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity, gentleness, and goodness, will thus be promoted among men'; while the pillar-edict II (B, C) says:—'What does morality include? (It includes) few sins, many virtuous deeds, compassion, liberality, truthfulness, (and) purity.' These two lists remind us of verse 224 of the *Dhammapada*, where it is stated that the practice of truthfulness, absence of anger, and charity leads to the gods:

Sachchaṃ bhāṇe na kujjheyya dajjā appasmi yāchito  
eteḥi tīni ṭhānehi gachche devāna santike ||

With the words 'few sins, many virtuous deeds' in the pillar-edict II, C, Senart (IA, no. 262) compares verse 183 of the *Dhammapada*:

Sabbapāpass' akaraṇaṃ kusalaṃ ūpasampadā  
sacchittaparyodapanam etaṃ Buddhāna sāsaṇaṃ ||

<sup>1</sup> See Thomas, JRAS, 1914. 392 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kern's *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 99 f., and *Vinaya Texts*, part 1 (SBE, 13), p. x. The Buddhist fast-days are mentioned also in the Sārnāth pillar-edict, H.

<sup>3</sup> This, and not 'conversion', seems to be the actual meaning of *nijjhāsi*. Cf. *Suttanipitā*, II, 8, verses 5 and 7.

In the fourth rock-edict Aśoka remarks that 'the practice of morality is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct' (*aśīlasya*, section H), and exhorts his descendants to be 'abiding by morality (and) by good conduct' (*dharmā silā tishṭhantaḥ*, F). In the *Dhammapada* we read in verse 217 :

Sīla-dassana-sampannaṃ dhammaṭṭharṇaṃ sachchavādinam ।

and in verse 84 :

sa silavā paññavā dhammiko siyā ॥

Aśoka's remark : *sukarāṃ hi pāpāni*, 'for sin is easily committed' (Girnār edict V, G), reminds us of *sukarāṇi asādhkāni* in verse 163 of the *Dhammapada*, and the words : *dupaṭivekhe chu kko esā*, 'now this (evil deed of mine) is indeed difficult to recognise' (pillar-edict III, D), of verse 252 :

Sudassaṃ vajjam aññesaṃ attano pana duddasaṃ ।

and of verse 50 :

Na paresaṃ vilomāni na paresaṃ katākataṃ ।  
attano va avekkheyya katāni akatāni cha ॥

The lists of evil passions (*āsīnava-gāmīni*, pillar-edict III, F) and dispositions (*jāṭāni*)<sup>1</sup> do not tally with the *āsavas* and *kilesas* of the Buddhists.<sup>2</sup> To counteract these dispositions, Aśoka recommends 'the absence of anger and the avoidance of hurry'<sup>3</sup> and continues :

'Whoever is fatigued in the administration (of justice), will [not] move and rise ; but one ought to move, to walk, and to advance in the administration (of justice)' (Jaugada, Q).

This maxim reminds one of verse 168 of the *Dhammapada* :

Uttiṭṭhe nappamajjeyya dhammaṃ sucharitaṃ chare ।

Already Aśoka's earliest proclamations have zeal (*parākrama* or *prākrama*) for their subject.<sup>4</sup> He returns to it in the sixth rock-edict, which dwells on the necessity of exertion (*utthāna*, sections H, J) or zeal (*parākrama*, N) in conducting public business. Similarly, the *Dhammapada* recommends *utthāna* (verses 24, 25, 280), *parakkama* (verses 23, 383), and *appamāda* (verses 21-32). In two of his sermons on 'zeal' Aśoka appeals to all his subjects, not only to those in high positions, but to those in humble life as well ; see the Rūpnāth edict, sections G, H :

'And this cannot be reached by (persons of) high rank (alone), (but) even a lowly (person) is able to attain even the great heaven if he is zealous. And for the following purpose has (this) proclamation been issued, (that) both the lowly and the exalted may be zealous.'

Compare with this the rock-edict X, sections E, F :

'But it is indeed difficult either for a lowly person or for a high one to accomplish this without great zeal (and without) laying aside every (other aim). But among these (two) it is indeed (more) difficult to accomplish for a high (person).'

<sup>1</sup> See the first separate edict at Dhauri, M, and at Jaugada, N.

<sup>2</sup> See Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*.

<sup>3</sup> See the first separate edict at Dhauri, O, and at Jaugada, P.

<sup>4</sup> Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Bairāt, F-H ; Brahmagiri and Siddāpura, G-I.

A similar sentiment occurs in the seventh rock-edict, section E :

'But even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control, purity of mind, gratitude, and firm devotion, is very mean.'

The eleventh rock-edict (B) and the ninth (J) state that 'there is no such gift as the gift of morality' (*dharma-dāna*). Senart (IA, 20. 62) compares verse 354 of the *Dhammapada* :

Sabbadānaṃ dhammadānaṃ jināti.

Spiritual insight (*chakku*), which Aśoka claims to have spread in many ways,<sup>1</sup> is alluded to in the *Dhammapada*, verse 273 :

virāgo seṭṭho dhammānaṃ dipadānaṃ cha chakkhumā :

According to the thirteenth rock-edict (L) '*Devānāmpriya* thinks that even (to one) who should wrong (him), what can be forgiven is to be forgiven'.

This remark reminds us of the noble verse 223 of the *Dhammapada* :

Akkodhena jine kodham asādhun sādhunā jine :  
jine kadāryaṃ dānena sacchenālikavādināṃ :

The thirteenth rock-edict (sections M-O) continues thus :

'And even (the inhabitants of) the forests which are (included) in the dominions of *Devānāmpriya*, even those he pacifies (and) instructs.' And they are told of the power (to punish them) which *Devānāmpriya* (possesses) in spite of (his) repentance, in order that they may be ashamed (of their crimes) and may not be killed. For *Devānāmpriya* desires towards all beings abstention from hurting, self-control, (and) impartiality in (case of) violence.'

This is the 'conquest by morality' (*dharma-vijaya*) which Aśoka substitutes for the conquest by arms, and which he claims to have won even among his neighbours (sections P-U). He requests his descendants that they 'should not think that a fresh conquest ought to be made, (that) if a conquest does please them they should take pleasure in mercy and light punishments, and (that) they should regard the conquest by morality as the only (true) conquest' (section X).

In one important point Aśoka's inscriptions differ from, and reflect an earlier stage in the development of Buddhist theology or metaphysics than, the *Dhammapada* : they do not yet know anything of the doctrine of *Nirvāṇa*, but presuppose the general Hindu belief that the rewards of the practice of *Dharma* are happiness in this world and merit in the other world. See the rock-edict IX, M, N (*Kālsī*) ; X, C ; XI, E ; XIII, W, Y, AA ; the Dhauī separate edict I, F ; II, E, G, K ; the pillar-edict I, C ; III, H ; IV, E, M, N ; VII, PP. Cf. the *Dhammapada*, verse 219 f. :

Chirappavāsīṃ purisaṃ dūrato sotthim āgataṃ :  
ñātimittā suhajjā cha abhinandanti āgataṃ :  
Tath' eva katapupphāṃ pi assā lokaṃ paraṃ gataṃ :  
pupphāni patigāhanti piyaṃ ñātva āgataṃ :

<sup>1</sup> See the pillar-edict II, D.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the Dhauī separate edict II, G.

<sup>3</sup> The same verse occurs both in the *Jātaka* and in the *Mahāvastu* ; see Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, p. xxvii, and Franke, VOJ, 20. 320 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. li, n. 3.

Instead of 'merit in the other world' Aśoka often uses the term 'heaven' (*svarga*). See Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Bairāt, G; Brahmagiri and Śiddhāpura, H; the rock-edict VI, L; IX, K, L (Girnār); the Dhauli separate edict I, S, U; II, L. The *Dhammapada* (verse 126), however, distinguishes *Nirvāṇa* from *Svarga*:

saggaṃ sugatino yanti parinibbant' anāsavā :

\* \* \* \* \*

At the end of this survey of the contents of Aśoka's inscriptions we have still to consider the fourteenth rock-edict, in which the author of the preceding edicts states that he caused them to be written 'either in an abridged (form), or of middle (size), or at full length. For the whole was not suitable everywhere'. The words 'at full length' must apply to the complete sets of fourteen edicts at Girnār, Kālsī, Shāhbāzgarhī, and Mānsehrā. These four versions are practically identical, with the exception of the end of edict IX, where the three last of them (Kālsī, &c.) differ, for reasons which are not apparent, from Girnār, Dhauli, and Jaugaḍa.<sup>1</sup> The words 'in an abridged (form)' may refer to the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts, and the words 'of middle (size)' to Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, where two separate edicts were substituted for the rock-edicts XI-XIII. These, or at least the third of them, were 'not suitable' here because Dhauli and Jaugaḍa formed part of the newly conquered country of Kāliṅga and required different treatment and special orders to the administrative officers. It can be shown that the two separate edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa were contemporaneous with the thirteenth rock-edict of the other versions: The words 'that *Devānāmpriya* will forgive them (viz. his unconquered borderers) what can be forgiven; that they may (be induced) by me (to) practise morality; (and) that they may attain (happiness in) this world and (in) the other world' in section G of the Dhauli separate edict II correspond to sections L and M of the thirteenth rock-edict at Shāhbāzgarhī:

'And *Devānāmpriya* thinks that even (to one) who should wrong (him), what can be forgiven is to be forgiven. And even (the inhabitants of) the forests which are (included) in the dominions of *Devānāmpriya*, even those he pacifies (and) instructs.'<sup>2</sup>

Another point of contact exists between the first separate edict and the third rock-edict, which Aśoka issued twelve years after his *abhiśhēka*, and in which he ordered the officers of all districts of his empire to undertake quinquennial tours for inspection and propaganda purposes. The first separate edict at Dhauli must have been drafted in the same year because in its sections Z and CC the king speaks of the quinquennial circuit of the *Mahāmāitras* as a measure which he was about to introduce. At the same time triennial tours were instituted in the provinces of Ujjayinī and Takshāṣilā; see sections AA, BB of the same edict.

I now add a classified list of all the Aśoka inscriptions.

#### I. Buddhist Inscriptions.

- (1) Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription.
- (2) Rumindēi and Nigāli Sāgar pillars.
- (3) Kauśāmbī, Sānchī, and Sarnāth pillar-edicts.

#### II. Proclamations or 'rescripts on morality'.

- (1) Early edicts.
  - (a) Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāt, and Maski.
  - (b) Brahmagiri, Śiddhāpura, and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara.

<sup>1</sup> See Text, p. 39, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. liii and n. 4.



**(2) Rock-edicts.**

- (a) Edicts I-XIV at Girnār, Kālsī, Shāhbāzgarhī, and Mānsehrā.
- (b) Edicts I-X, XIV, and two separate edicts at Dhāuli and Jaugaḍa.

**(3) Pillar-edicts.**

- (a) Edicts I-VI at Delhi-Mirāṭh, &c.
- (b) Edicts I-VII at Delhi-Tōprā.

**III. Donative inscriptions.**

- (1) Barābar Hill cave-inscriptions.
- (2) Queen's pillar-edict.

## CHAPTER VI.

## GRAMMAR OF THE GIRNAR ROCK-EDICTS

## A.—PHONETICS

## I. VOWELS.

The vowel *a* is replaced by *u* in *osudha* (=Skt. *auskadha*, II, 5). This change is due to the influence of the *o* in the preceding syllable; cf. *udupāna*=Skt. *udapāna* in the Māgadhā dialect.<sup>1</sup>

The *s* of *sta* (= \**stāva*?) seems to be developed from an original *i*; see Johansson, *Shākhā*, § 21.

As in Pāli, Skt. *u* is represented by *a* in *garu* (XIII, 6), while the form *guru* occurs three times. The *a* may have been introduced from the comparative *gariyas* and the superlative *garishtha*; see Michelson, IF, 23, 260, n. 1. In *khu* (=Skt. *khalu*) the *a* is lost by syncope, the *l* is assimilated to the preceding *kh*, and Skt. *u* is represented by *o*. The form *kho* is used also in Pāli, while the literary Prakṛita have *khu* (for \**khlu*, an enclitic form of *khalu*) instead of it.<sup>2</sup>

In the foreign name *Antiyaka*=*Ἀντιόχος*, *ῥ* is expressed by *a*. In [*A*]n[*ti*ē]ina=*Ἀντιόχου*, *s* and *i* correspond to *i* and *ῥ*, and in *Turamya*=*Πτολεμαῖος*, *u* and *a* to *ῥ* and *ε*.

The Girnār dialect has lost one of the Sanskrit vowels, viz. *ri*, which became *i* (after the stress accent) in *stārisa*, *lārisa*, *yārisa* (=Skt. *stādriśa*, &c.), and *u* (after labials) in *paripuckhā* and *vnta* (= *vr̥tta*, X, 2), but generally *a*:—*ānariya* (= *ānriya*), *kacha* (= *kriya*), *kata*, *daḥa*, *bhata*, *bhataha*, *maga*, *magavyā*, *mata* (= *mṛta*, XIII, 1), *vistata*, *vypāta*, *suhadaya*<sup>3</sup> (IX, 7), *v[ā]dhi* (= *vr̥ddhi*, IV, 11). In *vadhi* (= *vr̥ddhi*, XII, 2, 8, 9) and *usafa*<sup>4</sup> the *ri*, which became *a*, has caused the lingualization of the following dental. In *vrachha* (= *vr̥ksha*, II, 8) the vowel *ri* is represented by the syllable *ra*, and in *svuḥaru* (XII, 7) by *ru* through the influence of other forms of the root *svu*.

Of diphthongs, *ai* is found only in *thaira*, *traidasa*, and *samachaira*, the genesis of which will be explained below (p. lvii f.), and *au* is always changed to *o*:—*ḍvo*, *pāralokika*, *potra*, *prapotra*, *osudha*, *-opaga* and *-opaya*.

Short vowels are lengthened in *ānāntaram*<sup>5</sup> (=Skt. *anantaram*, VI, 8), *āchāy[he]*<sup>6</sup> (= *ātyāyika*, VI, 7), *mādhūratā* (= *madhuratā*, XIV, 4), *āāsisu* (IV, 1), *abhikāra* (= *\*abhikāra*, V, 7), *abhiramaka* (VIII, 2), *paṭivesiya* (= *prativētya*, XI, 3), *paṭibhā[g]a* (XIII, 4), *saṃpratipati* (=Skt. *saṃpratipati*, IV, 2; also spelt *saṃpratipati* and *saṃpatipati*), *vivāha*<sup>7</sup> (= *vivāha*, IX, 2), *vijaya* (XIII, 10; also *vijaya*), *bahūki* (= *bahubhik*, IV, 4), and at the end of words in *tatrā* (XIII, 1), *paratrā* (VI, 12), *sarvatrā* (II, 6), *etamit* (IX, 2), *panithestā* (II, 8).

Initial *ā* is shortened in *aropitāin*, and final *ā* in *tatha* (= *tathā*, XII, 6), [*Yo*]na-rāja (XIII, 8) = *Yona-rāja* (II, 3), and in the enclitic *va*, which is far more frequent than its original form *vā*. The three forms *āraddho*,<sup>8</sup> *āraddhi* (i.e. \**āraddhi*), and *aparadha* are perhaps to be derived from the root *radh*

<sup>1</sup> I use the term 'Māgadhā dialect' for designating the language of the province to which Aśoka's capital belonged. It must not be confused with the Māgadhī of the Prakṛit grammarians; cf. Michelson, AJP, 30, 284.

<sup>2</sup> S. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 148, and cf. Michelson, IF, 23, 269 f.

<sup>3</sup> This word is used in the sense of Skt. *suhrid*, 'a friend'. Cf. *suhajja* in the *Dhammapada*.

<sup>4</sup> This participle corresponds in form to Skt. *utapita*, but its meaning agrees with that of Prakṛit *ussiya* (Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 64)=Skt. *uchchhrīta*. In other words, the Girnār form seems to be due to a false popular etymology of *uchchhrīta* from the root *spi* instead of *tri*.

<sup>5</sup> The length of the initial *ā* may be due to the fact that the word is a translation of the Māgadhā *ānāntaliyāin*; see the Dhāuli and Jaugada versions, VI, 4.

<sup>6</sup> Kālat, Dhāuli, and Jaugada have *atiyāyika*, Pāli both *achchāyika* and *achcheka* (i.e. \**achchāyika*).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Böhtlingk's *Wörterbuch*, s.v. *vivāha*, and Pāp. VI, 3, 122.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *āraddha-chitta* in the *Dighanikāya*, translated by Franke, p. 144, n. 2.

used in the same sense as *rādā*. The short *a* of *starisani* (= *stādrisani*), *stārisani* (= *stādrisani*), *dane* (= *dānam*) is probably due to clerical mistakes. Final *i* is shortened in the nom. sing. of masculine bases in *-is*:—*Prīyadasi*, *hasti*.

The initial *a* of the enclitic *api* is dropped everywhere except in *evamapi* (II, a). The initial *i* of *iti* is generally preserved, but it is dropped in *-miriti* *ti* (V, 8) and in the compound *hiti* or *hiti*.

## II. SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

Greek *χ* and *γ* are expressed by *k* in *Anitiyaka* = *Ἀντιχος* and *[A]nitiyaka* = *Ἀντιγος*. In *-opaga* and *-opaya* we seem to have a change of *g* into *y*; cf. Franke, VOJ, 9. 345 ff. Skt. *gā* has become *k* in *lakuka*.

In *uacka* (VI, 3; XII, 9), *cā* corresponds to the *j* of Skt. *vaja*; cf. *vraçamā* = Skt. *vrajanti* at Shāhbāgarhi.

Skt. *ṣ* is preserved in *kaldya* (= *kalyāṇa*), *gayanā*, *charaya*, *prakraya* and *pakaraya*, *prāya* and *pāya*, *vinikhamaya* (from *vinikham*), *vrayaya* and *samaya* (= *iramaya*). In terminations, however, dental *n* is not, as in Sanskrit, lingualized after *r* and *ś*:—*agena* (= *agrēṇa*), *parāhramena*, *putrena* and *putna*, *mitrena*, *abhiramāṇi*, *rāṇi*, *zakāṇi*, *Gaidhārāṇi*, *gurāṇi*, *thairāṇi*, *manuṣāṇi* and *mānuṣāṇi* (= *mānuṣāṇi*). On the other hand, lingual *ṣ* is newly developed after *r* in *prāyayati* (from Skt. *prāyayati*), *daraya* and *dasaya* (= *darāṇa*), *samirayati* (from *irayati*), and without apparent reason in *Yopa* (V, 5), while *Yona* (with dental *n*) occurs four times.

As stated above (p. lvi), dentals are lingualized after the vowel *ri* in *ussri* and *vadri*, and *d* becomes *r* before an original *ri* in *stārisa*, &c. Similarly, *dh* has turned to *dh* through the influence of the preceding *ś* in *amdhā* (= Skt. *amśadhā*), and *t* becomes *f* after *r* in the preposition *pafi* (ten times), while the original form *prati* occurs four times in *pratipati* and *samipratipati*. In *līpi* (= *līpi* in Ancient Persian; see above, p. xiii) *d* has become *l*. In *idka* the Gīrnār dialect has preserved the ancient form of Skt. *iha*; cf. Fischel's *Grammatik*, § 266.

The labial aspirate *bh* has become *k* in the instrumentals *bakūhi* (= *bakubhiḥ*), *taki* (= Vedic *takhiḥ*), *paṭṭayiyahi*, *zatehi*, and in some forms of the root *bhā*, viz. *hoi* (= *bhāvati*), *aho* (= *abdhavati*), and *ahūnu*, while *bh* is preserved in *bhavati*, *bhave*, *bhata*.

The semivowel *y* is developed out of *i* in *Anitiyaka* = *Ἀντιχος*, and *Πτολεμαῖος* becomes *Turamayo*. Initial *y* is lost in *ś* = Skt. *yā* (II, a) and *ava* = Skt. *yavat*. In the dative *aikā* (XII, 9) = Skt. *arthāya* the whole syllable *ya* seems to be dropped. In causatives the characteristic affixes *aya* and *ayi* sometimes remain unchanged. More frequently both are changed to *ai* (*aya* by *Sariprasāra*, and *ayi* by the elision of *y*) and contracted to *e*. Thus Skt. *prativādayata* becomes *pafivadeha*, while e.g. *pāyayati* remains unaltered, and Skt. *hāpayishyati*, *ārādayitum*, *rūchayitavya*, *a-rūchayitvā* are converted to *hāpesati*, *ārādaya*, *lochetavya*, [a]-*lochetvā*, while *ayi* remains in *daseyitvā* = Skt. *darśeyitvā*. Similarly, Skt. *mayāra* becomes first *\*maāra* and then *mora* (I, 11). In two instances an original *aya* is not represented by *e*, but by *ai*: *\*trayadaia* (= Skt. *trayadaia*) becomes *traidaia* (V, 4), and Skt. *\*sata-charya*, having passed through the intermediate stages *\*samachariya* and *\*samacharia*, becomes *samachaira* (XIII, 7) through metathesis.<sup>1</sup>

Lingual *l* corresponds to Sanskrit *l* in *makiā*, and to Tamil *l* in *Choda*. The *l* of *lochetavyā* and [a]-*lochetvā*, which corresponds to Skt. *r*, is due to the influence of the Māgadhā dialect; see Text, p. 8, n. 3. Greek *λ* is represented by *r* in *Turamayo* = *Πτολεμαῖος*. This word proves that the Gīrnār and Shāhbāgarhi versions are translations from the Māgadhā dialect, where the *λ* of the Greek original is preserved (*Tulamayo* at Kālat).<sup>2</sup> Another instance in which *r* corresponds to *l* is *\*bradhata*, 'to kill', = Skt. *dradhata*; see below, p. lxvi.

The semivowel *v* is developed out of *u* in *vate* (= Skt. *ukta*, IX, 6; XIV, 4). As *aya* to *ai* and *e*, *ava* is changed by *Sariprasāra* to *ai* and *a*. In this way *bhavati*, *abdhavati*, *avarādhana*, *\*avavādhitavya* become *hoi*, *aho*, *oradhana*, *ovādhitavya*. The contracted form *hoi* and its original,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Geiger's *Pāli*, § 27, and *puṣṭa* (XI, 4), which goes back to Skt. *puṣya* and presupposes the intermediate forms *\*puṣiya* and *\*puṣya*.

<sup>2</sup> If my explanation of *upadāya* at Kālat, Dhauḥ, and Jaugada (Text, p. 33, n. 3) is right, *upadāya* at Mānsehra would be another wrong translation from the Māgadhā dialect.

*dhavasi*, are about equally frequent in the Gīrnār text. In *dhavira* = Skt. *sthavira*, *v* is elided and *ai* contracted to *ai*.

As in most Prākṛits, the two sibilants *ś* and *ṣ* have become *s* throughout: e.g. *pasu* = Skt. *pashu*, *dosa* = *dōsha*.

As in all other Prākṛits, final consonants are dropped. Hence the ablative singular of masculines and neuters in *-a* ends in *-ā* (= *-at*); Skt. *taḥ*, *ītat*, *yaḥ*, and *yāvat* become *ta*, *eta*, *ya*, and *ava*; Skt. *dhavāḥ*, *abhavāḥ*, *vastuḥ* become *dhava*, *aho*, *vaseyu*; and the nom. plur. of masculines in *-a* and of feminines in *-ā* ends in *-ā* (= *-āḥ*). But *ā* is shortened in the dative-genitive *imāya dhammānusaṁsāpiya* (III, 3), in the nom. plur. fem. *chikicchā* (II, 4), and in the 3. sing. optative *tisteya* (for *\*tisthēyāt*). Final *a* generally becomes *o* (e.g. *yaso* = Skt. *yasaḥ*, *vāho* = *vājāḥ*, *tistanto* = *tisthantaḥ*, *Devānampriyo* = *Dēvānāmpriyaḥ*); but in some instances the corresponding Māgadhā form in *-s* is improperly used (e.g. *Devānāmpriyo*, XII, 1), and in others we have *-ā* (*Magā*, XII, 8; *sā* = Skt. *sah*, XIII, 10; *esā* = *īśah*<sup>1</sup>) or *-a* ([*A*]ś[*ek*]ina, XIII, 8, *bhaya* = *bhāyāḥ*, VIII, 5, and *esa*). Final *i* becomes *ī* in *apachitī*, *raṣi*, *hīni*, but *ī* in *hīp*, etc.

While thus all final consonants are dropped, a word may end not only in a simple vowel, but in a nasalized vowel, i.e. in a vowel + Anusvāra, and Sanskrit words ending in *m* and *n* substitute Anusvāra for these two nasals; e.g. Skt. *dānam* becomes *dānaṁ*, and *karuṁ* (XII, 4) is formed from Skt. *karoti* on the analogy of Skt. *karvaṁ*. Just as in modern Hindi, Anusvāra is, however, omitted frequently in writing; see *ida* (XI, 3), *katavya* (= Skt. *karṭavyam*, IX, 6), *dana* (= *dānam*, IX, 7), *phala*, *mate* (= *matam*, XIII, 2, and = *ṛmatam*, XIII, 1), *mādaṇa*, *vinikkamaṇa*, *saka* (= *śakyam*), *hi* (IX, 9), *kīti* and *kīti* (= *kīrtim*), *chhāti* (= *chhāntim*), *v[a]dhi* (= *vipradhīm*), *susumera* (= *śubhāśtram*), *karu* (for *karuṁ*), *ārādhetu* (= *ārādhayitum*), *eva* (= *ivam*, IX, 1).<sup>2</sup>

A long nasalized vowel is generally shortened (e.g. *gaṇandyaṁ*, *bhātānaṁ*, *yesaṁ*, *hāṁnaṁ*, *gurānaṁ*, *anuvataṇaṁ*); but it is preserved in *bhātānaṁ* (XIII, 7), *pājāṁ*, *yātāṁ*, *anuviddhiyātāṁ*. Anusvāra is omitted in *pā[jā]* (= Skt. *pājām*, XII, 2), *mahāthāvaḥ[ā]*, *suru[n]jā*, *suru[n]jā*. The long vowel is shortened and Anusvāra is omitted at the same time in *tesa* (= *īśāṁ*, XIII, 4) and *samītraṇḍya* (loc. sing. of *samītraṇḍ*, VI, 9), unless the latter is a genitive used in the sense of the locative.

### III. SANDHI.

In the last paragraphs it was shown that at the end of words consonants are as a rule dropped and nasals converted into Anusvāra. In *tad-opayā* (VIII, 5) and *tad-amūthā* (XII, 5) the final consonant of the base *tad* is preserved in composition,<sup>3</sup> and final *m* remains before an initial vowel in *evamapi* (II, 2) and *katavyam-eva* (IX, 3). Similarly, hiatus is prevented by nasalizing the first of two vowels in *[a]ṇam-amāsa* (= Skt. *anyōnyasya*, XII, 7) and *bhātam-ayesu* (= *bhṛitā-ryeṣu*, V, 5; cf. Text, p. 10, n. 4).

In the majority of cases, *a + ā* are, as in Sanskrit, contracted into *ā*; e.g. *nāsti*, *dhammānusaṁsānaṁ*, *prāṇāraṁbho*. But the first *a* is elided before *a* in *dhammānusaṁsā* (XIII, 1), *dham-anugaho* (IX, 7), *dhām-adhiṣṭānaṇa* (V, 4), *etayam* (= *\*itra + ayam*, VIII, 3); before *e* in *etāya* (III, 3), *cherva* (IV, 7; XIV, 3), *chesā* (XIII, 4), *ta[ta]ta* (= *tatratat*, IX, 4), *tenvā* (VIII, 3); before *o* in *m[ā]nusa-opagān[ī]* (II, 5), and *u* before *o* in *pas-o[pa]gān[ī]* (II, 6). The result of *i + a* is *ī* in *īśīkhaḥ* (= *īśya-adyakha*, XII, 9).

### IV. GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

The Gīrnār dialect has preserved a number of combined consonants which would have been assimilated in the later Prākṛits. As remarked by Bühler (*Ind. Pal.*, § 16, last section), there are among them some ligatures in which the second consonant is placed first for the sake of convenience in writing. As this point is of importance because it affects the transcription of the Gīrnār alphabet, I subjoin a list of such combinations of consonants.

- (a) *ṭp* (written *ṭp*) in *ārabbhīṭṭa*, *dasayīṭṭa*, [*a*]-*locherīṭṭa*, *-hīṭṭa*, *taddīpano(ne)*, *chappāro*, *ḍṭṭa*.
- (b) *vy* (written *vy*) in *vyanjanato*, *vyananam*, *vypāṭa*, *ap-vyanāṭa*, *divyāni*, *magavyā*, *katavyā*, *prajākīrtavyā*, *oviddīrtavyā*, *vijīrtavyā*, *locheravyā*, *paṭ[ī]vudeta[v]yan*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Text, p. 15, n. 7.

<sup>2</sup> It deserves to be noted that in the R̥gveda *eva* is used nearly throughout in the sense of *ivam*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Fischel's *Grammatik*, § 541.

(c) *st* (written *sr*) in *śvāsasti*, *śrīṣṭe*, *śīṣanto*, *śīṣya*, *śītā*, *-adhiśṭhādyā*, *śrīṣṭva*, *nīṣṭhādyā*.

Although in the words given under (a) *ṣp* is written as *ṣt*, their Sanskrit prototypes suggest that we have to pronounce and transcribe *ṣp*. Michelson (JAOS, 31, 335f.) supports this view by referring to *dhāḍasa* = Skt. *dhāḍasa* (III, 1; IV, 12): 'There is no question that *dh* represents the correct order of the letters. Now if Indic *ṣv* becomes *dh*, then Indic *rv* surely should become *ṣp*. Hence gerunds in *-ṣpā* (Skt. *-rvā*) are to be read as such. This settles the reading *dhṣpā* (Skt. *dhṣma-*) without further arguments.'

The same holds good for (h) *vy* which is written *yv*. Dr. Michelson writes to me:—'It is inconsistent to transcribe *divyāni*, *vyasanam*, but *-layas*, as the same symbol is used in all cases. *vyasanam* would be unpronounceable. Bühler's argument from Pāli that *yv* is correct from the analogy of *yā* from Skt. *hy* is useless, as *vy* does not become *yv* but *bh* (or remains) in Pāli.' See also JAOS, 31, 235.

On the same analogy (c) *ʃs* has been transcribed by *ʃf*, although Franke (*Gurupɔjɔkɔumudɔ*, p. 26, note) thinks that *ʃs* represents the actual pronunciation.

The fact that the Girmār alphabet marks the letter *r* in combination with several consonants was discovered independently by Senart (*Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, 1. 25 f.) and by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji (IA, 10. 106 and note). Although the *r* is generally placed at the top of the other consonant, nobody has ever doubted that it was in most cases pronounced after it, and that we must transcribe *kr*, *tr*, *pr*, *br*, and not *rk*, *rt*, *rp*, *rb*. The symbol *rs*, however, does duty for both *sr* and *rs*, and *rv* for *vr* and *rv*. The former must certainly be read *sr* in *sahasra*, *svayāru*, *bahu-svātā*, *sasvātā*, *śrāvāpakaśi*, *śramanānām*, *misrīto*, *a[pa]-parisravā*, but it cannot be meant for anything but *rs* in *vimāna-darsanā* (IV, 3) and *dasa-varśābhisito* (VIII, 2). Likewise the symbol *vr* may be read *vr* in *vrachkā* (II, 8), but must be intended for *rv* in *sarva* and *sarvata* or *sarvasva*. The spelling *bhātā-pruva* (V, 4; VI, 2) would be, in the opinion of Michelson (JAOS, 31. 228), the result of an erroneous translation of the Māgadha form *-pultva* which the writer found in the original draft of the edicts. I consider it more likely that the writer wanted us to pronounce *-pruva*, but committed the mistake of connecting the *r* with the *p* instead of inserting it before the *v*: cf. the same spelling in the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mānsehrā versions.

A large number of combined consonants are not preserved unchanged, but have been assimilated. In later Prakṛit inscriptions, as in the British Museum plates of Chāruḍeṇi and in the plates of Vijaya-Dēvarman (EI, 8. 144, and 9. 57), the double consonant which is the result of such an assimilation is written in full. The inscriptions of Aśoka and of the Andhra kings, however, express every double consonant by a single letter; e.g. *aggi* = Skt. *agni* is written *agi*, *attha* = *artha* becomes *attha*, *laddha* = *labdha* becomes *ladha*, *gabha* = *garbha* becomes *gabha*, and *nijjhatti* = \**nidyakṛti* is spelt *nijhatti*. In double nasals both ways of spelling are in use; e.g. *dkanma* and *dkama* = *dhama*, *oṃṣa* and *oṃsa* = *anya*.

At the beginning of words an assimilated group is simplified in all Prakṛits; e.g. *āsi* = Skt. *jīṣi*, *ti* = *tri*, *pāṇa* = *prāṇa*, *bhātrā* = *bhrātrā*, *chhuda* (i.e. *chhudda*) = *kshudra*. Also in the interior of words an assimilated group may be simplified and the preceding vowel lengthened; see *kāsati* (also *kasati*, i.e. *kassati*) = *\*karshyati*, *dhāma* (also *dhaṁma*) = *dharma*, *vāsa* (also *varsa*) = *varsha*, *chikicchā* = *chikitsā*, *rājika* (from *rajin* or *rajji*; see Text, p. 5, n. a).

In a few cases a long vowel preceding a group of consonants is shortened; see *anusasī* = Skt. *anāsīti*, *ayye* (i.e. *ayyeyu*) = *āryīṣa*, *kīti* (i.e. *kītti*) = *kīrti*, *digha* (i.e. *diggha*) = *dirgha*, *puva* (i.e. *puvva*) = *pārva*. Even a long vowel preceding a simple consonant may be shortened and the consonant itself doubled; cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 90 f. Thus the short vowel in *bhaya* (= Skt. *bhāyāḥ*), *anuvīdhiyars* and *anuvīdhiyātāṃ* (from Skt. *anuvīdhiyāḥ*) suggests that these words have to be read *bhūyā*, *anuvīdhiyars* and *anuvīdhiyātāṃ*, and that consequently *tiṣṭya* (VI, 13) may be meant for *tiṣṭhya* with doubled *y* and short *e*, as in the corresponding Pāli form of the 3. sing. opt. act.<sup>1</sup> But, as a rule, a long vowel preceding a group remains unchanged; see *asamāśaḥ* (= Skt. *asamāpāṣaḥ*), *ābhāyāḥ* (= *ābhāyikaḥ*), *ābhāyāṇi* (= *ābhāyāṇi*), *āpa-* (= *āpā-*), *āddāpāṇaṇe*, *maṣi*, *pārādhama*, *brāṇaḥ* and *bāṇaka* (also *brāṇaka* and *bāṇaka*), *bhāṣā*, *māhātāṇa* and *māhātāṇa*, *māḍava* (= *mārdava*), *māhātāṇa* (= *māhātāṇa*), *rāṇa*

<sup>1</sup> Similarly *nichols* may represent \**nichols*, into which *nichols* has been changed on the analogy of *nichols*; see SPAW, 1914: 344.

(= *rajā*), *Ri(Rā)ṣiṣa* (= *Rāṣṭriṣa*), *śapathāya* (= *śāpārthāya*), *itihjakhha* (= *stry-adyakhha*), *kti* (= *kti*), *ā[ṣ]o* (= *storaṣ*), *sāmī[ān]* (= *sāmīpyam*).

A long nasalized vowel is shortened before consonants, as it is frequently at the end of words (see above, p. lvi), in *Tambapāṇi* (= Skt. *Tāmapāṇi*) and *Devanāṣṭriya*, while Anusvāra is suppressed after a long vowel in *atikrāta* and *atikāta* (= *atīkrānta*), [*ā*] *parāt* (= *āparāntā*), *chhāti* (= *chhānti*), [*u*] *iyātu* (= *niyantu*), *Pādā* (= *Pādyāḥ*), *bhāda* (= *bhāṇḍa*), *karote* (for *\*karonte*, IX, 3), *karote* (for *\*karonte*), *pāti* (read *hoti*, for *\*homti*). In *evikṣā* (IV, 6) *i* has taken the place of the *im* of *vihikṣā* (IV, 1). Conversely in *susru[ā]* *śā*, *susruṣā*, *susruṣara* the short nasalized vowel *u* is substituted for the *ū* of *susruṣā* (III, 4), and in *susruṣ* and *susruṣatā* the Anusvāra of *u* is omitted.<sup>1</sup> There are several other instances in which Anusvāra is omitted after a short vowel: — *magala* (IX, 3) = *maṅgala*, the two 3. pers. plur. *ichhāti* (VII, 2) and *prāpuṇāti* (XIII, 4), *sambadhā* (XI, 1) = *sambandha*, *sastuta* (twice) = *saṁstuta*, *sachhāya* (XIV, 5) = *saṁchhāya*, *pāsada* (twice) = *pāśhaṇḍa*, *sayama* = *saṅyama*, *savafa* (also *saṁvafa*) = *saṁvarta*, *kich[i]* (also *kiṁchi*) = *kiṁchit*, *kiti* (also *kiṁti*) = *kiṁti*—in the first six of them the omission of Anusvāra may be due either to clerical mistakes or to the faint articulation of the nasal sound. The form *pāsada* (= Skt. *pāśhaṇḍa*) is a recognised variant of *pāśhaṇḍa* (passim); cf. *prashada* and *prashada* at Shāhbāzgarhi. In *sayama*, which occurs four times, and in *savafa* the nasal may have been assimilated to the following semi-vowel; cf. Pāṇini, VIII, 4, 59. The forms *kichi* and *kiti* occur again in other Aśoka inscriptions and are perhaps defective spellings for *kichchi* and *kitti* = *\*kid + chid* and *\*kid + iti*; see Johansson, *Shāhb.*, § 90.

So far we have seen that the Gīrnār dialect either preserves groups of consonants or assimilates them. A third mode of disposing of them is the development of an auxiliary vowel (*svarabhakti*) between two consonants. This vowel is *a* in *garahati* and *garahā* (= Skt. *garhāti* and *garhā*), *i* in *paṭivestiya* (= *prativēṣṭya*), *puṇa* (for *\*puṇya* = Skt. *puṇya*), *samachaira* (for *\*samachariya* = Skt. *\*sama-charya*), and *u* after a labial in *prāpuṇāti* (3. plur. ind. pres. act. of Skt. *prāpuṇāti*). Similarly, an auxiliary *i* is prefixed to an initial group in *itih* (i.e. *itih*, = Skt. *stri*).

I now subjoin an alphabetical list of Sanskrit groups with their Gīrnār equivalents.

*kt* becomes *t* (i.e. *kt*) in *abhisita*, *bhāti*, *yuta*, *vatavyam*, *vutani*.

*ky* becomes *k* (i.e. *ky*) in *saka*.

*kr* remains in *atikrāṭ[a]* (VI, 1), *parākramāmi*, *parākramena*, but becomes *k* in *atikāta* in *pari(rā)h[a]mate* (X, 3).

*kh* becomes *chh* in *sachhāya* (XIV, 5); see Bühler, ZDMG, 40, 142.

*kṣ* becomes *kh* in *itihjakhha*, *saṁkhic[e]na*: *chh* in *chhāṇāti*, *achhāṇāti*, *chhāṇāti*, *chhāṇāti*, *chhāṇāti*, *chhāṇāti*, *chhāṇāti*.

*khl* becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

*gn* becomes *g* in *agi*.

*gr* becomes *g* in *agena*, *-anugaha*.

*jñ* becomes *ñ* or *ñ* in *kataññatā*, *rāñā*, *rāñā*, *āñapayāmi*, *āñapayisati*, *āñapitani*, *ñāti*, *ñātika*.

*dy* becomes *ḍ* in *Pādā* (= Skt. *Pādyāḥ*).

*ny* becomes *ñ* in *āñāṇāni*, *hirañya*: *ñ* or *ñ* in *apūññam* and *puññāni*.<sup>2</sup>

*tm* becomes *tp* in *ātpa*. Cf. *tp* = *tv*, below.

*ty* becomes *ch* in *[a]pachani*, *āchāy[ke]*, *ilokachana*, *ekachā*, *hacham*, *parichajitpā*, *prachāntesu*.

Other instances of palatalization are *j* = *dy*, *jh* = *dhy*, *chh* = *ts*, *kh*, *kṣh*.

*tr* remains or becomes *t*; see e.g. *trī* and *tī*, *tatra* and *tata*, *añatra* and *añata*, *sarvatra* and *sarvata*, *putra* and *puta*, *mītra* and *mīta*, *mahānātra* and *mahānāta*.

*tv* becomes *tp* in *chātpāro*, *arābhitpā*, *[a]-lechitpā*, *dasayitpā*, *parichajitpā*, *tadātpano(ne)*, *-hitatpā*. Cf. *db* = *dv* in *dhāda*.

*ts* becomes *chh* in *chhikchhā*; *s* in *usafna*.<sup>3</sup>

*st* becomes *st* in *ustāna* for *\*ut-stāna*, while the corresponding Sanskrit word is *usthāna*.

*dy* becomes *j* in *aja*, *paṭipajittha*; *y* in *nyānesu*.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps *susruṣ* is meant for *susruṣā*, as *bhūya* for *bhūrya*; see above, p. lix. Cf. also Geiger's *Pāl.*, § 6.

<sup>2</sup> For the epenthesis of *i* see above, p. lvi, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *phāya* = Skt. *stkhāna* in Fiechter's *Grammatik*, § 309.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. lvi, n. 4.

*dr* becomes *d* in *chhudañ*, *chhudañena*;

*du* remains in *duo*, *dve*, but becomes *dh* in *dūdasa*.

*dhy* becomes *jh* in *itthijhakha*, *nijhast*, *majhamena*.

*dhr* remains in *dhruvo*, [*A\**]*mākra*.

*ny* becomes *nā* or *ñ* in *anāha* and *anā*, *manāhate* and *manate*, *ñayāsu*. Cf. *apūññā* = Skt.

*apungya*.

*pt* becomes *t* in *gust*, *nijhast*, *asamāñ[a]ñ*, *samkhast[er]na*, *Turamāyo* (= Πτολεμαῖος).

*pn* becomes *pnn* in *prāpñast* (from Skt. *prāpñasti*).

*py* becomes *p* in *sāmp[an]*.

*pr* remains or becomes *p*; see e.g. *prakaraṇa* and *pakaraṇa* (IX, 8), *prāpa* and *pāpa* (IX, 5), *Dvānapriya* and *Dvānapriya*, *Priyadasi* and *Piyadasi*, *pratipati* and *patipajetha* (XIV, 4), *samp[ra]tipati* and *samp[ra]tipati* (IV, 6).

*bāh* becomes *dh* in *ladhasu*.

*br* remains in *brā[m]hana* (IV, 2) and *bramhana* (IV, 6), but becomes *dh* in *bāmhana* and *bamhana* (IX, 5).

*bhy* becomes *bh* in the passive forms *ārabhate*, *ārabhisu*, *ārabhisare*.

*dhr* becomes *dh* in *dhātrā* or *dhāt[ā]*.

*my* remains in *samya-*.

*mr* becomes *mā* (through the intermediate stage *\*mbr*) in *Tamhapaniñi*.

*rg* becomes *g* in *svaga*.

*rgk* becomes *gh* in *dighāya*.

*rn* becomes *nū* in *Tamhapaniñi*.

*rt* becomes *t* in *kataya*, *kiti* or *kiti*, *anuv[ā]tare*, *anuvatañ*, *anuvatisare*; *ṭ* in *samvata* or *savata*.

*rk* becomes *th* in *atka*.

*rd* becomes *d* in *māda*.

*rdk* becomes *dh* in [*pra\**]*vadhayisanti* (IV, 9); *ḍk* in *vadhayati* (XII, 4), *vadhayisati* (IV, 7), *vadhita*. Cf. *ṭ* for *rt* in *samvata*.

*rbk* becomes *bh* in *gabdhāgaramhi*.

*rm* becomes *m* or *m* in *kāma* (= Skt. *kāman*), *dhanema* and *dhama*.

*ry* becomes *y* in *ayesu*,<sup>1</sup> but is represented by *riy* in *samachairani*, which presupposes the form *\*samachariyam* (= Skt. *\*samo-charyam*); see above, p. lvii.

*rv* remains or becomes *v* in *sarva* or *sava*. Instead of Skt. *pūrva* we have *pūva* in IV, 5, while *pūva*, which is probably meant for *pūruva*, occurs in two places; see above, p. lix.

*rs* becomes *rs* in *vimāna-darsanā*, but *s* in *hasti-d[ā]sa*, *dasanē*, *dasayitpā*, *Priyadasi*; *daspanam* (VIII, 4) is probably a clerical mistake for *darsanam*.

*rsk* becomes *rs* in *varsa* (VIII, 2), but *s* in *vāsa* (= Skt. *varsha*).

*rshy* becomes *s* in *kāsati*, *kāsamti*, *kasa[m]ti*.

*rh* becomes *rah* in *garahati*, *garahā*.

*lp* becomes *p* in *apa*, *kapa*.

*ly* becomes *l* in *kalāya*.

*vy* remains in *vyamjanato*, *-vyayata*, *vyasanam*, *vyāpatā*, *divyāni*, *magavyā*, and in the affix *-tavya* (seven instances), but becomes *y* in *pūjetaya* (XII, 4).

*vr* becomes *v* in *ti[v]*, [*pa*]*vajitāni*, *vacha* (VI, 3; XII, 9) = Skt. *vraja*.

*sch* becomes *chh* in *pachhā*. Other instances in which a sibilant causes aspiration are *kh* = *sk*. *shkr*, *ksh*; *chh* = *ts*, *kē*, *ksh*; *th* = *str*.

*sy* becomes *s* in *pasati*, but *siy* in *passivesiyehi* (XI, 3).

*sr* becomes *sr* in *sramana*, *susrāsā*, *susr[ā]sā*, *susrusā*, *susrusatā*, *bahu-srutā*, *srāvāpakañ*, *nirīro*, but *s* in *samañā*, *susamā*, *susamāsa*, *sessa* (= Skt. *śrēṣṭham*).

*sv* becomes *sv* in *sveto*.

*shk* becomes *h* in [*du*]*katañ*, *duharañ*.

*shkr* becomes *h* in *vinikkhamaya*.

<sup>1</sup> The 3. plur. imper. act. [*n*]*vyāntu* (III, 3) need not be derived from *nir-yā*, but may stand for *nirvyāntu*; cf. *āyāntu* (VIII, 1) from *nir-yā* used in the sense of *nir-yā*.

*skp* becomes *sf* in *Ri(Rā)spika*.

*skp* loses its aspiration and becomes *sf* in *seṣṭe*, *tisṭeya*, *tisṭamto*, *niṣṭānāya*, *-adhiṣṭānāya*. Cf. the Māgadhi forms *susṭu* = Skt. *sushṭu* and *koṣṭagālaṃ* = *kōṣṭhāgāraṃ* (Hemachandra, IV, 290, and Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 303), and at Gīrnār *spita* = Skt. *sthita*, *ustāna* = \**ut-sthāna*, *Ri(Rā)spika* = *Rāshpika*, *anusasṭi* = *anustāsi*.

*sky* becomes *s* in *manusa*, *āṣṭapayisati*, and in other futures.

*sk* becomes *kh* in *agi-kh[a]mḍhāni*.

*st* remains in *asti*, *nāsti*, *hasti*, *saṃstuta*, *viṣṭata*; it becomes *sf* in *anusasṭi*.

*str* becomes *th* in *ithi*.

*sth* becomes *th* in *thaira*, *st* in *gharastāni*,<sup>1</sup> and *sf* in *spitā*.

*sm* becomes *mh* in the localives in *-amhi*.

*sy* becomes *s* in the genitives in *-asa*, and in the optatives *asa*, *asu* of root *as*.

*sr* remains in *sahasra* and *a[pa]-parisrave*, but becomes *s* in *parisave* (X, 3).

*sv* remains in *svaga*, *svāmikena*, *svayasi*, but becomes *s* in *sarasake* (XIII, 11).

*hm* becomes *mh*, as in Prākṛit, in *bamhaṇa* and other equivalents of the Sanskrit and Pāli word *brāhmaṇa*.

## B.—DECLENSION

### I. BASES IN -a.

#### (1) Masculines and neuters in -a.

| Singular.  |                            | Plural.  |
|--|----------------------------|--|
| Nom. masc. <i>jano</i> , &c.                         | } neut. <i>dānaṃ</i> , &c. | Masc. <i>morā</i> , &c.; neut. <i>phalāni</i> , &c.                      |
| Acc. masc. <i>janani</i> , &c.                       |                            | Masc. <i>yute</i> , <i>athc</i> ; neut. <i>divyāni</i> , <i>rūpāni</i> . |
| Instr. <i>janena</i> , &c.                           |                            | <i>paṭivṛtsiyehi</i> , <i>satehi</i> .                                   |
| Dat. <i>athāya</i> , &c.                             |                            |  |
| Abl. <i>kapā</i> , <i>-hitāpā</i> , <i>pachhā</i> .  |                            |  |
| Gen. <i>janasa</i> , &c.                             |                            | <i>thairānaṃ</i> , &c.   |
| Loc. (a) <i>athamhi</i> , &c.; (b) <i>kāle</i> , &c. |                            | <i>thairesu</i> , &c.  |

Nom. sing.—In a few neuters the final Anusvāra is missing, viz. *phala*, *mata*, *mādava* (acc.), *vinikkamaṇa*. In many instances the Māgadha termination *-e* is used; (a) masculines:—*parisave*,<sup>2</sup> *a[pa]-parisrave*, *Devānaṃpiye* (XII, 1), *prādesike*, *bhā[g]e*, *rājūke*, *sakale*, *sayame*; (b) neuters:—*āchāy[he]*, *kaṃme*, *-charaṇe*, *tārise*, *dasane*, *dāne*, *-puve*, *bahuvidhe*, *maṅgale*, *-male*, *mah[ā]-phale*, *mahālake*, *māle*, *yārise*, *vadhite*, *viṣ[ul]e*, *seṣṭe*. The wrong form *-paṭividdhāne* (VIII, 4) is probably due to the fact that the clerk who drafted the Gīrnār version thoughtlessly replaced the *-e* of the Māgadha neuter *paṭividdhāne* by *-o*, as in the masculine *jano*, &c. = Māgadha *jano*, &c. The foreign name *[A]mṣeṭ[ā]na* (XIII, 8) has no termination, while *Magā* lengthens its final *a*.

Dat. sing.—The form *athā* (XII, 9) for *athāya* is found also in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII; cf. Text, p. 22, n. 3, and Michelson, JAOS, 31, 240.

Loc. sing.—In *pravāsānmhi* (IX, 2) the *m* is doubled. The termination *-e* occurs also in *pakarane*, *prakarane*, *Pātaliṣṭe*, *vijaye*, *vijūte*, *sarasake*; *tadātpano* is a mistake for *tadātpane*.<sup>3</sup>

The acc. plur. masc. uses the termination *-āni*, which, as shown by Lüders (SPAW, 1913, 992 ff.), is peculiar to the Ardhamāgadhi dialect. In four instances:—*agi-kh[a]mḍhāni* (IV, 4) and *sava-pāsānmāni cha* *[pa]vajitāni cha* *gharastāni cha* *pūjayati* (XII, 1).

The acc. plur. neut. has the termination *-ā* instead of *-āni* in *vimāna-darsanā cha* *hasti-da[sa]pā cha* (IV, 3).

Gen. plur.—The long vowel is preserved before Anusvāra in *bhūtānām* (XIII, 7).

Loc. plur.—The final *u* is lengthened in *paṃthesu* (II, 8).

<sup>1</sup> In accordance with Vararuchi, IV, 32, and Hemachandra, II, 144, Skt. *griha* is replaced by *ghara*.

<sup>2</sup> The corresponding Pāli word *parissaya* is not a neuter, as Childers thought, but a masculine; see Lüders, SPAW, 1913, 1004 and n. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *-paṭividdhāno* for *-paṭividdhāne* in the nom. sing.



## (a) Feminines in -ā.

## Singular.

Nom. *icchā*, &c.Acc. *pājān*, *yātān*.Instr. *pājāya*, &c.Loc. *gaṇanāyaṁ*, *pariśāyaṁ*.

## Plural.

(a) *kaṭā* (II, 4); (b) *mahāḍṭya*.

Acc. sing.—The final Anusvāra is omitted in *pā[ś]* (XII, 2), *mahāḍṭva[ś]* (X, 1), *susu[ś]* (X, 2).

Loc. sing.—In *samīranāya* (VI, 9) the final Anusvāra is omitted, or it may be a genitive used in the sense of the locative.

Nom. plur.—In *chikichka* (II, 4) the long *ā* of the first of the two different terminations is shortened. The second termination is identical with -āo in the Prākṛits; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 376.

## II. BASES IN -ī.

## (1) Masculines in -ī.

Nom. plur. *trī*, &c.Gen. plur. *āśīnaṁ*.Loc. plur. *āśīsu*.

The nom. plur. in -ī is common in Prākṛit; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, p. 380.

## (2) Feminines in -ī and -i.

## Singular.

Nom. *līpī*, &c.Acc. *Sambodhīn*, &c.Instr. -*anusasṭīyā*, *bhastīyā*.Dat. -*anusasṭīya* (with final *ā* shortened).

## Plural.

*asaviyo*.

Nom. sing.—The final *i* remains short in *apachitī*, *ratī*, *hīnī*.

Acc. sing.—The final Anusvāra is omitted in *hīti* (X, 2), *hīti* (X, 1), *chhāti* (XIII, 11), *v[ā]dhi* (IV, 11).

## III. BASES IN -u.

Besides the gen. plur. masc. *gurūnaṁ* we have three forms of the neuter base *baku*, viz. nom. sing. *baku*, nom. and acc. plur. *bakūni*, and instr. plur. *bakūhi*. The nom. sing. *sādhu* is the same in all three genders.

## IV. BASES IN -ī.

Instr. sing. masc. *pitā* (for *pitrā*), *bhātrā* or *bhāś[ā]*.Loc. sing. *pitari*, *mātiri* and *mātr[ī]*.

## V. BASES IN CONSONANTS.

As in other Prākṛits, bases ending in consonants have a tendency to follow the analogy of the *a*-declension. Thus the feminine base *parishad* becomes *pariśā* (III, 6) and forms the loc. sing. *pariśāyaṁ* (VI, 7). The present participle *sat* forms the nom. sing. masc. *saṁto*. Of bases in -an, *panīhan* forms the loc. plur. *panīhesū*, and the neuter *harman* the Māgadha nom. sing. *haṁme* and the dat. sing. *haṁmāy[ā]*.

The original consonantal declension survives in the subjoined incomplete paradigms.

## (1) Present participles in -at.

Nom. sing. masc. *haruṁ* or *haru*.Nom. plur. masc. *śiśuṁ*.

The nom. sing. *haruṁ* is derived from the Sanskrit verb *harati*. In *haru* the Anusvāra is omitted. Two other forms of the same case, *haruṭe* (for *\*haruṭe*) and *saṁto* (from root *as*) follow the analogy of the *a*-declension.

## INTRODUCTION

(a) Masculines and neuters in *-as*.

| Singular.                | Plural.         |
|--------------------------|-----------------|
| Nom. masc. <i>rājā</i> . | <i>rājāno</i> . |
| Acc. neut. <i>nāma</i> . |                 |
| Instr. <i>rājā</i> .     |                 |
| Gen. <i>rājā</i> .       |                 |

In the nom. sing. masc. [*Yo*]na-rāja (XIII, 8) the final *ā* is shortened, while II, 3 has *Yona-rājā*.

(3) Masculines in *-in*.

|  |
|--|
| Nom. sing. <i>Priyadasi</i> , <i>hasti</i> . |
| Instr. sing. <i>Priyadasinā</i> .            |
| Gen. sing. <i>Priyadasino</i> .              |

(4) Neuters in *-an*

Acc. Sing. *yaso*, *bhaya* (= Skt. *bhūyakh*).

## C.—PRONOUNS

## (1) Pronoun of the first person.

|                                      |
|--------------------------------------|
| Nom. sing. <i>aham</i> .             |
| Instr. sing. <i>mayā</i> .           |
| Gen. sing. <i>mama</i> , <i>me</i> . |

(2) Base *ta*.

| Singular.                                | Plural.                         |
|--|---------------------------------|
| Nom. masc. <i>so</i> } neut. <i>ta</i> . | Masc. <i>ta</i> .               |
| Acc.                                     |                                 |
| Instr. <i>tena</i> .                     |                                 |
| Dat. <i>tāya</i> .                       | <i>tehi</i> .                   |
| Gen. <i>tasa</i> .                       | <i>te[sa]ṇi</i> , <i>tasa</i> . |
| Loc. <i>tamhi</i> .                      |                                 |

Nom. sing. fem. *sā*.

In *pīti-raso sā* (XIII, 10) the nom. sing. masc. ends in *-ā*. The neuter *ta* (= Skt. *taś*) occurs twice (X, 3; XIII, 2) as pronoun and frequently as conjunction. Its Māgadha equivalent *se* is taken over unchanged in I, 10

(3) Base *na*.

Acc. plur. masc. *ne*; neut. *nāni*.

For this pronoun see Hēmachandra, III, 70, 77.

(4) Base *eta*.

| Singular.   | Plural.            |
|---|--------------------|
| Nom. masc. <i>esa</i> (X, 3), <sup>1</sup> <i>esā</i> ; neut. <i>eta</i> , <i>etan</i> , <i>esa</i> . | Masc. <i>ete</i> . |
| Acc. neut. <i>eta</i> (XI, 3).  |                    |
| Dat. <i>etāya</i> , <i>etakhāya</i> .   |                    |
| Gen. <i>etasa</i> .   |                    |
| Loc. <i>etamhi</i> .  |                    |

Nom. sing. fem. *esā* (VIII, 3).

With the nom. sing. masc. *esā* (VIII, 5);<sup>2</sup> XIII, 4) cf. *sā* (= Skt. *saś*, XIII, 10) and *Magā* (XIII, 8). The neuter *eta* (= Skt. *etaś*) occurs twice, and *etan* once (X, 4), while the masculine

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, p. lxii, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> See Text, p. 15, n. 7.

form *esa* is employed three times as neuter and was known as such to Hémachandra (III, 85), who quotes *esa siram* (= Skt. *Itachchhiraṣ*). Cf. the Māgadha nom. sing. *se*, which is used both as masculine and as neuter (= Skt. *saḥ* and *taḥ*), and see Fischel's *Grammatik*, p. 299.

(5) Demonstrative *idam*.

| Singular.  | Plural.            |
|--|--------------------|
| Nom. masc. <i>ayan</i> ; neut. <i>idam</i> , <i>ayan</i> . | Masc. <i>ime</i> . |
| Acc. neut. <i>idam</i> .                                   |                    |
| Instr. <i>imind</i> .                                      |                    |
| Gen. <i>imasa</i> .  |                    |
| Loc. <i>imamhi</i> .                                       |                    |

Nom. sing. fem. *iyam*, *ayan*.

Dat. sing. fem. *imāya*.

The Anuvāra of the neuter *idam* is omitted in *ida* (XI, 3). The masculine *ayan* is employed instead of it three times, and instead of the feminine *iyam* (I, 1) five times. In Pāli only *ayan* is used as feminine.

## (6) Interrogative Pronoun.

The nom. sing. neut. *ki* (for *kim*) occurs in IX, 9, and *kaṁ*, used as an indefinite, in XIV, 3. Of the indefinite base *kimchid* we have the nom. sing. masc. *kochi* (XII, 5) and the neuter *kimchi* or *kich[i]* (X, 3). The compound *kimūi* or *kiti* (XII, 2) is used in the sense of 'that, in order that'.

## (7) Relative Pronoun.

| Singular.                                | Plural.                               |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| Nom. masc. <i>ye</i> ; neut. <i>ya</i> . | Masc. <i>ye</i> ; neut. <i>yāni</i> . |
| Acc. neut. <i>ya</i> , <i>ya[m]</i> .    |                                       |
| Gen. <i>yasa</i> .                       | <i>yesam</i> .                        |

Nom. plur. fem. *yā*.

The acc. sing. neut. *ya[ṁ]* is found only in X, 3, while *ya* (= Skt. *yat*) occurs ten times.

(8) Base *anya*.

| Singular.  | Plural.  |
|--|--|
| Nom. masc. <i>añhe</i> ; neut. <i>añ[a]</i> , <i>añe</i> . | Masc. <i>a[ñ]añ[e]</i> , <i>añe</i> } neut. <i>añāni</i> . |
| Acc.   | Acc.   |
| Dat. <i>añāya</i> .  |  |
| Gen. <i>[a]ñamāñāsa</i> .                                  |  |
| Loc. <i>añamhi</i> .                                       |  |

The nom. sing. masc. and neut. *añhe* (VIII, 5) and *añe* (IV, 7) are Māgadha forms,<sup>1</sup> while *añ[a]* (IX, 5) is the regular equivalent of Skt. *anyat*.

(9) Base *sarva*.

| Singular.  | Plural.             |
|--|---------------------|
| Nom. and acc. sing. neut. <i>sarvaṁ</i> , <i>savam</i> . | Masc. <i>savv</i> . |
| Loc. <i>sarve</i> , <i>s[a]ve</i> .                      | <i>[sa]vessu</i> .  |

(10) Base *ikatara*.

Loc. sing. *ikataramhi*.

(11) Base *\*ikatya*.

Nom. plur. masc. *ekachā*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, p. lxii.

<sup>2</sup> The corresponding Pāli form is *ekachā*; see Childers, s. v., and Geiger's *Pāli*, § 113.

## D.—NUMERALS

One.

Nom. sing. masc. *eko*.

Two.

Nom. masc. *dvo*; fem. *dve*.

These two are the only dual forms preserved in the Gīrnār dialect.

Three.

Nom. masc. *tri*, *ṣ*.

Four.

Nom. masc. *catvāro*.

Five.

Loc. *pañchasu*.

Ten, twelve, thirteen.

*dasa*, *dvādasa*, *traidasa*.

Hundred.

Acc. plur. *satāni*; instr. *satehi*.

Hundred thousand.

Nom. plur. *sata-sahasrāni*.

## E.—CONJUGATION

## I. PRESENT.

(1) *Bases*.

First Sanskrit class.

Root *hram*: *parākramāmi*, *pari(rā)k[a]mate*. The active form *hramati* occurs also in the epics, while classical Sanskrit has *krāmati* in the active and *hramatī* in the middle.

Root *gam*: *gaccheyam*.Root *garh*: *garahati*.Root *dris*: *pasati* (i.e. *passati* = Skt. *patyati*).Root *bhū*: *bhavati* and *hoti*.

Root *labh*. The absolutive *ārabhitpā* and the passive forms *ārabhate*, *ārabhisu*, *ārabhisare* presuppose the present *\*ārabhate*, 'to kill' (= Skt. *ālabhatī*).

Root *vas*: *vaseyu*.Root *vr̥t*: *anuv[a]tare*.Root *sthā*: *tisteya*.

Second Sanskrit class.

Root *as*: *asti*.Root *yā*: *[a]jyātsu*.Root *han* follows the analogy of the ninth class: *upahanāti*.

Third Sanskrit class.

The gerundive *prajñāhītyam* presupposes the present *\*jñāti* = Pāli *jñvati* (for *\*jñvati*); see Fischel, GGA, 1881. 1924.

Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root *pad*: *patipajetha* (= Skt. *pratipadyeta*).Root *man*: *manīkate* (= Skt. *manayati*).

## Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root *āp* follows the ninth class : *prāpuyati* (for \**ṇamti*).<sup>1</sup>

Root *śru* follows the ninth class and forms the 3. plur. imperative active *śruṇānu*.

## Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root *ish* : *ichhati*.

## Seventh Sanskrit class.

Both *bhuj* (*bhūnu*)[*a*] *mānasa*, VI, 3) and *yuj* (*yujāntu*, IV, 11) follow the *a*-conjugation.

## Eighth Sanskrit class.

Root *kṛi* : *karoti*.

Root *kṣhaṇ* follows the *a*-conjugation : *chhaṇati*.

## Tenth Sanskrit class and causatives.

(a) With *aya* : *pājayati*, *daseyitpā*, *dīpayema*, *ārādhayāntu*, *vaḍhayati*. The character *aya* is contracted into *e* in *paṣivedetha*, *paṣ[i]vedeta*[*v*]*yañi*, *pājetayā*, *ārādhetu*, *lochctavyā*, [*a*]-*lochettpt*.

(b) With *paya* : *hāpsati* and the derivative *dāpaka*. The long vowel of the root *jā* is shortened, as it is optionally in Sanskrit, before *paya* in *āṇapayāmi*. With this agrees the Prakrit *āṇavedi*, while Pāli has *āṇāpeti* with long *a*; cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 8.

(c) With *āpaya* : *likhāpayisāni*, *sukhāpayāmi* (which is, properly speaking, a denominative of *sukha*), and the derivatives *khāṇāpita*, *lekhāpita*, *hārāpita*, *srāvāpaka*. In *lekhāpita* the vowel *i* of the root *likh* is strengthened by Guṇa, while in *likhāpayisāni* it remains unchanged.

(d) With *pāpaya* : *ropāpita*.

(a) *Moods.*

(a) *Indicative.*

*Active.*

1. sing. *parākrāmāmi*, *karomi*, *āṇapayāmi*.

3. sing. *garahati*, *paṣati*, *bhavati* and *hoti*, *asti*, *upahanāti*, *ichhati*, *karoti*, *chhaṇati*, *pājayati*, *vaḍhayati*.

3. plur. *pāti* (read *hoti*, XIII, 6), *ichhati* (VII, 2), *prāpuyati* (XIII, 4). In these three forms we would have expected the termination *-mī* instead of *-ti*.

*Middle.*

3. sing. *pari(rā)k[a]mate*, *maññate* or *mañate*, *karote*, which follows the analogy of the active *karōti*, while Sanskrit has the weak form *kurutē*.

3. plur. *karote* (IX, 3) for \**karoñte*. The termination is *-re* in *anu[r(a)]tare* (XIII, 9), in the future *anuvatisare*, in the two passives *anuvīdhiyare* and *ārābhare*, and in the future passive *ārābhisare*. The same termination is known from Vedic Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Pāli; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 458.

(b) *Subjunctive.*

*Active.*

1. sing. *sukhāpayāmi* (VI, 12), which has the termination of the indicative, but must be explained as a subjunctive because it is co-ordinated with the optative *gachcheyāni* and the imperative *ārādhayāntu*.

3. sing. *maññā* (XIII, 11) from *maññate*. Cf. *pañyāt* and many other Vedic forms.

(c) *Optative.*

*Active.*

1. sing. *gachcheyāni*.

3. sing. *asa* (= Pāli *assa* for \**asyāt* from root *as*), *bhave*, *śisṭeya*. Pāli, too, has both the terminations *-e* and *-yya*.

1. plur. *dīpayema*.

3. plur. *asu* (= Pāli *assu* for \**asyuḥ*), *vascyu*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Ardhamāgadhī form *pāṇyanti* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 504.

## Middle.

3. sing. *paṭipajetha* (XIV, 4). The termination *-tha* (= Skt. *-ta*) is the same in Pāli; see Geiger's *Pāli*, § 129.

3. plur. *susumsera* (desiderative of *śru*) with the termination *-ra* for Pāli *-raṇi* = Skt. *-raṇ*.

## (d) Imperative.

## Active.

2. plur. *paṭivedetha* (VI, 5). As in Prakṛit and Pāli, the termination of the corresponding person of the indicative is transferred to the imperative.

3. plur. *yujāntu*, *ārādhayāntu*, [*n*]ijyātu (with *-tu* for *-ntu*), *sruṇāru* (XII, 7) from *\*sruṇānti* = Skt. *śṛiṇōti*. With the termination *-ru* cf. the middle termination *-re* in the indicative, the optative *susumsera*, and the imperative *anuvataṛaṇi*.

## Middle.

3. sing. *anuvīdhiyātām* (passive) and *susrusatā* (desiderative).

3. plur. *anuvataṛaṇi* (VI, 14). Pischel (GGA, 1881. 1931) compared the Vedic imperative *dukrām*. The middle termination *-raṇi* (for *-rām*) corresponds to Skt. *-niām*, as the active termination *-ru* to Skt. *-ntu*, and as the indicative middle termination *-re* to Skt. *-nī*. In the optative middle the Sanskrit termination *-raṇ* agrees with Gīṛnār and Pāli.

## (e) Imperfect.

3. sing. act. *aho* for *\*abhot* = Skt. *abhavat*; see Johansson, *Skāhō*, § 30, last section.

## II. AORIST.

3. plur. act. *āyāsu* (VIII, 1) = Skt. *\*nyayāsuḥ* from root *yā* with the preposition *ni* in the sense of *nis*; cf. Michelson, JAOS, 31. 245. The form *ahumisu* (VIII, 2) seems to be based on the 3. sing. *ahu* (= Skt. *abhāt*), as Pāli *āsimu* on *āsi* (= Skt. *āsit*). In *ārabhisu* (I, 9), which must be connected with the passive *ārabhāre* (I, 11) = Skt. *ālabhyant*, the *bh* is a defective spelling for *bōh*.

## III. PERFECT.

3. sing. act. *āha*. The form *ayāya* (VIII, 2) has been generally explained as an imperfect of root *yā*. It may be as well a perfect of root *i*, = Skt. *īyāya*, but with modified reduplication.

## IV. FUTURE.

## Active.

1. sing. *likhāpayisām* (XIV, 3) has the same termination as in Prakṛit and Pāli.

3. sing. *āṇāpayisati*, *vaḍhayisati*, *kāpesati*, *kāsati* (= Pāli *kāhasi*) from *\*karshyati*.

3. plur. [*pra*]\**vaḍhayisānti*, *anusāsīsānti*, *kāsānti* and *kasa*[*n*]*ti* from root *kṛi*.

## Middle.

3. plur. *anuvatisare* (V, 2). In the passive *ārabhisare* (I, 19) the *bh* is a defective spelling for *bōh*; cf. the remark on the aorist *ārabhisu*, above, section II.

## V. PASSIVE.

The forms which occur in the Gīṛnār text are all derived from the two Sanskrit passives *ālabhyat* and *anuvīdhiyat*:

3. plur. indicative *ārabhāre*, *anuvīdhiyare* are defective spellings for *ārabbhāre*, *anuvīdhiyyare*; see above, p. lix.

3. sing. imperative *anuvīdhiyātām*.

3. plur. aorist *ārabhis...*

3. plur. future *ārabhisare*.

## VI. DESIDERATIVE.

The 3. plur. optative *susumsera* (XII, 7) and the 3. sing. imperative *susrusatā* (X, 2) are derived from Skt. *śutṛiṣkati*.

## VII. PARTICIPLES.

## (1) Present participle.

## Active.

Root *sthā*: nom. plur. masc. *sthanāto*.

Root *as*: nom. sing. masc. *asato*.

Root *hri*: nom. sing. masc. *harato*, *haruk*, *haru*.

## Middle.

Root *bhuj*: *bhuj[ā]māna*.

## (2) Past passive participle.

(a) In *-ta*: *mata* (= Skt. *mata*, XIII, 2, and = *mrta*, XIII, 1), *kata* (= *kṛta*), *vyāpata* (= *vyāpṛta*), *viśata* (= *viśṛta*), *usata* (= *utṛta*), *nisṛta* (= *\*nirṛta*), *spita* (= *sthita*), *atikhṛta* (VI, 1) or *atikṛta* (= *atikhṛanta*), *vata* (= *ukta*), *samāta* (= *samāpta*), *sainkhila* (= *sainkshipta*), *ladha* (= *labdha*), *dhāpita*, &c. The participles *vijita* and *vinīta* (VI, 4) are used as substantives.

(b) The only participle in *-na* is *prasannana*.

## (3) Future passive participle.

(a) In *-tava*: *katava* (= Skt. *kartavya*), *vatava* (= *vaktavya*), *prajāhitaiva* (from *\*jāhati* = Pāli *jvhati*), *ovāditaiva* (from Pāli *ovadaṭṭi*), *vijetaiva* (from *vi-ji*), *pūjitaiva* (= *pūjayitavya*), *lochetava* (= *rōchayitavya*), *paṭṭ[ā]vadata[v]ya*.

(b) In *-ya*: *kacha* (= Skt. *kṛtya*, IX, 8), *saka* (= *śakya*).

## VIII. INFINITIVE.

(a) Accusative: *ārādhetu* (= Skt. *ārādhayitum*).

(b) Dative: *chhamitave* from root *ksham*; cf. Vedic forms like *charitave*, and *gantave*, &c., in Pāli.

## IX. ABSOLUTIVE.

(a) In *-tṣā* (= Skt. *-tvā*): *ārabhitṣā*, *parichajitṣā* (from root *tyaj*), *dasayitṣā* (from causative of *dṛś*), *[ā]-lochetṣā* (= *a-rōchayitvā*).

(b) The only absolute in *-ya* is *sachchāya* from *sam-kṣā* (= *sam-khyā*).

## F.—SUFFIXES

Under this heading I note a few remarkable formations which differ from Sanskrit.

(1) *Kṛit* suffixes.

(a) *-anā*: *samīkṛanā* from Skt. *śṛayati*.

(b) *-ri*: *nijhati* = *\*nidhyapṛi*, *anusasti* = Skt. *anustāsti* (Böhtlingk's *Wörterbuch*, 5. 991), while Pāli *anusitṭhi* agrees with Skt. *anustitṭhi*.

(c) *-ni*: *kīni* (IV, 11) from root *kā* on the analogy of the participle *kīna*.

The first member of the compound *vachi-guti* (XII, 3) is not a fossilized locative, as Michelson (JAOS, 31. 230) thinks, but must be connected with Ardhamāgadhī *vaś* or *vaś* = *\*vācṣi*; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 413.

(a) *Taddhita* suffixes.

(a) *-ka*: *rājaka* (from *rajju*; see Text, p. 5, n. 2), and often pleonastic: *staka*, *ṣ[ā]vata[ḥ]a*, *tāvataka*, *sarasaka*, *ñātika*.

(b) *-laka*: *mahālaka* (from Skt. *mahat*) = Prākṛit *mahālaya* and *mahallaya* (Pischel's *Grammatik*, pp. 402, 404).

(c) *-ika*: *ilokika* and *pāralokika* (XIII, 12).

(d) *-tya*: *ilokacha* (XI, 4), *ekacha* (I, 6). The first component of *ilokacha* and *ilokika* is the pronominal base *i*, from which Skt. *itara*, *itas*, and *ika* (for *idha*) are derived; see Franke in GN, 1895. 535.

(e) *-tara*, added to participles and substantives: *bāḍhatarani*, *katavyatarani*, *kammatarani* from Skt. *karmen*.

(f) *-vana*: *taddīpano(vu)*; see Text, p. 18, n. 8.

## G.—SYNTAX

Here also I do not aim at completeness, but note only a few particular constructions.

To denote time, several cases are used: the accusative in *atikātaṃ amāraṃ*, 'in times past' (IV, 1; V, 3; VI, 1; VIII, 1), the instrumental in *bahūhi vāsa*]-*satehi*, 'for many hundreds of years' (IV, 4), the dative in *digbhāya*, 'in the distant (future)' (X, 1), and the locative in *pañchasa vāsesu*, 'every five years' (III, 2), *sarve kāle*, 'at any time' (VI, 3, 8), and *taddāpano*(ne), 'at the present time' (X, 1).

The nominative absolute occurs in XI, 4:—*so [a]tā karu*, 'if one is acting thus', and the genitive absolute in VI, 3:—*bhūmij[a]mānasa me*, 'while I am eating'.

The genitive is employed in connexion with *bhavaṭi* (IV, 10) and *nāsti* (VII, 3), and instead of the instrumental with *kata* (= *krīta*, II, 4), *sādhu-matā* (I, 6 f.), and *katavya-matā* (VI, 9).

The 3. sing. *asti* is the predicate of a nominative plural in I, 6, and *nāsti* in three places (II, 6, 7; XIII, 5); cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, p. 350. In XIV, 1 f., *asti* is used as a particle in the sense of *vā*. In IX, 1, it opens a sentence, as frequently in the *Pañchatantra*; cf. Speyer's *Sanskrit Syntax* (Leyden, 1886), p. 234, n. 9. For instances from Prākṛit literature see Pischel, op. cit., p. 294.

## CHAPTER VII.

## GRAMMAR OF THE KALSI ROCK-EDICTS

## A.—PHONETICS

## I. VOWELS.

THE vowel *a* becomes *i* through the influence of a neighbouring *y* in *majhima* (= *madhyama*), *vadhīyati* (= *vardhayati*), *vadhīyisati*, and *u* after a labial in *muta*, *muniṣa* (= *manuskya*), *uchā-vaṣa*. In *gih[i]ṣtha* (= *grihasṭha*, XIII, 37) and *ud[u]pāna* (= *udapāna*) the vowel of the second syllable is assimilated to the first. In *Alīkayāshudale* (XIII, 8) the *u* is perhaps due to a popular etymology deriving the foreign name *Ἀλέξανδρος* from *alika*, 'the forehead', and *sundara*, 'beautiful'.

The *e* of *heta* or *hetā* (= *\*itra*) perhaps goes back to an original *i*; see above, p. lvi. In *edisa* and *heḍisa* the vowel *e* corresponds to the *i* of Skt. *īdṛiṣa*.<sup>1</sup>

The *a* of *gatu* corresponds to Skt. *u*; cf. above, p. lvi. In *muniṣa* (II, 6) the *u* of Skt. *manuskya* has become *i* through the influence of the palatal *y* in the next syllable; cf. the form *manuṣa* (i.e. *manuṣā*) at Shāhbāzgarhi and Mānschrā, in which the *y* has palatalized the preceding *sh*.<sup>2</sup> In *kho* (= Skt. *khalu*) Skt. *u* is represented by *o*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

As in other Prākṛits, the Skt. vowel *ṛi* is lost. It becomes *a* in [*a*]naniya (= Skt. *anṛiṇya*), [*u*]ṛaṣa, *kata*, *dukaṣa*,<sup>3</sup> *gakaṣa* (= *grihasṭha*, XII, 31), *dakkati*, *bhaṣa*,<sup>4</sup> *bhaṣaka*, *maṣe*, *vataṃ* (= *vṛittam*, X, 27), *vadhi* and *vaḍhi* (= *vṛiddhi*), *viṭha*, *viṣṭha*; *i* in *edisa* and *heḍisa*, *tādisa*, [*d*]ādisa (= *yādṛiṣa*), *kiṭana*[*d*] (= *krītaṇātā*), *giḥ[i]ṣtha*, *diḍha*, *panāṭikya* (= *\*praṇapṛika*), *pīṭisu*, *bhāṭinā*, *mige*, *migaviyā*; *u* in *uṣha*,<sup>5</sup> *shum*[*y*]u,<sup>6</sup> and after a labial in *a*[*gabhu*][*i*], *paṭipuckha*, *ni*[*v*]uti (= *nirvṛitti*), *vntam* (= *vṛittam*, XIII, 11), *vudha* (= *vṛiddha*). It will be observed that in some of these words the original *ṛi* has caused the lingualization of the following dentals, and in *heḍisa*=Skt. *īdṛiṣa* it has lingualized the preceding *d*. In [*tu*]ṭha (II, 6) the syllable *tu* corresponds to the syllable *vṛi* of Skt. *vṛikṣa*; cf. Greek *λύκος*=Skt. *vṛika*, and see Wackernagel's *Altind.*

<sup>1</sup> The same form occurs in Pāli; see Geiger, § 18.

<sup>2</sup> Pāli has *edisa* and *erisa*, Prākṛit *īdisa* and *erisa*; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 121.

<sup>3</sup> Michelson (AJP, 32. 447) thinks that the vocalization of *muniṣa* may have followed the analogy of Māgadhā *pulisa*=Skt. *puruṣa*. But the apparent resemblance of the two words is due chiefly to the defective spelling of *muniṣa*, which stands for *muniṣa*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Skt. *vikṣa* (for *vikṛiṣa*), *vikṣa*, *saṅkṣa*.

<sup>5</sup> This Prākṛit word is used also in Sanskrit.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the assimilation of the second vowel to the first in *ud[u]pāna*=Skt. *udapāna*.

<sup>7</sup> Here the *u* is due to the analogy of other forms of the root *ṛu*.



*Grammatik*, vol. 1, § 184, b). The Gīrnār equivalent *vachka* disproves the etymology advocated by Pischel (*Grammatik*, § 320), who derived Prākṛit *ruckha* from Skt. *ruksha* (*Rigveda*, VI, 3, 7), to which Roth (*Vllth Oriental Congress, Aryan Section*, p. 3) had assigned the meaning 'a tree', although the traditional meaning 'bright' gives a satisfactory sense.

The diphthongs *ai* and *au* are both lost. The former becomes *e* in *ni[che]* (perhaps = Skt. *nichaiḥ*, VII, 22) and in the feminine case-termination *-e*; the second becomes *o* in *paṭoṭā* (XIII, 15), *pa[la]lokitya* or *palalokitya*, *-opaga* and *-opa[ya]*.

Short *a* is lengthened in *a[tiyayike]* (= Skt. *ātyayikam*), *vyāma* (= *udyama*), *lāti* (= *rati*, VIII, 23), and at the end of a few bases in *-a*, viz. *uchāvuchā-* (VII, 21), *kiṭanā-* (= *krītañja*, VII, 22), *v[ī]yā-* (= *vyaya*, III, 8), *iālā-* or *ś[ā]lā-* (= *sāra*), *śhāvā-* (= *sarva*, XII, 31), *samanā-* (= *śramana*, XI, 29). The lengthening of *a* is very frequent at the end of words; e.g. *ajā* (= *adya*), *atā* (= *atra* and *yatra*), *anātā* (= *anyatra*), *aśā* (= *yasya*), *āhā*, *evā* or *vā*, *chā*, *janasā*, *tasā* (= *tasya*), *tenā*, *dānenā*, *nā*, *nāmā*, *nīkhamitā*, *Piyadasisā*, *mamā*, *hiddā* (= *iha*), *hetā* (= *\*isra*).

Long *i* and *u* are nowhere distinguished in writing from the corresponding short vowels except in *osadhi[ni]* (II, 5), *Pi[ya]dasi* (I, 2), *ś[ī]lasi* (IV, 12), *[chā]* (I, 4), *majāl[ā]* (I, 4), *loj[ā]k[e]* (III, 7).

Similarly, *ā* is often represented by *a*. Although in some cases this defective spelling is perhaps due to the negligence of the writer, the subjoined list will not be considered superfluous.

(1) At the beginning: *akāla(le)ma*, *anam[ta]l[ī]yena*, *[a]naniyam*, *apalāmītā*<sup>1</sup>, *ayatiye*, *alam-bhīyis*, *alabhi[yan]ti*, *alābhi[y]isā[ni]ti*, *av[ā]hā[ni]*, *akā*<sup>2</sup> (= Skt. *āka*, V, 13).

(2) In the interior of words: *adīcha* (= *yādrikam*, XI, 29), *anathesw* (= *anāthesu* at Dhauri), *apavaks* (= Skt. *apavākah*), *ava* (= *yavat*, IX, 25), *ava[ta]ke*, *kala* (VI, 17), *Devanampiyem* (X, 28), *pa[la]lokitya* or *palalokitya* (= *pālalokitya* in the two separate edicts at Dhauri and Jaugada), *paṭaga* (= Skt. *pāṭhaṇḍa*, XII, 31), *baḥham* (XII, 32), *madhuliyāye*, *lajā*, *lajane*, *lajinā*, *vijina-mane*, *v[ī]dh[ā]nā[ni]*, *vimana-*, *viyapaṭā* (V, 15), *vividh[āye]*, *shav[ī]bhage*.

(3) At the end: *a* (= Skt. *ā*, XIII, 6), *anatha* (= *anyathā*), *abaka-* (= *ambitā*), *[e]k[ā]* (XIII, 37), *ma* (XIII, 16), *maka-phalā* (XIII, 14), *māka-pitisu* (III, 8), *lāja* (IV, 11), *va* (twice = *vā*), *h[ā]da[lokika]* (XIII, 18).

Initial *a* is dropped in *pi* (= *api*) and *hakam* (for *ahakam* = *akam*); *i* in *ti* (= *iti*), also in *kintī* (only XII, 33) and *kitti*; *e* in *va* (only IX, 26) and *vā*, besides which the full forms *eva* and *evā* are also employed.<sup>3</sup>

## II. SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

The Kālī dialect agrees with the Māgadha one in replacing the semivowel *r* by *l*, and the two nasals *m* and *ṃ* by dental *n*, throughout.

The two gutturals *k* and *g* were often palatalized through the influence of the preceding vowel *i*. This pronunciation is expressed in writing by the groups *ky* and *gy*, of which the latter occurs three times in the word *Kālyga* (= Skt. *Kālyga*), and the former in *[n]iky[ā]y[ā]* (XII, 34), *Atikyashudale* (XIII, 8), and in the affixes *-ka* and *-ika* of *akāliky[e]*, *-chirikyā* and *-phirikyā*, *nātikyā*, *panātikyā*, *pālāmītyā*, *Pitīmiky[ā]*, *-bh[u]mikyā*, *śh[a]śhu[va]m[ī]tyena*, *sa[ni]sāyikyā*, *hidalokityā* and *pa[la]lokityā* (XIII, 18). Instead of the two last words we find also the forms *h[ā]da[lokika]* and *palalokityā* (XIII, 17f.), which suggest that *-ika* became *-ya* through the intermediate stage *-ikyā*. In the same way Franke (VOJ, 9, 347, n. 2) explains *nīlathiya*, which corresponds at Kālī (IX, 24) to *niratha* at Gīrnār.<sup>4</sup> Another instance of the change of *k* to *y* after *i* would be *diyaḍka* (XIII, 35), which Pischel (*Grammatik*, § 230) derived from *\*dvikārdka*. To this may be added the affix *-āka* or *-āya* in *mahāka* and *supadāya* (V, 14); see below, p. lxxxiv.<sup>5</sup> The Kālī

<sup>1</sup> Dhauri reads *āpalāmītā*, and Gīrnār *[ā]parātā*. Cf. the adjective *Āparānta* in the *Kautilya*, p. 81, l. 5.

<sup>2</sup> This may be an unreduplicated perfect, as in the pillar-edicts; see Michelson, IF, 23, 244.

<sup>3</sup> Instead of *no* at XIII, 16, we have perhaps to read *yo*, as at Shāhāzgarhī. For *yo* = Prākṛit *yva* see below, p. lxxxv.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. also *ata-patiya* in the pillar-edict IV, and *apka-bhāgiya* on the Rummindī pillar.

<sup>5</sup> In Turkish the guttural *q* (*kyef*) is liable to a similar palatalization and change to *y*; thus from *qıy* (*kyōq*), 'a dog', is formed *kyōy* (pronounced *kyōyōy*), 'his dog'.

dialect, like the Girmār dialect, furnishes an instance of the development of *y* from *g* in *-opaga* (II, 5) and *-opa[ya]* (VIII, 23). From the form *Kaligya*, which, as stated on p. lxxi, occurs three times at Kālāi, it may be inferred that the intermediate stage was *\*-opagya*. Greek *γ* is expressed by *k* in *Aṁviki[ne]* and *Mahā*, and *χ* by *g* in *Aṁvityoga*. Skt. *gk* has become *k* in *lahu* and *lahuka*.

Of palatals, *ch* has been aspirated in *hechka* (= Skt. *kṛcha*, XII, 32) and *kichhi* (= *\*kīd + chid*). In *vacha* (VI, 18; XII, 34) *ch* corresponds to the *j* of Skt. *vraja*. The letter *j* has become *d* in *palitiditu* (X, 28), the absolutive of Skt. *parityajati*. Cf. Kuhn (*Pāli-Grammatik*, p. 36), who quotes from *Dhammapada*, p. 144 [l. 13], the aorist *parichchadi*; E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 25; Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 215.

Dentals are lingualized in *duvūḍasa*; before *ri* in *heḍisa*; after *ri* in *[u]shaḥa* and *ushuḥa*, *kapa*, *dukaḥa*, *kiṭandā[ḍ]*, *bhaḥa*, *bhaḥaka*, *maḥa*, *vithaḥa*, *vithapaḥa*; after *va* in the preposition *pafi* (= Skt. *prati*). Dental *ṣ* is palatalized in *chiphī[ṣu]* (IV, 12), the absolutive of Prākṛit *chiphthadi*<sup>1</sup> (= Skt. *tishphati*). It is replaced by *d* in *dore* (VI, 19) and *hida-sukhāye* (V, 15).<sup>2</sup> In *tatopa[ya]* (= *tadopayā* at Girmār and Dhavūl) it looks as if *t* had taken the place of *d*. But the first member of the compound might be, not *tad*, but *tata* (= Skt. *tatra*); cf. Senart's *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, I, 194. In *hida* (= *idha* at Girmār) the *d* apparently corresponds to an original *dh*; but Johansson (*Shāhō*, § 57) may be right in connecting *hida* with Vedic *idā*, 'now'.

The labial aspirate *bh* has become *h* in the instrumental and dative plural in *-hi*, in *hoti*, *hotu*, *aho*, *huvaya*, *huru*, and in the participle *huta* (= Skt. *bhūta*), while *bhuta* is used as substantive.

The semivowel *y* has become *j* in *majāla* (= Skt. *mayūra*, I, 4); *v* in *visava* (= *viskaya*, XIII, 9) and *vas[c]vu* (= *vastuyā*, VII, 21); *k* in *ye[kaṁ]* (VI, 20).<sup>3</sup> Initial *y* is lost in *aṁ* (= Skt. *yaś*), *aśā* (= *yasya*), *e* (= *yah*, *yat*, *ye*), *a[ḥa]* (= *yatra*), *athā* (= *yathā*), *[ā]disa* (= *yādriśa*), *āva* (= *yāvati*), *nva[ta]he* (XIII, 39). In *apavudha* (= *apūḍha*) *v* was developed out of *h*.

The syllable *ya* becomes *i* in *palitiditu*, the absolutive of Skt. *parityajati*, and in *[a]pa-v[ṣ]yātā* (= *apa-vyayātā* at Girmār), and *vā* becomes *u* in the absolutes in *-su* (= Skt. *-svā*).

In *[e]dasa* (= *\*trayadaśa*) *aya* is contracted to *e*. The causative affixes *aya* and *ayi* either remain unchanged (in *dasayitu*, &c.) or are contracted (in *pujett*, *pujetav[ṣ]iya*, &c.); in *vaḍḍiyati* and *vaḍḍiyisati* the second *a* is changed to *i* through the influence of the palatal *y* which follows it. In the 3. sing. optative *nivātey[ḍ]* (= Skt. *nirvartayēti*) the *e* corresponds to an original *aye*.<sup>4</sup> For *ma* we have *o* in *olodhana*, *hoti*, *hotu*, *aho*.

Cases of Cockneyism are *hida* (= Skt. *iha*), *heḍisa* (= *idriśa*), *heta* (= *\*itra*), *hevanā*, and perhaps the conjunction *kaṁche* (IX, 26), which is identical in meaning with Pāli *sache*, 'if'. Johansson (*Shāhō*, I, 66) derives it from Pāli *yaṁche* (Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, p. 603, a) through the intermediate form *\*amche*, while Senart (IA, 21. 88) traces it directly to *sache*.

In the edicts I-IX the Kālāi dialect agrees with the Girmār one in replacing the two sibilants *ś* and *ṣh* by *s*.<sup>5</sup> From edict X the writer employs, besides *s*, the signs for *ś* and *ṣh*. In a few cases, *śh* is used where Sanskrit would require it; see *eske*, *[va]sha* (= *varsha*, XIII, 35), *pāshamḍa*, *manu[shāna]in*, *teshanā*, *yeshanā*, *atesku* (= *antishku*), *Kambojesku*, *Kalā[ni]gesku*, *nāśikesku*, *Nābhapaṁtishku*, *Pitānikye[sh]u*, *pitishku*, *[ṣ]nesk[u]*, *ladhesha[shu]*, *manishku*. But in the majority of instances both *śh* and *ś* are phonetically and etymologically impossible; see e.g. *tata* and *tasha* (= Skt. *tasya*), *dāśa* and *dāsha* (= *dāsa*), *śamthata* and *śamthuta* (= *samsthuta*), *[ś]va* and *shava* (= *sarva*), *lālā-* and *śh[ā]lā-* (= *sāra*), *ṣiyāti* and *shiyāti* (= *syāt*), *[ś]e* and *she*, *shaka[ḥ]a* and *shakasha* (= *sakasha*). To explain this state of matters, we have to suppose that the writer spoke a dialect which knew no sibilant besides *s*, and that he used the letters *ś* and *ṣh* indiscriminately for expressing the same sibilant.<sup>6</sup> In other words, the letters *ś* and *ṣh* at Kālāi are purely graphical, and in the sequel it is tacitly assumed that every *ś* and *ṣh* is a vicarious symbol expressing dental *s*.

As in the Girmār dialect, all final consonants are dropped. The preceding vowel is sometimes lengthened; see *s[ā]myā-* or *shamyā-* (= Skt. *samyak*, Pāli *sammā*), *palisā* (= Skt. *parishad*), *puna*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Singhalese *sifinu* or *hiṣinu*, 'to stand', in Geiger's *Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalesen*, p. 47, l. 3 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. below, p. lxxv and n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> For similar forms of the 1. sing. optative see below, p. lxxvii.

<sup>4</sup> For similar contracted forms see below, p. lxxvii.

<sup>5</sup> But *ś* occurs twice in edict IV, l. 13 (*vāśa* = Skt. *varsha*, and *Piyadasiṇā*).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Senart's *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, I, 37, and Bühler's *Ind. Pal.*, § 14, last section.

and *puṇā* (= *puṇar*), *ḍva*, *ova*, *avā* (= *yāvat*). It is nasalized in *avān* (XIII, 8). The termination *-ā* generally becomes *-ā* (e.g. *puṇā*), but the *ā* is shortened in a few cases; see below, p. lxxvii. Final *-as* becomes *-s*; e.g. *jane* (nom. sing.), *maṭṭe* (= Skt. *maṭṭarāṣ*), *lajjine* (gen. sing.), *lajjine* (nom. plur.), *bhūye* (= *bhūyāḥ*), *ne* (= *naḥ*), *se* (= *saḥ*), *ye* or *e*, *ahine*, *ekhe*, *[p]ule* (= Pāli *pure*, Skt. *purāḥ*), *[m]u[ka]ḥ[ṣe]*, *viyaṇṇamaḥ[ṣe]*. But *o* is found instead of *e*, as at Girmār, in *Sāṭiyaputo*, *Ko[la]ḥ[puto]*, *jani[yo]*, *lā[ṣ]āno*, *yaso* or *yashe*, *tato*; *ā* in *Mahā*; *a* in *vadhā* (XIII, 36), *hidalaḥkiya* (XIII, 17), *uḥ[a]* (XIII, 38), *va[cha]* (XII, 31).

Sanskrit words ending in *m* and *n* substitute Anusvāra for these two nasals; e.g. *dharmamā*, *dānamā*, and the two present participles *saṁtām* and *kalāntām* (XII, 33), which correspond to Skt. *san* and *kurvan*. The Anusvāra is, however, frequently omitted; see *kalā[nita]* (XI, 30) and *kalata* (XII, 32) for *kalāntām*, *anata* (XI, 30) for *anaṁtām*, *adishs* (= Skt. *yādṛīṣam*, XI, 29), *pāṣhaṁḍa*, *pāṣhaḍa*, and *pāṣhaḍa*, *bāḍha* (XIII, 36), *madava* (= *mārdavam*, XIII, 4), *viyaṇṇa* and *viyaṇṇataviya* (XIII, 16), *[ka]va* (= *śarvam*, X, 28), *hova* (= *evam*, XII, 32), and the accusatives feminine *-anusa[ṭṭi]* (XIII, 12), *hiṣi*, *khaṁṭi*, *vadhī*, *Sambodhi*, *sudhi*, *hini*. In other instances the Anusvāra is dropped and preceding *a* lengthened; see *[ā]dīṣā* (= Skt. *yādṛīṣam*, IV, 10), *kam[ma]lā* (= *\*karmatarām*, VI, 20), *khuddā* (= *kakudram*, IX, 24), *doṣā* (I, 2), *nilathiyā* (IX, 24), *pāṣhaḍa* (XII, 32), *puṇā* (thrice = *puṇyāṁ*), *bakuk[ā]* (I, 2), *maha-phala* (= *mahā-phalam*, XIII, 14). As a rule, the nom. sing. of neuters in *-a* follows the analogy of the nom. sing. masculine and ends in *-s*; see *se*, *she*, *ese*, *eshe*, *ye*, *e*, *ahine*, *sava*, *shava*, *[ṣ]a*, *dāne*, &c. The acc. sing. neut. has the same termination in *dāne* (XII, 31), *bāḍhatale* (XII, 33), and in the particles *s* (XIII, 38), *se*, *she*.

Words ending in long nasalized vowels are treated in three different ways. Long *ā* is generally shortened; e.g. *pāṇānāṁ*, *tānāṁ* (XIII, 38), *teshām* (XIII, 37), *nāti[nam]* (IV, 10), *bhāṭina* (V, 16). In other instances the Anusvāra is dropped; see the genitives plural *[ha]nibhānā* (XI, 29), *nātinā* (IV, 9), *bhāṭina* (V, 16), *gubhā* (IX, 25), and the accusatives singular *puṇā* (XII, 31), *-damaṭā* (XIII, 17), *dishā* (XIV, 23), *[ma]hathāvā* (X, 27), which is perhaps a clerical mistake for *mahāthāvahām* (= Skt. *mahārthāvahām*). Thirdly, the Anusvāra may be dropped and the long vowel shortened at the same time; see *pajāva* (= Skt. *prajāvān*, V, 15), *pāṣhaḍāna* (XII, 31), *m[a]nushāṁ[a]* (XIII, 39), *[ā]āni* (= *idānim*, I, 3).

### III. SANDHI.

Final *m* is preserved before the particle *eva* in *tam-eva*, *[ā]nam-eva*, *[e]vam-eva*, *pālāntikyam-eva* (va). Hiatus is prevented by nasalizing the first of two vowels in the two compounds *amnam-anashā* (= Skt. *anyānyasya*, XII, 33) and *bhaṭam-ayesu* (V, 15).

*a + a* are contracted into *ā* in *etiāthāye* (XII, 34), *[ka]pābhikā[te]*, *kuvāpi* (= Skt. *kvāpi*), *gabha-gāla*, *-vasābhikā*, *dharmamānusa[ṭṭi]* (XIII, 12) or *dharmamānusaṭṭi* (twice), &c., but into short *a* in *dharmamānusaṭṭi* (thrice), *dharmā[vāy]* (XIII, 35), *li[ṣ]ikalapālādheṇa* (XIV, 23), and before an original group of consonants in *a[ṭṭa]* (twice = Skt. *yatra yatra*), *apalanā* (= *āparāntāḥ*, V, 15), *tenatā* (= *tānātra*, VIII, 23), *diyaḍha* (= *\*dvikārāḥ*, XIII, 35), *nāhi* (= *nāsti*), *supathāy[ṣe]* (= *sūpārthāya*, I, 3).

*a + ā* becomes *ā* in *pā[nā]lāmbhe* (IV, 9) and *[ma]hathāvā* (= Skt. *mahārtha + āvahām* (?), X, 27).

*ā + a* becomes *a* before an original group in *[ma]hātha* (= *mahā + artha*, X, 27).

*ā + u* becomes *o* in *pajopadāna(ye)*, on which see below, p. lxxv, n. 1.

*a* is elided before *i*, *e*, *o* in *bambhan-ibhesu* (V, 15), *ch-eva*, *manus-opagāni* (II, 5),<sup>1</sup> and before *n* in *chn*,<sup>2</sup> but<sup>3</sup> which corresponds to *chō* (= *cha + n*) in Buddhist *gāthās*.<sup>3</sup>

*i + a* are contracted into *i* in *ibhidhiyakhā* (= *stry-adhyakhā*, XII, 34).

*u* is elided before *o* in *pas-opagāni* (II, 5).

*a* is dropped after *s* in *o-yaṇ* (V, 15), *iḍ[ya]ṭh[ṣe]* (VI, 19), *iḍ[ya]ṭhāye* (VI, 20).

<sup>1</sup> For *tatopayā* see above, p. lxixii.

<sup>2</sup> Michelson (IF, 23, 261) considers *chn* a contamination of *an* and *chō*.

<sup>3</sup> See Kern's translation of the *Saddharma-piṇḍarīkā* (SBE, vol. 21), Introduction, p. xvii.

## IV. GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

Combined consonants are either assimilated, or an auxiliary vowel is developed between them. The only groups which occasionally remain unchanged are *tv*, *dhr*, *my*, *vy*, *sv*. For the two groups *ky* and *gy* see above, p. lxxi.

Long *ā* preceding a group of consonants is generally shortened; see *ata-* (= Skt. *ātman*), *a[tīyāyike]* (= *ātyāyikam*),<sup>1</sup> *anap[a]yisanti* (III, 8), *anusathi* (= *anusāsti*), *asamati* (= *asamāpiti*), *ayesu* (= *āryeshu*), *āladhe* (= *\*ābrāddham*), *gadhā* (= *\*gāddhā*), *tadatvaye*, *palakamāmi*, *palakamātu*, *palakamānē*, *pasavati* (= *prasāvayati?*), *ma[g]a* (= *mārga*, II, 6), *madava* (= *mārdava*, XIII, 4), *mahāmata* (= *mahāmātra*). But the length is preserved in *ānapayite* and *mahāmāta*. Long *i* preceding a simple consonant is shortened and the consonant itself doubled in *tīmni* (= *trīpi*, I, 3). Similarly, *bh[u]ye*, *vedaniya*, *anuvīdhiyāna* (read *\*yanti*) may be meant for *bhūrye*, *vedāniyya*, *anuvīdhiyyanti*; cf. above, p. lix. Short *a* preceding a group is lengthened in *ānatā* (= *anyatra*, XIII, 38), *panāstikya* (= *\*panāstīrika*, IV, 11), and *skāvā-* (= *sarva-*, XII, 31). In *pālamitika* (twice = *pāratrika*) the short *a* preceding the group *tr* has been nasalized.<sup>2</sup>

A long nasalized vowel is shortened before consonants, as it is often at the end of words (see above, p. lxxiii), in *atīkāmāni* (= *atīkrāntam*), *khamānti* (= *kshānti*, XIII, 16), *Tambhapanini* (= *Tāmbra-parṇi*), *Pamdiya* (= *Pāḍiyāḥ*), *banibhāna* (= *brāhmana*), *bha[m]ā[da]* (= *bhāṇḍa*, III, 8), *sa[m]sāyikye* (= *sāmsāyikam*, IX, 26). In *dhā[da]hānā* (XIII, 37), *Devānāpye* (twice), and in the third persons plural *pāpūnātā(n)*, *palakamātu*,<sup>3</sup> *loketu* (XIII, 17), *[paṭi]vedetu* (VI, 18), the Anuvāra is dropped.

As at the end of words (see above, p. lxxiii), there are many cases in the interior of words where the Anuvāra is omitted after a short vowel; see *Atiyoge* (XIII, 6), *atesku* (= *antīshku*), *anata* (= *ananta*), *anubadh[ā]* (= *anubandhāt*), *abaka-* (= *ambika*), *alabhi[yam]ti* (cf. the aorist *alambhīyisu*, I, 3), *Alīkayashudale* (= *Alīgarpor*), *Kaligya* (= *Kalīnga*), *pāṣaḍa* and *pāṣaka* (= *pāṣaṇḍa*),<sup>4</sup> *magala* (= *maṅgala*), *vihisā* (= *vihimsā*), *shambadh[e]* (= *sambandhak*), *shov[i]bhaga* (= *samvibhāga*), *sayama* and *sanayama* (IX, 25), *vashati* (= *vasanti*), and *manatu* (3. plur. imperative of root *man*).

While most groups of consonants are assimilated, others are avoided by developing an auxiliary vowel in the middle of them. This vowel is *a* in *ga[la]kati* (= Skt. *garhātī*), *galahā*, *Alīkayashudale* (= *Alīgarpor*); *u* before or after labials in *kuvāpi*, *dave*, *duvāḍaṣa*, *puluvā* (= *pūruva*), *suvaṁmika*, *pāpūnātā(n)*; and frequently *i*; see *lājina* (= *rājīnā*), *lājine* (= *rājīnā*), the future passive participles in *-saviya*, *-adhikyakha* (= *adhikyaksha*), *[a]naniya* (= *ānriya*), *apatiya*, *alabhi[yam]ti*, *[e]katiya*, *Pamdiya*, *paṭivesiya*, *madkuliya* (= *mādkuriya*), *viyaṁjana*, *viyāpaṣa* (= *vyāpṛiṣa*), *[shamacha]liya* (= *\*sama-charya*), *shinehe* (= *snehaḥ*), *siyā* (= *syāt*). Similarly, an auxiliary *i* is prefixed to the group *str* in *iiki* (= *strī*).

It is unnecessary to quote examples of the groups *kr*, *gr*, *tr*, *dr*, *pr*, *br*, *bkr*, *tr*, *sr*, which have become *k*, *g*, *ḍ*, *p*, *b*, *bh*, *s*, *z* throughout. The remaining groups and their equivalents are given in the subjoined list.

*kṣ* becomes *ṣ* in *Nābhapaniti*, &c.

*kṣ* becomes *kuv* in *kuvāpi*.

*kṣh* becomes *kḥ* in *-adhikyakha*, *khamānti* (= Skt. *kshānti*), *kḥuda* (= *kshudra*), *dakhāṣi*,<sup>5</sup> *[kḥ]kha* (= *viksha*), *mokha*, *su[sam]kḥita* (= *samkshipta*); *chh* in *chhamati*.

*khy* becomes *kḥ* in *shamkheye* (read *samkḥāya*).

*khl* becomes *kḥ* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

*gn* becomes *g* in *agi*.

*jū* becomes *u* in *kīpand[ā]* (= Skt. *kṛitajātā*), *nāti*, *ānapayite*, but *jū* in *lājina* (= *rājīnā*) and *lājine* (= *rājīnā*).

<sup>1</sup> *atiyāyika* presupposes an intermediate form *\*atiyāyika*, in which the initial *ā* was shortened before the group *ty*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *vanika* = Skt. *vakra*, *sunika* = Skt. *śulka*, &c., in Fische's *Grammatik*, § 74.

<sup>3</sup> For these two forms see below, p. lxxii.

<sup>4</sup> The form *pāṣakaḍa* may be derived from Skt. *pāṣakaḍa*; see above, p. lx.

<sup>5</sup> Fische's (*Grammatik*, § 554) derives this form from *\*dṛikshāṣi*, which is preserved in *idṛiksha*, *idṛikshaḥ*, &c.

- dy* becomes *diy* in *Paṇḍīyā*.  
*gy* becomes *gūn* or *n* in *kūlānna*, *gūnā* (thrice = Skt. *paṇyam*), but *niy* in *[a]namiya* (= *ānṛiyya*).  
*ṣp* becomes *p* in *paṣṣapadāne* (p).<sup>1</sup>  
*sm* becomes *s* in *ata-* (= Skt. *ātman*).  
*ty* becomes *tīy* in *apātiye*, *aṣṭīyīyū*, *[x]katiyā*; *ky* in *nīkyan*.  
*tv* remains in *tadadvāye* (X, 27), where the *ā* of *tadā* has been shortened before the double consonant of the affix *-vā*; but *tv* is assimilated in *chatālī* (= Skt. *chatvārī*, XIII, 7).  
*ts* becomes *s* (or *sk*) in *chikīśā*, *chikīśāhā*, *[u]śhap[na]* and *nehuṣṇa*.  
*tsk* becomes *šk* in *uṣṭhāna*; cf. *uṣṭhāna* at Girār.  
*dy* becomes *j* in *aja*, *paṣṣajīyā*; *y* in *[u]y[ānā]*, *uṣṭhāna*.  
*dv* becomes *d* in *diyaḍha*, but *dūv* in *dūv*, *dūvāḍha*.  
*dhy* becomes *jā* in *n[i]jhati*, *majhimā*, but *dhiy* in *-adhiyakhā*.  
*dhr* remains in *dhrūv* (I, 4); but it seems to be assimilated in *[Adha]* (= *Andhra*, XIII, 10).  
*ny* becomes *nūn* or *n* in *anūna* and *ana*, *manān[i]* and *manati*.  
*pt* becomes *t* in *guti*, *n[i]jhati*, *asamati*, *su(sam)khitā*, *natāle* (= Skt. *napītraḥ*), *paṇḍītyā*, *Tulamaye* (= *Πολυμαίος*).  
*pn* becomes *pūn* in *pāpūnāta(tī)*.  
*bāh* becomes *dh* in *ladha*.  
*bhy* becomes *bh* in *-ibhesu*, but *bhiy* in *alābhi[ya]n[i]*, *alāmbhiyisu*, *alābhi[y]iśa[n]ti*.  
*ney* remains in *s[a]myā-* or *śamāyā-* (= Skt. *samyak*).  
*nr* becomes *nū* in *Tambapānini*.  
*rg* becomes *g* in *m[a]ge[s]u*, *vaganā*, *svagān*.  
*rn* becomes *nūn* in *Tambapānini*.  
*rt* becomes *t* in *kīti*, *anuvataṣṭi*, *[a]nuvaṣ[a]tu*, *nivateti*; *ṣ* in *kaṣaviya*, *anuvāṣa[n]ti*, *n[va]ṣ[eti]*, *nivaṣ[eti]*.  
*rth* becomes *th* in *aṭha*; *th* in *aṭha* and *nīlathiyā*; see above, p. lxxi and n. 4.  
*rd* becomes *d* in *madava* (= Skt. *mārdava*).  
*rdh* becomes *dh* in *vadhite*, *vadhīyati*; *ḍh* in *vadhite*, *vadhīyati*, *[pa]v[a]dhayisaṁh[i]*, *diyaḍha*.  
*rbh* becomes *bh* in *gabdhāgāla[s]*.  
*rm* becomes *nūn* or *m* in *kaṣama* (= Skt. *karman*), *dhaṣama* and *dhamā*.  
*ry* becomes *y* in *ayesu* (= Skt. *āryeṣu*), but *liy* in *anāh[ta]ṣ[i]ya* (= *ānantarya*), *madhūliya* (= *mādhurya*), *[śamacha]ṣi* (= *\*sama-charya*).  
*rv* becomes *v* in *sava*, *nivateti*, *niv[ā]tiyā*, but *lūv* in *pulūva*.  
*rs* becomes *s* in *dasana*, *dasayitu*, *Piyadasi* (also spelt *Piyadashi* and *Piyadati*).  
*rsk* becomes *s* in *vasa* (also spelt *[va]śha* and *vata*).  
*rk* becomes *lak* in *ga[la]hati*, *galakā*.  
*lp* becomes *p* in *apa*, *kapaṇ*.  
*ly* becomes *y* in *kayāna*.  
*vy* remains in *divyān* (IV, 10); but it is assimilated in *pasavati* (= Skt. *prasavyatī*, IX, 27), and it becomes *vīy* in *vīyāṣjana*, *vīyashanān*, *vīyāpāḍ*, *mīyaviyā*, and in the affix *-lavīya*.  
*vr* becomes *v* in *tive*, *pav[a]jīd[n]i*, *vācha* (VI, 18; XII, 34) = Skt. *vraja*.  
*śch* becomes *chh* in *[pa]chhā*.  
*ṣy* becomes *siy* in *paṣiṣiyenā*.  
*skh* becomes *k* in *dukāṣa*, *dukala*.  
*skhr* becomes *kh* in *nīkham[ā]tu*, *nīkhamisu*, *nīkhamithā*, *vinīkhamāna*.  
*skp* becomes *ph* in *aṭha* (XIII, 35); *th* in *nīkhamithā*.  
*skp* becomes *ph* in *sepe*, *chipti[u]*; *th* in *adhithānāye*.  
*sky* becomes *s* (or *sk*) in *manusa* and *manusha*, *anāḥ[a]yisaṁti* and other futures.  
*sk* becomes *k* in *agi-kamdh[ā]ni*, while Girār has *agi-kh[a]mādhāni* (with *kh*).  
*st* becomes *th* in *aṭhi*, *nāthi*, *[ha]thini*, *santhuta*, *vīkhaṣenā*, *anuvāthi*.

<sup>1</sup> Dhauḥ and Jaugaḍa read *\*dāye*, Mānsehrā *\*daye*, but Shāhbāgarhī *paṣṣapadāne*, which might correspond to Skt. *paṣṣapadāne*. At Kālet the locative of *uṣṭhāne* is excluded, because it would end in *-ari*. For *uṣṭhā* = Skt. *\*uṣṭhā* see Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 431 f.

*str* becomes *śh* in *śhī* (= Skt. *strī*).

*sth* becomes *śh* in *gukathāni*, *gik[ī]śhā*, *ch[ī]śhā*-*śhīkṛtā* (V, 17), but *śh* in *chila-śhīkṛtā* (VI, 20).

*sn* becomes *śhin* in *śhineke*.

*sm* becomes *s* in the locatives in *-ari*, but *śh* in *[śh]śhā* (= Skt. *śasmāt*, XIII, 35).

*sy* becomes *siy* (*siy* or *shiy*) in *siyā*, *tiyā*, *śiyāśi*, *śhiyāśi* (= Skt. *syāt*), but *s* in *a[śu]* (3. plur. optative of root *as*) and in the genitives in *-asa*.

*sv* remains in *svaganā* (VI, 20); but it is assimilated in *śhayaśa* (XIII, 16), which seems to be derived from Skt. *svayam*,<sup>1</sup> and it becomes *sw* in *śuvāmika* (IX, 25).

*am* becomes *māh* in *śamkhana*. The form *śamkhana* (XIII, 39) is intermediate between \**bakmana* (= Skt. *brāhmaṇa*) and \**bamkhana* (*bamkhana* at Gīrpār, IX, 5).

## B.—DECLENSION

### I. BASES IN *-a*.

#### (1) Masculines and neuters in *-a*.

| Singular.  | Plural.   |
|--|---|
| Nom. masc. <i>jama</i> , &c.; neut. <i>dāna</i> , &c.      | Masc. <i>putā</i> , &c.; neut. <i>phalāni</i> , &c.               |
| Acc. masc. <i>dhanamam</i> , &c.; neut. <i>dānam</i> , &c. | Masc. <i>yutāni</i> , &c.; neut. <i>dīvyāni</i> , <i>lupāni</i> . |
| Instr. <i>dānena</i> or <i>dānenā</i> , &c.                | [ <i>sa</i> ]śhi.   |
| Dat. <i>aphāye</i> , &c.                                   | <i>mahāmā[ś]hi</i> .  |
| Abl. <i>anubadh[ā]</i> , [ <i>pa</i> ]śhā.                 |   |
| Gen. <i>jama[śu]</i> (IV, 10) or <i>jamaś</i> , &c.        | <i>pāmānam</i> , &c.  |
| Loc. <i>dhanamari</i> , &c.                                | <i>vasesu</i> , &c.   |

Nom. sing. masc.—There are two forms in *-o* (*Sātiyaputo* and *Ke[ś]ala[ś]puto*, II, 4), two in *a* (*vadha*, XIII, 36, and *hidaloikikya*, XIII, 17), and one in *-ā* (*Makā*, XIII, 7).

Nom. sing. neut.—In four instances the termination is *-am* (*anāmām*, IX, 26, 27, *-anusāsanaṁ* and *kaṁm[am]*, IV, 12). It is *-a* in *adisha* (XI, 29), and *-ā* in *[ā]śisā* (IV, 10), *kaṁ[ma]talā* (VI, 20), *puṇā* (thrice = Skt. *puṇyam*).

Acc. sing. masc.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *-pāśa* (four times, XII, 32), *-pāśha* and *-pāśhamā* (XII, 33), *[śhayaśa]* (XIII, 4), *vijay[a]* and *vijayataviya* (XIII, 16). The termination *-am* is replaced by *-ā* in *ata-pāśā* (XII, 32), *bahuk[ā]* and *dośā* (I, 2).

Acc. sing. neut.—The termination is *-a* in *madava* (XIII, 4); *-ā* in *maka-phalā* (XIII, 14), *khudā* and *nilathiyā* (IX, 24); *-e* in *dāne* (XII, 31) and *bāghatale* (XII, 33).

Nom. plur. masc.—The final *ā* is shortened in *-[nā]tikya* (XIII, 38), *pāśamā* (XIII, 37), *-pāśhamā* (XII, 34), *-[pāśā]mā* (VII, 21), *-pulvva* (V, 14), *pujetav[i]ya* (XII, 32).

Nom. plur. neut.—In *hālāpitā chā lopāpitā chā* (II, B and C), the termination is *-ā* instead of *-āni*. The Sanskrit masculine *vrīksha* is used as neuter: [*lu*]śhāni (II, 6).<sup>2</sup>

The remaining instances of the acc. plur. masc. in *-āni* are *-kaṁdh[ā]ni* (IV, 10), *Katigāni* (XIII, 36), *-pāśam[ā]ni*, *paṇv[ā]jī[ś]ni*, *gukathāni* (XII, 31).

Acc. plur. neut.—The termination is *-ā* in *vimāna-dasan[ā]* (IV, 9).

Gen. plur.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *-pāśādāna* (XII, 31) and *m[a]nushān[a]* (XIII, 39). The termination is *-ā* in *-[ba]mākhana* (XI, 29).

#### (2) Feminines in *-ā*.

##### Singular.

Nom. *ichhā*, &c.

Acc. *pujā*, &c.

Instr. *puj[ā]ye*.

Gen. or loc. *śanti[ā]nāye*.

Nom. sing.—In *h[ā]da[ś]hika* (XIII, 18) the final *ā* is shortened.

<sup>1</sup> See Text, p. 49, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *ruckhani* at Mānsehrā, II, 8.

Acc. sing.—In [-yāṭam] (VIII, 22) the nasal of the original termination *-am* seems to be preserved, and the *a* to be shortened before it.

Instr. sing.—In *vividh[ay]* (XII, 31) the penultimate *a* seems to be shortened.

## II. BASES IN -i.

### (1) Masculines and neuters in -i.

Nom. sing. neut. *asamati*.  
 Nom. plur. neut. *osadh[ī]*,<sup>1</sup> *ṭini*, *ṭimni*.  
 Gen. plur. *nāṭi[nam]*, *nāṭinā*.  
 Loc. plur. *Nābhapaṇṭishu*.

### (2) Feminines in -i and -ī.

| Singular.                                     | Plural.                        |
|---|--------------------------------|
| Nom. <i>kīpi</i> , &c.                        | <i>jani[yo]</i> . <sup>2</sup> |
| Acc. <i>Sambodhi</i> , &c.                    |                                |
| Instr. <i>bhāṭiyā</i> , <i>-anusatkiye</i> .  |                                |
| Dat. <i>-anusatkiyā</i> , <i>vaḍkiyā</i> .    |                                |
| Abl. <i>ni[v]ṭiyā</i> , <i>Tambapaṇṇiyā</i> . |                                |
| Gen.  | <i>bh[agṛ]mā[nā]</i> .         |
| Loc. <i>ayatiye</i> .                         |                                |

## III. BASES IN -a.

The nom. sing. *sādhu* or *shādhu* is the same in all three genders.

Nom. and acc. sing. neut. *bahū*.  
 Nom. and acc. plur. neut. *bahuni*.  
 Instr. plur. *bh[ā]u[hi]*.  
 Gen. plur. *gubhā*.

## IV. MASCULINES IN -ri.

Nom. plur. *naṭṭle* (= Skt. *napṭṭraḥ*).  
 Gen. plur. *bhā[ṭina]m* (= *bhṛāṭṛiṇām*).  
 Loc. plur. *pitisu* or *pitishu* (= *pitṛishu*).

The instr. sing. follows the *i*-declension: *pitinā*, *bhātina*.

## V. BASES IN CONSONANTS.

### (1) Present participles in -at.

The nom. sing. masc. has a very curious form; it affixes the termination *-am*, which is evidently derived from Skt. *-am*, to the strong form of the base: *saṁtām* from root *as*, *kalamtām* (*kala[ṁsa]*, *kalata*) from root *kṛi*.

### (2) Bases in -vat.

Nom. sing. masc. *paḍava* (= Skt. *prajāvān*).  
 Instr. sing. *ketuvad*.<sup>3</sup>

With the nom. sing. cf. Pāli *gūḍavā* = Skt. *gūḍavā*.

<sup>1</sup> The Kālī dialect has mixed up *osadhi* (= Skt. *oshadhi*, fem.) with *osadha* (= Skt. *aushadha*, neut.).

<sup>2</sup> From Vedic *jani*, 'a wife'.

<sup>3</sup> In Sanskrit the corresponding base is not *ketuvat*, but *ketumat*; cf. Pāṇini, VIII, 2, 9, and Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 602.

# INTRODUCTION

## (3) Masculines and neuters in -an.

| Singular.                           | Plural.                  |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Nom. masc. <i>lājā, lajā, lāja.</i> | <i>lā[j]āno, lajāne.</i> |
| Acc. neut. <i>nāma, nāmā.</i>       |                          |
| Instr. <i>lājina, lajina.</i>       |                          |
| Gen. <i>lājine.</i>                 |                          |

The neuter base *karmān* follows the *a*-declension: nom. sing. *k[ani]me* or *kanim[ani]*, dat. *kammdye*.

## (4) Masculines in -in.

|  |
|--|
| Nom. sing. <i>Pi[ya]dast</i> (I, 2), <i>Piyadasi, Piyadashi.</i> |
| Instr. sing. <i>Piyadasinā, Piyadashinā.</i>                     |
| Gen. sing. <i>Piyadasine, Piyadashine, Piyadasisā.</i>           |
| Acc. plur. <i>[ka]tkini</i> (= <i>kathini</i> at Dhaulī, IV, 2). |

The gen. sing. *Piyadasisā* follows the analogy of the *a*-declension.

With the acc. plur. masc. *[ka]tkini* (i. e. *kathini*), cf. *yutāni*, &c., in the *a*-declension (above, p. lxxvi).

## (5) Neuters in -as.

Acc. sing. *yaso* or *yasho*, *bh[u]ye*.

The base *va[cha]*- (XII, 31) corresponds to Skt. *vachas*.

## (6) Other bases in consonants.

The feminine base *dī* (or *dīdā*) forms the acc. sing. *dīshā* (for *dīdāni*). The two feminine bases *\*utpad* and *parishad* also follow the *a*-declension: loc. sing. *pajopadāne(ye)* (see above, p. lxxv, n. 1), *palisā[ā]ye*; nom. plur. *palisā*.

# C.—PRONOUNS

## (1) Pronoun of the first person.

| Singular.                          | Plural.            |
|------------------------------------|--------------------|
| Nom. <i>hakani.</i>                | <i>ne</i> (V, 16). |
| Instr. <i>mamayā, me</i> (III, 7). |                    |
| Gen. <i>[mama], mamā, me.</i>      |                    |

The nom. sing. *hakani* must be derived from *ahakani* (= *ahaani* in Māhārāshṭri); see Pāṇ. V, 3, 71, and Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 417.

The Instr. sing. *mamayā* for Skt. *mayā* is due to the influence of the genitive *mama*. Cf. *mamas*, Hēmachandra, III, 109.

## (2) Base *ta*.

| Singular.   | Plural.                 |
|---|-------------------------|
| Nom. masc. <i>se</i> , <i>[ś]e, she</i> ; neut. <i>ta, se, [sh]e.</i> | Masc. <i>te.</i>        |
| Acc. masc. <i>tañ</i> ; neut. <i>se, she.</i>                         |                         |
| Instr. <i>tena, tendā.</i>  |                         |
| Dat. <i>ś[ye].</i>  |                         |
| Abl. <i>[ta]phā, ś[d].</i>  |                         |
| Gen. <i>taśa, tasha, tasā, tashā.</i>                                 |                         |
| Loc. <i>taśi.</i>   | <i>teshanī, tānanī.</i> |

Nom. sing. fem. *sā, shā.*

As noted by Bühler (ZDMG, 37, 592), the abl. sing. *[ta]phā* goes back to *tanphā* (= Skt. *tanmā*); cf. *aphe* and *tuphe* (= Prākṛit *amhe* and *tanmhe*) in the separate edicts at Dhaulī and Jaugada. The abl. *ś[d]* is used as conjunction (V, 13); cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 425.



(3) Base *ṛta*.

| Singular.   | Plural.        |
|---|----------------|
| Nom. masc. [e]ṛṣ (VIII, 23), <sup>1</sup> [e]ṛṣhe (X, 28), <sup>2</sup> eṣh[a] (XIII, 38); neut. eṛṣ, eṣhe. | Neut. e[ṛ]ṛni. |
| Instr. eṭahēnā.   |                |
| Dat. eṭāya (XII, 34), eṭāye, dha(e)ṭa[ṛ]ṭāye.   |                |
| Gen. eṭiṣhā.  |                |

Nom. sing. fem. [e]ṛh[a] (XIII, 37).

With the gen. sing. eṭiṣhā cf. eṭica at Shāhbāzgarāhī and Mānsehrā.

(4) Demonstrative *idam*.

| Singular.                             | Plural.    |
|---------------------------------------|------------|
| Nom. masc. ayaṇi, iyaṇi; neut. iyaṇi. | Masc. ime. |
| Acc. neut. imani.                     |            |
| Gen. imas[ā].                         |            |

Nom. sing. fem. iyaṇi.

Dat. sing. fem. imāya.

The nom. masc. ayaṇi is taken from V, 25, where ayaṇi perhaps stands for e + ayaṇi (= Skt. *yāyam*). The form iyaṇi is used as masculine in V, 16; elsewhere as feminine and neuter.

## (5) Interrogative pronoun.

The acc. plur. neut. [kḥ]ni is used as a demonstrative; see Text, p. 35, n. 12. The indefinite pronoun is formed with *chka* = Skt. *cha* (nom. sing. masc. *kachha*) or *chhi* = Skt. *chid* (nom. and acc. sing. neut. *kichhi*). As at Girmār, the compounds *kiṁti* (XII, 33) and *kiti* are used in the sense of 'that'.

## (6) Relative pronoun.

| Singular.                              | Plural.      |
|--|--------------|
| Nom. masc. ye, e; neut. ye, e, a, aṇi. | Masc. ye, e. |
| Acc. neut. yaṇi, aṇi, e (XIII, 38).    |              |
| Instr. yena.                           |              |
| Gen. aṣḍ.                              | yeshani.     |
| Loc.                                   | yeṣu.        |

(7) Base *anya*.

| Singular.                  | Plural.          |
|----------------------------|------------------|
| Nom. masc. and neut. aṇne. | Masc. aṇne, aṇe; |
| Acc.                       | neut. aṇināni.   |
| Dat. aṇnāye.               |                  |
| Gen. aṇnamanashā.          |                  |

(8) Base *sarva*.

| Singular.                                      | Plural.                |
|--|------------------------|
| Nom. neut. sarve, sharve, [ṣa]va.              | Masc. [ṣa]va.          |
| Acc. masc. sarvaṇi; neut. sarvaṇi, sharva[ṇi]. |                        |
| Loc.   | [ṣa]vaṣ[ṇi], sharvaṣu. |
|  | Nom. sing. fem. shavā. |

## (9)

Nom. sing. neut. ṣ[ṣa]ṣe, while classical Sanskrit has *īṣat*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, p. lxiv, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *id.*, n. 1.

## INTRODUCTION

(10) Base *śākhya*.Gen. plur. *śākhya[sa]śi*.(11) Base *śkatera*.Loc. sing. *śkatalaś[i]*.(12) Base *\*śkatya*.Nom. plur. masc. [*e*]*śatiya*.

## D.—NUMERALS

One.

Nom. sing. masc. *ekē*.

Two.

Nom. masc. *duve*.

This form may be used for all genders in all Prakṛits; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 437.

Three.

Nom. neut. *tiñi, tiñni*.

Cf. Prakṛit *tiññi*; Pischel's *Grammatik*, §§ 91, 438.

Four.

The nom. neut. *chātāli* is used with a masculine substantive (XIII, 7). The same irregularity is frequent in Prakṛit; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 439.

Five, six.

Loc. *pañchasa, shashu* (= Prakṛit *chhasu*).

Eight, ten, twelve, thirteen.

*aṭha, das[a], dvvādasa* (with lingual *ḍ*).<sup>1</sup> *f[e]dasa*.

Hundred.

Acc. plur. *satāni*; instr. [*sa*]*tehi*; loc. *shatesku*.

The ordinal is *shata* (= Skt. *śatātama*); see XIII, 39.

Thousand.

The ordinal is *shañ[a]śa* (= Skt. *śahasrātama*); see XIII, 39.

Hundred thousand.

Nom. sing. *shaś[a]-śakhaś[s]*.

Nom. plur. [*sa\**]*śa-sahasni*.

---

<sup>1</sup> The *ḍ* has been further changed to *r* in Prakṛit *ḍrassa* and *ḍraha*.

## E.—CONJUGATION

## I. PRESENT.

(1) *Basu*.

## First Sanskrit class.

Root *bram*: *palahamāmi*, *mikhham[am]tu*.

Root *garh*: *ga[la]hāti*.

Root *ji*: the participle *vijinamane* and the absolutive *vijñe[ti]tu* (XIII, 36) show that this root first followed the ninth class (Prākṛit *jīṇādi*) and subsequently the *a*-conjugation (Prākṛit *jīṇādi*).<sup>1</sup>

Root *dṛis*: *dakhati*.<sup>2</sup>

Root *bhā*: *hosi*, *havya* (sixth class).

Root *vas*: *vashati*, *vas[a]tu*.

Root *vṛis*: *anvataṇṭi*.

Root *sikh*. The absolutive *chikhis[ti]* (IV, 12) presupposes the Prākṛit present *chikhādi*.

## Second Sanskrit class.

Root *ad* follows the *a*-conjugation: *adamāna*.

Root *as*: *athi*.

Root *i* or *ya*: *yanati*.

Root *ya*: *ya[hani]*; see below, p. lxxxi.

Root *han*: *up[a]hanis[ti]*.

## Third Sanskrit class.

The gerundive *paṇibhaviye* (I, 1) is derived from the present *\*johati*, in which the *a* of *\*johati* (see above, p. lxxvi) is strengthened by Guṇa.

## Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root *pad*: *paṭipajeyā*.

Root *man*: *mamāṇ[ti]* and *manati*.

## Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root *ṣp* follows the ninth class: *ṣṭpundā(ni)*.

Root *śru* follows the *a*-conjugation: *śhru[ti]*.

## Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root *ikh*: *ichhati*.

## Seventh Sanskrit class.

Root *yuj* follows the *a*-conjugation: *yujamtu*.

## Eighth Sanskrit class.

Root *hṛi*. The 3. sing. *kaleti* follows the analogy of the tenth class, but the 3. plur. *ka[la]nti* the *a*-conjugation. Cf. Fischer's *Grammatik*, § 309.

Root *kshay* follows the *a*-conjugation: *ekhamati*.

## Tenth Sanskrit class.

(a) With *aya*: *dasayitu*, *[a]ṭipayema*, *ādhāhaya(yan)tu*, *a-lechayitu*, *alechayitu*, *[pa]v[a]dha-yisam[ti]*. The character *aya* is changed to *ya* in *vadhiyati* (XII, 32) and *vadhiyisati* (IV, 11) and is contracted to *e* in *puṭeti*, *puṭetav[ti]ya*, *lechetu*, *nivateti* and *ni[va]ṇ[ti]*, *[paṭi]vadeu*.

<sup>1</sup> See Fischer's *Grammatik*, § 473.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. lxxiv, n. 3.

- (b) With *āya*: *sukkhāyāmi* (VI, 20).  
 (c) With *payā*: *kāpa[y]ā[sar]i*, [*ānapaya*]mi, *anap[a]yisānti*, *ānapayite*, *lopita*.  
 (d) With *āpaya*: *lekhāpēsāmi*, *likhāpita* (without Guṇa of the radical vowel), *khāndāpita*, *hālāpita*.  
 (e) With *pāpaya*: *lopāpita*.

(2) *Moods.*

The terminations of the middle are replaced by those of the active, with the exception of the 3. sing. aorist *nikkhamithā* and the two participles present *adamāna* and *vijīnamana*.

## (a) Indicative.

1. sing. *palakamāmi*, [*ānapaya*]mi.  
 3. sing. [*pa\**]lakamati, ga[la]hāti, dakkhati, hoti, athi, up[a]hanti[i], manussā[i] and manati, ichhāti, kaletti, cchkanati, pujeti, nivāsetti and nī[va\*]setti, vadkiyati.  
 3. plur. *anuvāsaṃti*, *vassati* (= Skt. *vasanti*), *yaṃti*, *ichchānti*, ka[la]ṃti. In *pāpunāta*(ti) the termination -ti (for -nti) is affixed to the strong base of the ninth class (*pāpunā-*); cf. the 3. sing. *pāpunāti* and the 2. plur. *pāpunātha* in the first separate edict at Dhauḷi and Jaugaḍa.

## (b) Subjunctive.

1. sing. *sukkhāyāmi* (with indicative termination).  
 3. sing. *sussukhātu* (desiderative, with imperative termination).  
 3. plur. *palakamāntu* (with -tu for -ntu).

## (c) Optative.

1. sing. *ye[hanī]* (for \**yeyamī*) from root *yā* (VI, 20). Cf. [*pa*]ti[*pāday*]eham (or *paṭipādayehamī*) and *āśābhehamī* in the separate edicts at Dhauḷi and Jaugaḍa. Senart has noted similar forms in the *Mahāvastu* (vol. 1 of his edition of this work, p. 403): *tishṭhehamī*, *abhisambudhyehamī*, *gacchhehamī*.  
 3. sing. *nivāṇe[ā]*, *paṭipajeyā*, *siyā*, *siyā*, *siyāti*, *skiyāti*. The two last forms (= Skt. *syātī*) have the termination of the indicative; cf. Text, p. 71, n. 14. With the contracted form *nivāṇe[ā]* (= Skt. *nirvartayēt*, IX, 26) Senart (*Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, I, 215) compares Pāli *nibbatteyyamī* (for *nibbatteyyamī*) in the commentary on the *Dhammapāda*, p. 143 [l. 2]. Cf. also *choreyya* for *chorayeyya* in E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 110, *dāve* = Skt. *dapayēh* and *paḍigāhe* = Skt. *prati-gvāhayēh* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 460.

1. plur. [*a*]pāyeyya.  
 3. plur. *a[su]* (cf. above, p. lxvii), *huveyya*,<sup>1</sup> *shunc[y]u*, *shushusheyyu* (desiderative). The *y* of the optative is replaced by *v* in *vas[e]tu* (VII, 21).

## (d) Imperative.

3. sing. *hotu*, [*a*]nuva[ta]tu.  
 3. plur. *nikkham[anti]tu*, *manatu*, *yujāntu*, *ālādha[yi]tu*, *lochetu* (= Skt. *rōchayantu*), [*paṭi\**]-*vedetu*, *anuvā[dh]iya[n]tu* (passive).

## (e) Imperfect.

3. sing. *aho* (from root *bhū*).

## II. AORIST.

3. sing. middle *nikkhamithā* (from *nish-kram*, VIII, 22). In Pāli and Ardhamāgadhī the termination is -*ithā* and -*ithā*; see E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 115, and Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 517.  
 3. plur. active *nikkhamisū*, *husu* (= *akumṣu* at Gīrnār). The two forms *manisū* (XIII, 16) and *alochayisū*<sup>2</sup> are used as subjunctives.

<sup>1</sup> Hēmachandra (IV, 320, 323) quotes *huveyya* (= Skt. *bhaviṣ*) from the Pāṣāṇī dialect.  
<sup>2</sup> See Text, p. 31, n. 7.

## III. PERFECT.

3. sing. *dhā, aha* (V, 13) = Skt. *dha*.

## IV. FUTURE.

1. sing. *hachhāmi*,<sup>1</sup> *lekhāpeṣāmi*.

3. sing. *hachhati*, *vadhhiyati*, *hāpa*[y]i[sa]t[i].

3. plur. *hachhān*[t]i, *anuvapiṣa*[n]ti, *anusāsisaṁti*, *anap*[a]yisaṁti, [pa]v[a]dhayisaṁt[i], and the two passives [a]nuvidhiyisaṁa (read \**saṁti*) and *alābhi*[y]isa[n]ti.

## V. PASSIVE.

The terminations are those of the active.

The 3. sing. indicative *pasavati* (= Skt. *prasavyati*) occurs three times and is misspelt twice (*pasavati*, IX, 26, and *pasavati*, XI, 30); cf. Text, p. 39, n. 3.

3. plur. indicative *anuvidihiyāna* (read \**yaṁti*, = Skt. *anuvidihiyanti*), *alabhi*[y]aṁti.

3. plur. imperative *anuv*[i]dh[i]ya[n]tu.

3. plur. aorist *alanbhiyisu*.<sup>2</sup>

3. plur. future [a]nuvidhiyisaṁa (read \**saṁti*), *alābhi*[y]isa[n]ti (cf. the Sanskrit aorist passive *alābhi*).

## VI. DESIDERATIVE.

3. sing. subjunctive *musushātu*.

3. plur. optative *shushushyau*.

## VII. PARTICIPLES.

## (1) Present participle.

## Active.

Root *as*: *saṁtām*.

Root *kri*: *kalamtam* (*kala*[nta], *kalata*).

## Middle.

Root *ji*: *vijinamāna*; see above, p. lxxxı.

Root *ad*: *adamāna*.

## (2) Past passive participle.

(a) In *-sa*: *mata* and *muta* (= Skt. *mata*), *maṭa* (= *mṛita*), *kaṭa* (= *kṛita*), *viyāpata* (= *vyāpṛita*), *viṭkaṭa* (= *viṣṭṛita*), [u]ṣkaṭa and *ushuṭa* (= *uṣṛita*), *niṣṭa* (= \**niṣṛita*), *likhita*, *lekhita*, *kikhāpita*, *khanāpita*, *kālāpita*, *lopita*, *lopāpita*, *ānapayita*,<sup>3</sup> *kuta* (= *bhūta*), *atikamta* (= *atikhṛanta*), *su*(*saṁ*)*kkhita* (= *saṁkṣhīpta*), *vudha* (= *vṛiddha*), *apavudha* (= *apōḍha*), *ladha* (= *labdha*), *ālādha* (= \**ārāddha*), &c.

(b) In *-na*: *p*[a]ṣh[an]na, *vīpakina* (l. e. \**hina*).

## (3) Future passive participle.

(a) In *-tavya*: *kaṭavya*, *vaṭavya*, *paḥhitavya* (see above, p. lxxxı), *vijayatavya* (for Skt. *vijitavya* under the influence of the substantive *vijaya*), *pujjetav*[i]ya, *paṭi*[vedita\*]vya.

(b) In *-māya*: *vedamāya*.

<sup>1</sup> Johanson (*Shākh*, § 76, b) explains this form as a future derived from \**kajjati* (= \**karyati*), and compares the Ardhamāgadhī passive *kajjal*.

<sup>2</sup> The introduction of the nasal is perhaps due to the influence of the Skt. aorist passive *alanbhi* or of the substantive *ālambha* (III, 8, &c.).

<sup>3</sup> This barbarous equivalent of Skt. *āpāpita* and *āpāpita* retains the causative character *aya* of the present *ānapayati*.

## VIII. ABSOLUTIVE.

- (a) In *-tu* (= Skt. *-tvā*): *ālabhitu*, *palitiditu* (from root *tyaj* with Samprasāraṇa of *ys* and dentalization of *j*), *chīṭhit[us]* (from the Prākṛit present *chīṭhadi*), *vijit[us]* (from the present *\*vi-jinati*; see above, p. lxxxi), *sutu* (from root *śru*), *dasayitu*, *a-lochayitu* (= *a-rūchayitvā*).
- (b) In *-ya*: *shanukheye* (read *sanikkāya*) from *san-ikkā*.

## F.—SUFFIXES

The pleonastic affix *-ka* (or *-kya*) occurs in *hakam* (= Skt. *aham*), *etaka*, *ava[is]ka* (from Skt. *yāvāt*), *tāvataka*, *nātika* or *nātikya* (= Skt. *jñāti*), *panātikya* (= *pranapti*), *svāmika* (= *svāmin*). The adjective *shayaka* seems to be formed from Skt. *śvayam*; see Text, p. 49, note 2.

With the affix *-āla* or *-ālaya* is formed *mahāla*, 'wide' (XIV, 20), 'aged' (V, 16), = Prākṛit *mahālaya* (Pischel's *Grammatik*, p. 402). As suggested in the Text (p. 33, n. 3), *supādālaya* (V, 14) seems to contain the same affix and to signify 'stepping fast'.

The affixes *-tara* and *-tama* are added to substantives in *kam[ma]tālā* (i.e. *karmataram*, VI, 20) and *gajataṁ*, 'the best elephant' (Text, p. 50).

## CHAPTER VIII.

GRAMMAR OF THE SHAHBAZGARHI ROCK-EDICTS,  
WITH NOTES ON THE MANSEHRA VERSION

The Shāhbāzgarhi version has received the advantage of a detailed treatment by an accomplished linguist, Professor Johansson:—*Der Dialekt der sogenannten Shāhbāzgarhi-Redaktion der vierzehn Edikte des Königs Aśoka*. (Tiré des Actes du 8<sup>e</sup> Congrès International des Orientalistes, tenu en 1889 à Stockholm et à Christiania). [Part 1,] Leide, 1892. Part 2, Upsala, 1894. In the following pages the results of his investigations are utilized for my own inventory of the language of the text, which I had been able to improve by repeated examination of the fresh impressions.

## A.—PHONETICS

## I. VOWELS.

The vowel *a* becomes *u* after a labial in *mur[a]* (= Skt. *mata*, XIII, 8) and *uchavucha*. In *meṭṭati* (= *manyati*?, XIII, 11) the change of *a* into *i* is perhaps caused by the palatal *ṣ*.<sup>1</sup>

If the reading *etra* (VI, 15) is correct (the other versions have here *ityam*, *eshe*, &c.), it would correspond to *eta* (Girmār) and *keta* (Kālsī) = *\*itra*; see above, pp. lvi and lxx. As at Kālsī, the vowel *e* corresponds to Skt. *i* in *ediṣa* (= *idṛiṣa*).

As in Pāli, Skt. *u* is represented by *a* in *pana* (VI, 14, 15) = *puna* (six times, for Skt. *panaḥ*), and in *garuna* (IX, 19) = *guruna* (XIII, 4, for Skt. *gurūṇām*). Michelson suggests that the form *pana* may be due to vowel-assimilation; see IF, 23. 258, n. 1. In *kho* (= Skt. *khalu*) Skt. *u* is represented by *o*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

The vowel *ri* is replaced by (1) *a*, (2) *i*, (3) *u*, (4) *ra*, (5) *ri*, (6) *ir*, (7) *ru*, causing at the same time the lingualization of a following dental. See (1) *usaṭena*, *dukaṭam*, *bhaṭa*, *bhaṭaka*; *vaḍḍhi* (= Skt. *vṛiddhi*), *vapaṭa* and *viyapaṭa* (= *vṛāpṛita*), *ananiyṣm*, [*da*]khaṭi; (2) *kīṣa*, [*u*]kīṣa[ṣ], *ediṣa*, *tadiṣa*, *yadiṣa*, *pranatiṣa*; (3) bases in *-ri*: *pitushu*, *bhratuna*, *spaṣa(su)ma* (= *svaṣṭṛiṇām*),

<sup>1</sup> With *meṭṭati* Johansson (p. 19) and Wackernagel (*Altind. Grammatik*, vol. 1, p. xx) compare Gothic *ga-maiñjan* and German *meinen* (English *to mean*).

and for *ri* after a labial: *agrakhuṣi*, *viyapusa* (= *vyāpṛiṣa*), *musa*, *vutah* and *vutah* (= *vyūtah*), *nirupa* (= *nirupitta*), *nirupi* (= *nirupitta*), *vudha* (= *vyūddha*); (4) *grakatha* (= *grihastha*); (5) *[hr]j[ra]* (II, 4), *drigha*, *vistripna*; (6) *hira* (i.e. *hira*, = Skt. *hira*)<sup>2</sup> (7) for *ri* after a labial: *pa[ri]p[ra]chha*, *mruga*, *mrugaya* (= *mrīgaya*). In *brugaya* (XII, 7) the *ru* is due to the influence of *bruta*, *bruta*, &c.

In a few cases the vowel *e*, both if it is inherited from Sanskrit and if it is due to dialectical changes (cf. Johansson, § 33), appears to have become *i*; see *duv[i]* = *du[v]* at Mānsehrā for Skt. *duṣ* (II, 4) and *duva* (I, 3), *ayi* for *\*aye* = Skt. *ayam*, *ashī* (VIII, 17) for *ashle* = Skt. *anyaś*, *Aśitihini* (nom. sing., XIII, 9), *rejani* (nom. plur., XIII, 9).

The two diphthongs *ai* and *au* have become *e* and *o*, respectively; see *nichs* (perhaps = Skt. *nichaiḥ*, VII, 5), *[o]kha[dha]ni* (II, 5), *paṭra* (XIII, 11), *paralokika*, *-opaka* and *-opaya*.

The Kharoṣṭhī alphabet does not mark the length of the three vowels *a*, *i*, *u*, and we must always keep in mind that every *a*, *i*, *u* of the text may be meant for *a* or *ā*, *i* or *ī*, *u* or *ū*, respectively.

Initial *a* is dropped in *pi* (= Skt. *api*); *i* in *ni* (= *iṣ*) and *hiti* (= *\*hid + iṣ*); *e* generally in *va*, while *va* is preserved three times through Sandhi. Besides *va*, the text often uses the two forms *ov* (= Vedic *dv*, i.e. *dv + v*)<sup>3</sup> and *yo*, which Johansson (§ 36) derives from Prākṛit *yva* (= Skt. *dv*).<sup>4</sup>

## II. SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

The guttural *k* has become *y* in *nirākhiya* (= *nilākhiya* at Kālsī) and *-opaya* (VIII, 17) = *-opaka* (II, 5), instead of which the remaining versions of the rock-edicts (besides Mānsehrā) have *-opaga*. It seems to be dropped altogether in *diadha* = *\*dvikārāha*. Greek *χ* is expressed by *k* in *Aśitihika*, and *y* by the same in *Aśitihini* and *Maka*. Skt. *g* has become *k* in *laku* and *lahika*.

The palatal *j* has become *y* in *Kaṭhaya*, *[p]rayukotava*, *zamaya* (= Skt. *saṃjā*, I, 1), *raya* (= *rājā*), and is represented by *ch* in *vrachaspi*, *vracha-bhūmika* (also at Mānsehrā), and in *vrachaniṣi*, *v[r]achayam*; cf. Prākṛit *vachchaṣ* (for *\*vrajyati*?) = Skt. *vrajati*.

Skt. *ṣ* is generally preserved, except in *khamanaye*, *garana*, *aviprahino*, *pranatika*, *Pitiniha* (= *P[ṣ]itika* at Gīrnār). In terminations, however, dental *n* is never lingualized after *ri*, *r*, or *sh*; see *akarena*, *agrena*, *anantariyena*, *bhūdrakena*, *Dvānapriyena*, *parakramena*, *putrena*, *vagreṇa*, *abhiramani*, *rupani*, *sahasani*, *Gandharanam*, *manulanam*, *mahamatranam*, *Rathikanam*, *guruna*, *garuna*, *pituna*, *bhratuna*, *spasa(n)na*. On the other hand lingual *ṣ* is newly developed after *r* in *prapūṣati* (from Skt. *prāpūṣati*), *śaṃśiṣaya* (from *śrayati*), and wrongly in *Dvānapriy[ṣ]* (I, 1).

Dentals are lingualized after an original *ri* (see above, p. lxxxiv), after *ra* in the preposition *paṭi* (eight times) or *preṭi* (twice) for *prati* (five times), and after *sha* in *[o]kha[dha]ni* (II, 5), *prashanida* and *prashada* (for *\*pārishanida* and *\*pārshada* = Skt. *pārshada*). Between vowels *t* is replaced by *d* in *hapetadi* (= *hapetadi* at Mānsehrā) and, as at Kālsī, in *hida-sukhaya* (V, 12).<sup>5</sup> Here we have the beginning of the process which, later on, every intervocalic *t* underwent in the Śauraseni dialect. For *hida* (five times) = *idha* at Gīrnār, see above, p. lxxii.

As in literary Prākṛit, the labial *p* becomes *v* between vowels in *avatrapayn* (XIII, 8). Initial *b* is replaced by *p* in *paḥkari* (VII, 5) for *bhākam* (XIII, 3). The aspirate *bh* has turned to *k* in *hosi* (only VIII, section E, for the usual *bhosi*), *ako*, and in the termination *-hi* (= Skt. *-bhiḥ*) of *bakhi* and *fatehi*.

As at Kālsī, *y* becomes *j* in *majura* (= Skt. *mayūra*, I, 3), and *v* in *vichava* (XIII, 9). It is dropped at the beginning of *ova* (five times) for *yava* (IX, 19) = Skt. *yvat* and of *[e]* (XIII, 5) for *ye* = Skt. *yat*, and between two vowels in *Priadratt* (thrice), *Dvānapriyas* (four times) or

<sup>2</sup> The spelling *hira* suggests that (5) *[hr]j[ra]* is also meant for *hira*. Cf. Johansson, § 27; Michelson, *AJP*, 31, 57; and below, p. lxxxvii.

<sup>3</sup> See Bühler, *ZDMG*, 43, 156, according to a suggestion of the late Professor Kirste.

<sup>4</sup> Michelson (*JAOS*, 30, 86, n. 4) identifies *yo* with the nom. sing. masc. of the relative pronoun.

<sup>5</sup> At Mānsehrā (VIII, 35) *t* is softened also before *r* in *yada* (for *\*yadra* = Skt. *yātrā*); and *tenada* (= *śāndra*) in both versions presupposes an intermediate form *\*śāndra*. Cf. *adra*, *puḍra*, *midsra* in the Wardak vase-inscription; EI, 11, 208, n. 3.

\**plasa* (I, 2), *ekatia* (I, 2), *vijetav[i]a* (XIII, 11). The syllable *ya* becomes *i* in *parijitum* (= *palitidita* at Kāṣṭh). The causative affixes *aya* and *ayi* either remain unchanged (in *ayapayami*, *dravayitu*, &c.) or are contracted (in *ayapemi*, *ayapetamti*, &c.). The same contraction takes place in *anuveti* (XIII, 7). The *e* of the 3. sing. optative *nivayati* (= Skt. *nirvartayati*) corresponds to an original *aye*, and the *o* of the numeral *todata* (= Skt. *trayidata*) to an original *ayo*.<sup>1</sup>

The change of *r* into *l* in *palic[o]kha* (V, 12), *palibodha* (V, 13), *sala* (= Skt. *sāra*, XII, 2, 8), *lo[ch]e[sh]u* and *a-locheni*<sup>2</sup> is a Māgadhism, while, as at Girmār, *r* corresponds to *l* in \**arabhatti*, 'to kill', = Skt. *alabhatti* (see below, p. xciv), and in *Turamaye* = *Πτολεμαίος* (XIII, 9). As stated above (p. lvii), this wrong translation of the foreign name *Tulamaye* (Kāṣṭh) proves that the Shāhbāzgarhi version is based on a Māgadhā original. In *Keraḍapuro* (II, 4) the *q* corresponds to the lingual *l* of Tamil *Keraḷa*; the other versions of the rock-edicts have *l* instead of *f*.

The semivowel *v* is developed out of *u* and *ś* in *tuckati* (= Skt. *uckati*), *vuta* (= *uṭa*, II, 5), and *apavudha* (= *apūḍha*). As at Kāṣṭh, the syllable *vā* becomes *u* in the absolutes in *-su* (= Skt. *-svā*). Contraction of *au* into *o* takes place in *orodhana*, *bhoti*, *koti*, *bhotu*, *aho*.

Like the Kāṣṭh version, the Shāhbāzgarhi one distinguishes the three sibilants *ś*, *śh*, *s*, but with one important difference. While at Kāṣṭh these three symbols are used indiscriminately (see above, p. lxxii), the Shāhbāzgarhi text generally employs each of them where it would have been in its proper place in Sanskrit.<sup>3</sup> Thus we find *ś* in *anustati*, *asamana*, *adisa*, *tadisa*, *yadisa*, *dasa*, *desa*, *dratana*, *dravayitu*, *Prīyadraṣṭi*, *paṣu*, *pradeśi[ka]*, *yato*, *śaka* (= Skt. *śakya*), *śata*, *śila* (I. e. *śīla*), *[śilana]* (I. e. *śīlana*), *śudhi* (I. e. *śuddhi*), *śaṣayike*, *prativetiyā*, *niśita* (= Skt. *\*nītrita*), *śramaṇa*, *śravaka*, *śruta*, *śrutu*, *śruṇṇu*; and *śh* in *eśha*, *eśha*, *[o]śha[dha]ni*, *ghośha*, *tośha*, *dośha*, *pariśha*, *prashāṇa*, *vishava* (= *vishaya*), *pitushu*, in the loc. plur. in *-eshu*, in the gen. plur. *tesha[hu]* and *yesha*, in the 3. plur. aorist *nikramishu*, *mañishu*, *lo[ch]e[sh]u*, in *vasha* (= *varisha*) and *hastati* = \**harshayati*. Exceptions are not frequent: *s* for *ś* in *anusochana*, *[s]repha* (= *śreṣṭha*); *s* for *śh* in *abhisita* (= *abhisikta*), *yesu*, *u[bha]y[e]śa*, *[arabhi]yis[u]*; *śh* for *s* in *pañchashu* and *chashu*. In *manśa* (= *manushya*) and in the futures in *-isati* and *-esati* the *ś* is a defective spelling for *śi*, in which the original *śh* had been palatalized through the influence of the following *y*. In *śuśruśha*, *śuśruśhata*, *śuśruśhaya* the first *s* (for *ś*) is probably due to dissimilation, and in *au[ś]asana*, *anustatisanti* the second *ś* (for *s*) is due to assimilation.<sup>4</sup>

Cases of Cockneyism are *haniche* (see above, p. lxxii), *hahati* (twice) for *ahati* (thrice) = Skt. *āha*, *hida* (see above, p. lxxii), *hidalokika*. Conversely, *h* is dropped at the beginning of *[a]stina* = Skt. *hastina*, and between two vowels in *maa* = Prakṛit *māha* (gen. sing. of the pronoun of the first person), *ia* (= Skt. *īha*) and *ialoka*.

As at Girmār and Kāṣṭh, all final consonants are dropped. In some cases this applies also to the *s* of final *as*; see *jana*, &c. (below, p. xc), *[sa]* (XIII, 10), *ekatia* (I, 2), *[a]stina* (= Skt. *hastina*, IV, 8), *vacha* (XII, 2). But generally final *as* becomes *o*, and frequently, as in the Māgadhā dialect, *e*; see *bhuy[e]*, *chature*, and the nom. sing. masc. *eke*, *y[e]* (V, 13), *ake* (XII, 9), *jane*, &c. (below, p. xc). In *amūki* (VIII, 17), *Amitikini* (XIII, 9), *rajani* (XIII, 9) = *rajano* (II, 4), *-i* has taken the place of *-e*.

The Anusvāra of words ending in nasal vowels is omitted in many instances. The reason of this deficiency need not be the carelessness of the writer, but may have been as well the faint articulation of the nasal sound. Examples of the omission are *prajava* (= Skt. *prajāvān*), *ida* (IX, 20) = *idam* (XIII, 3), *ima* (IX, 19) = *imam* (passim), *aya* (twice) = *ayam* (V, 13), *[i]dani* (= Skt. *idāni*), *eva* (twice) = *evam* (passim), the acc. sing. masc. *at[h]e*, *dasha*, *ba[hu]sha*, the nom. and acc. sing. neut. *dana*, &c. (below, p. xc), the acc. sing. fem. *paja*, &c., and *Sabodhi*, &c., the gen. plur. *ātina*, *Nabhiṭina*, *guruna*, *garuna*, *bhratana*, *spas[au]na*, *tesha*, *yesha*, *u[bha]y[e]śa*, *abhiratana*, &c. (below, p. xc).

As in the Māgadhā dialect, the nom. sing. neut. frequently ends in *-e* instead of *-am*; see *eke* (X, section E), *ye* (VI, section F; IX, F and I; XIII, 1), *savre* (XII, 5; XIV, 13), *[a]ha[re]*

<sup>1</sup> Mānsehrā has *treḍata*, Dhauri and Kāṣṭh *tedasa*, for \**trayadasa*.

<sup>2</sup> But not in *rochetu*; see Text, p. 8, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> I differ here from Johansson, §§ 14, 48, and side with Michelson, AJP, 30, 189.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Skt. *śata* instead of \**śasa*, which is presupposed by German *Hass* (English *have*).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Hemachandra, I, 39.



(XIII, 1), *dane*, &c. (below, p. xc). This barbarism is due to the analogy of the nom. sing. masculine.<sup>1</sup> The termination *-e* is found even in the acc. sing. masc. (*sayama*, VII, 2) and in the particle [*e*] (= Skt. *ya*, XIII, 5). While in the nom. sing. masc. we often have *-e* for *-o* (see above, p. lxxxvi), the *-e* of the nom. sing. neut. is replaced by *-o* in *kafavo* and three other gerundives (see below, p. xc), and the nom. sing. neut. of the pronoun *idam* has once the form *ivo* (XII, 2) for *iyam* (VIII, section E). The nom. sing. masc. *so* is used for the nom. sing. neut. (XIII, 2) and for the acc. sing. neut. (passim), and the relative *yo* (X, 21) for the acc. sing. neut. *yat*. Instead of *anudivasam* at Girnār we find *anudivaso* (I, 2), and at XII, 6, the acc. sing. of the masculine *dharma* is *dhramo*. Finally it must be noted that *ayi* occurs repeatedly instead of *ayam* and *aya* (= Skt. *ayam* and *iyam*).

### III. SANDHI.

Final *m* is preserved before the particle *eva* in [*e*]vam+*eva* and paratr[*ka*]m+*eva*, and hiatus is prevented by *m* in *aṭam-aṭasa* and *bhājam-ayishu*.

As the length of *ā* is not marked in the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet, the result of *a+a* always appears in writing as short *a*; see *hijabhikaro*, *grabhagara*, *tenada* (= Skt. *stūtra*), *nasti*, *prapa-ranibho*, *mahābhavaha*, *-vashabhisita*, *supaṭhay[e]*, *dhramanustasti*, &c. The hiatus remains in [*aṭha*]vasha-a[*bhis*]ita[*sa*] (XIII, 1).

*a* is elided before *i* in *draman-ibhesku*; before *u* in *cku* (= *cha+u*) and *paj-upadane*; before *e* in *chruva*; before *o* in *manu-opakani* and *tat-opayam* (see above, p. lxxii); and *u* before *o* in *pat-opakani*.

*i+a* are contracted into *i* in *s[*stridhi*]yaksha* (= Skt. *stry-adyaksha*).

### IV. GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

As at Girnār (above, p. lix), there is some inconsistency in marking the letter *r* if it is combined with other consonants. 'The order of the symbols does not conform to the actual pronunciation, but to the convenience of the combinations':<sup>2</sup>

(1) *r* is combined with the preceding *akshara*

(a) In *rāh*: *grabhagara* (= *garbhāgara*).

(b) In *rm*: *dharma* (i. e. *dharma*) and *dhrāmna* (i. e. *dharmanā*), *krama* (= Skt. *karma*) and *kramna* (i. e. *karmā*).

(c) In *rv*: *pruva* (= Skt. *pūruva*).

(d) In *rś*: *drasana* (i. e. *darśana*), *drasayitu* (= Skt. *darśayitū*), *Priyadrasī*.

(e) In *rsh*: *prashamda* and *prashaḍa* (from Skt. *pārshada*).

(2) *r* is attached to the next following consonant

(a) In *rg*: *vagra* (i. e. *varga*), *spagra* (= Skt. *svarga*).

(b) In *rf*: *kīpra* (i. e. *kīṛṣa*, = Skt. *kṛita*), *kīpri* (= Skt. *kṛiti*).

(c) In *rth* and *rṭh*: *athra* and *aṭhra* (= Skt. *artha*).

(d) In *rv*: *savra* (i. e. *sarva*) and *savratra* (i. e. *sarvatra*).

It must be remembered that, wherever the above-mentioned words occur in the text, the transcript shows the imperfect spelling of the inscription, but not the actual pronunciation.

As at the end of words, the Anusvāra is often omitted before consonants; see *atara* and *anāra*, *atīkara* (= Skt. *atīkāra*), *Atiyaka* and *Ahtiyaka*, *anata* and *anamta*, *Alikasudaro* (= *Alīkavāro*), *kavataṣ* and *karamṣam*, *Kaliga*, *Devanapriya* and *Devanahpṛiya*, *prashada* and *prashamda*,<sup>3</sup> *badhana* and *sambha[n]dha*, *mugala* and *manḡala*, *vihisa* (= Skt. *vihimsā*), *satam* and *sa[n]tam*, *Sabodhi*, *sayama* and *sa[n]yama*, *s[a]yuta* (= *saṅyukta*), *saṣayika* (= *sāṁśayika*),

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, pp. lxi, lxxii, and Johanson, part 2, p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> Bühler, ZDMG, 43, 133. Cf. Johanson, § 17, and Michelson, AJP, 30, 289, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. lxxiv, n. 4.

*sarvata* and *sankata*, and the 3. plur. *hara*[s] (IX, section C), *prapūṣati* (XIII, 6), *bhōti* (XIII, 7), *varāti* (XIII, 4), *nīk*[r]amatu, *mañā*[s], *aradhātu*, *paṭivodatu*, *rochatu*.

Some groups of consonants are avoided by the development of an auxiliary vowel, which is *a* in *garakati*; *a* before or after a labial in *dva*[f], *prapūṣati*; and frequently *i*, as the subjoined list of Sanskrit groups and of their equivalents at Shāhībāgarhi will show. Michelson has proved that some of these correspondences are in reality Māgadhisms and alien to the Shāhībāgarhi dialect; see his articles in *AJP*, vols. 30 and 31, and *JAOS*, vol. 30.

*kī* becomes *i* in *abhisita*, &c.

*kṛ* becomes *k* in *śako* (= Skt. *śakyam*).

*kṛ* remains in *atikratan*, &c.

*kṣh* remains<sup>1</sup> in *akṣhati*, [*adhi*]yakṣha, [*kṣan*]ti, *kṣhapati*, *kṣhamanaye*, *kṣhamitaviya*, *mo*[*kṣhaye*], *saṁkṣhitena*, but becomes *kh* in *khudrakena* and [*da*]kṣhati.<sup>2</sup>

*kṣy* becomes *kṣh* in *vakṣhamiti*.

*khy* becomes *kh* in *mukha* (= Skt. *mukhya*, XIII, 8), *saṁkhye*[a] (= *saṁkhyāya*).

*khl* becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*; see above, p. lvi and n. 3.

*gṛ* remains in *agra*, [*a*]pāg[r]ajho (XIII, 5), but the *g* seems to be aspirated in *opaghratho* (XIII, 6).

*chy* becomes *ch* in *vuchati* (= Skt. *uchyāt*).

*jñ* becomes *ñ* in *hīrañāto* (= Skt. *hīrañātā*), *ñati*, *ñatika*, *ñanan*, *raña*, *raño*; *ṇ*, as in literary Prakṛit, in *anapayami* and *anapemi*, *anapēṣamti*, *anapita*.

*jy* becomes *j* in *joti*- (= Skt. *jyōti*, IV, 8).

*ñj* becomes *ñā* in *vamñanato* (= Skt. *vyañjanatā*).

*dy* becomes *ḍ*, as at Gīrnār, in *Pañḍa* (XIII, 9), but *ḍy*, as at Kālat, in *Pañḍiya* (II, 4).

*ny* becomes *ñ* in *puña*, *hiraña*, but *ñy* in *anañya* (= Skt. *ananyā*).

*ṭp* becomes *p* in *pajupadane*.<sup>3</sup>

*tm* becomes *t* in *ata*- (= Skt. *ātman*).

*ty* becomes *ti* in *skatia*, but *ch* in *achayika*, *apacha*, *chati*.

*tr* remains in *trayo*, *atra*, *putra*, *savatra*, &c., but becomes *t* in *savata* (V, section N) and *todaḥa* (= Skt. *trayādaḥa*, V, 11), and *d* in *tenada* (= Skt. *tīnātra*, VIII, 17).<sup>4</sup>

*tv* remains in *tadatvaye*, but becomes *t* in the absolutes in *-ti* (= Vedic *-tvī*).

*ts* becomes *s* in *usaṭena*, *chikisa*.

*tskh* becomes *th* in *uṭhanas*[i] (VI, 15), but *th* in *uṭhanam* (ibid.).<sup>5</sup>

*dy* becomes *j* in *aja*, *paṭipajeyati*; *y* in *uyana* (= Skt. *udyāna*).

*dr* remains in *khudrakena*.

*dv* becomes *dva* in *dva*[f], but *b* in *ḍadaya*(śa) (cf. *ḍādasa* at Gīrnār), and *d* in *diaḥa*.

As at Kālat, *dhy* becomes *j* in *nijha*[f]i and *anunija*(jha)peti (= [*a*]nu[nijha]paya[ti] at Mānsehrā), but *dhy* in [*adhi*]yakṣha.

*dhr* remains in *dhrva* and *Amḍhra*.

*nm* becomes *m* in *yamaṭra* (= Skt. *yanmātra*).

*ny* becomes *ñā* or *ñ* in *añña* and *aña*, *mañati* and *meñati*, *mañishu*, *haññamē*[f], [*ha*]ñ-ñeyasu.

*pt* becomes *t* in *guti*, *nijha*[f]i, *vnta* (= Skt. *uṣta*, II, 5), *asamatani*, *saṁkṣhitena*, *natore* (= *naptārak*), *pranatika*, *Turamaye* (= *Πτολεμαῖος*).

*pn* becomes *pun* in *prapūṣati*.

*pr* remains in *Priyadrati*, *Devanāipriya*, *priti* (l. e. *prīti*), *prakara*[g]e (XII, 3), *p*[r]aja and *prajava* (V, 13), *praṇa* (l. e. *prāṇa*), *pradeś*[ka], *pranatika*, *prapūṣati*, *prabhava*, [*p*]rayukotava, *pra*[va]h[r]iṣamti, *pravase*, *pravrajate*, *prasado*, *prasava*, *aviprahina*, *pratipo*[ti] (XIII, 5), *pratibhagani*, *pratibh*[a]gaye, *prativetiya*, *p*[r]ajivādhane (VIII, 17), *prativodetavo* (VI, 14), but becomes *p* in *Dravanapiasa* (I, 2), [*a*]pakarapasi (XII, 3), *pajupadane* (IX, 18), *papotra*, *paṭipajeyati*,

<sup>1</sup> For the sign which I have transcribed by *kṣh*, see Text, p. 55, note 5.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. lxxiv, n. 5.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. lxxv, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Mānsehrā has *yada* (for *\*yadra* = Skt. *yātrā*) in the same section.

<sup>5</sup> Mānsehrā has *uṭhana* in both cases.

*paṭipati* (twice), *saṃpaṭipati* (twice), *paṭivīdhama* (V, 13), *paṭivēdaka*, *paṭivēdana*, *paṭivēdetu*, *paṭivēdetavo* (VI, 15).

*bdh* becomes *dh* in *ladha*.

*br* remains in *bramaṇa* (= Skt. *brāhmaṇa*).

*dh*y becomes *dh* in *-iḥhesku*, *arabhiṭṭanti* (future passive), but *dh*iy in *[arabhi]yis[ā]* (aorist passive).

*dh*r remains in *dhraṭṭama*.

*my* becomes *mm* (also spelt *mmu*) in *samma-* and *sammuma-*.

*mr* becomes *mb* in *Tambapanni*.

*rg* remains in *varga* (I. e. *varga*; see above, p. lxxxvii) and *spagra* (I. e. *sparga* = Skt. *svarga*).

*ry* becomes *shy* in *Tambapanni*.

*rt* becomes *t* in *anuvāsatu*, but *rt* in *kīrti* (I. e. *kīrti* = Skt. *kīrti*), and *f* in *kāṭava*, *anuvāṭanti*, *an[ā]vāṭanti*, *nivāṭti*, *nivāṭti*, *nivāṭti*.

*rth* remains in *athra* (I. e. *artha*, IV, 10), but becomes *rth* in *athra* (I. e. *artha*, VI, 14; IX, 19), and *ph* in *apha* (passim), *nivāṭtiyān*.

*rkh* becomes *kh* in *vāḥṭiṭi*, *vāḥṭiṭi*, *pra[vāḥṭiṭi]ṭi*, *vāḥṭiṭi*, *diaghā*.

*rkh* remains in *grabhagura* (I. e. *garbhāgura*).

*rm* remains in *krama* (I. e. *karma*) and *kramma* (I. e. *karma*, III, 6), *dhrama* (I. e. *dharma*) and *dhramma* (I. e. *dharma*).<sup>1</sup>

*ry* becomes *y* in *-yeshu* (= Skt. *-ryeshu*), but *ry* in *anāntariyena*, *madhuryaye*, *sama[cha]-riyān*.

*rv* remains in *pruva* (I. e. *purva* = Skt. *pūrva*), *sarva* (I. e. *sarva*), but becomes *v* in *sava*, *nivāṭti*, *nivāṭtiyati*, *nivāṭti*, *nivāṭti*.

*rt* remains in *draṭṭana* (I. e. *darṣana*), *draṭṭayitu* (= Skt. *darśayituṣ*), *Priyadraṭti* (= *°darṣin*), but becomes *t* in *daṭṭana* (VIII, 17).

*rsh* remains in *prashanāda* (I. e. *°pārśhanāda*)<sup>2</sup> and *prashāda*, but becomes *sh* in *vasha*, *pashanāda* (XII, 3) and *pashāda* (XII, 9).

*rshy* becomes *sh* in *kashan*, *kashati*, *kashanti*.

*rah* becomes *rah* in *garahati*; *r* in *garana* (= Skt. *garhaṇā*).<sup>3</sup>

*lp* becomes *p* in *apa*, *kapa*.

*ly* becomes *l* in *kalyāna* (= Skt. *kalyāṇa*).

*vy* becomes *v* in *vanāhana*, *vapaṭa* (twice), *apa-vayata*, *vasana*, *divani*, *prasavati*, *kāṭava*, *paṭivēdetavo*, *[p]rayuktoṇu*, *vatoṇu*, but *vī* in *vijetaṭ[ti]*, and *vīy* in *vīyapaṭa* and *vīyapaṭa* (V, 13), *kshamitaviya*, *paṭitaviya*.

*vr* remains in *[ti]vr*, *pravrajita*, *vraṭṭanti*, *[v]r*acheyan, *vraṭṭanti*, *vraṭṭaspi* and *vraṭṭa-dhummika* (also at Mānsehrā).

*sch* becomes *ch* in *hachi* (= Skt. *kaśchī*), *pacha* (= *paśchāt*).

*ty* becomes *tiy* in *prativēsiyena*.

*sr* remains in *śramaṇa*, *śravaka*, *śūdraka*, *śūdrasaka*, *śūdrasheya*, *śrūta*, *śrūtu*, but becomes *f* in *śamaṇa* (IX, 19), *nīṭi*, and *sr* in *[s]reṭha* (= Skt. *śrēṭha*).

*shk* becomes *k* in *dukaṭan*, *dukaṇa*.

*shkr* becomes *kr* in *nikramanān*, *nīk[r]amatu*, *nikrami*, *nikramishu*.

*shf* becomes *ph* in *[apha]* = Skt. *aśṭa* (XIII, 1).

*shfr* becomes *ph* in *Raphikamaṇ*.

*shph* becomes *ph* in *nīphiti*, *[s]repham*; *sh* in *-adhithana*.

*shy* becomes *f* (I. e. *sf*) in *manusa* and in the futures in *-isati* and *-etati*.

As at Kāṭi, *sh* becomes *k* in *joti-kahdhani*.

*st* remains in *astī*, *nasti*, *[a]stina* (= Skt. *astina*), *samstava*, *samstuta*, *vistripṭa*, *-anastati*. It occurs also in the Ancient Persian word *nīstā*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> At Mānsehrā we find twice (IV, 13 and 16) the defective spelling *dhama* beside the usual form *dhrama*.

<sup>2</sup> This form is a variant of Skt. *pārśhāda* (for *pārśhāda*) and the origin of Skt. *pashāda*; cf. Johansson, § 37, 64.

<sup>3</sup> See Johansson, § 56, c, and cf. Pāli *rasa* = Skt. *arasa* (Geiger, § 49). At Mānsehrā the reading is *garaha* (= Skt. *garhā*).

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. xlii.

*str* remains in *ś[stri]*, *striyaka*.  
*sth* becomes *tk* in *grathaka*, *chira-thitika*.  
*sm* becomes *sin* in *[śi][m\*]ho* (XIII, 5).<sup>1</sup>  
*sm* becomes *sp* or *s* in the locatives singular in *-aspi* and *-asi*.  
*sy* becomes *siy* in *rabhasiye*, *siya*, *siyati*, *siyasu*, but *s* in *asw* and in the genitives singular in *-asa* and *-isa*.  
*sr* remains in *parisrave*, *sahasra*, but becomes *s* in *sahasani* (I, 2).  
*sv* becomes *sp* in *spa[ka]*, *spagra* (= Skt. *svarga*), *spamitena*, *spasa(su)na* (= *svasṛṇām*).  
*am* becomes *m* in *bramaya*.

## B.—DECLENSION

I. BASES IN *-a*.(1) Masculines and neuters in *-a*.

| Singular.   | Plural.  |
|---|--|
| Nom. masc. <i>jane</i> , &c.; neut. <i>danane</i> , &c.             | Masc. <i>putra</i> , &c.; neut. <i>[o]sha[dha]ni</i> , &c.       |
| Acc. masc. <i>dhramane</i> , &c.; neut. <i>maṅgalane</i> , &c.      | Masc. <i>yutani</i> , &c.; neut. <i>divani</i> , <i>rupani</i> . |
| Instr. <i>putrena</i> , <i>danena</i> , &c.                         | <i>śatehi</i> .  |
| Dat. <i>apaya</i> , &c.   |  |
| Abl. <i>karaya</i> (= Skt. <i>kāraṇāt</i> , III, 6), <i>pacha</i> . |  |
| Gen. <i>janana</i> , &c.  | <i>praṇanane</i> , &c.   |
| Loc. (a) <i>orodhanaspi</i> , &c.; (b) <i>dhrame</i> , &c.          | <i>vasheshu</i> , &c.  |

Nom. sing. masc.—The original termination *-s* is dropped in *jana* (XIV, 13), *ghosha* (IV, 8), *pradeśi[ka]* (III, 6), *vadha* (XIII, 3), *sambha[ni]dha* (XI, 23), *sayama* (VII, 4), *Maha* (XIII, 9). The Māgadhā termination *-r* is frequent; see *jane* (X, 21), *vivade* (VI, 14, 15), *Turamaye* (XIII, 9), *Devanapriya* (X, 21), &c. In *Amṛtikini* (XIII, 9) we have *-i* instead of *-r*.

Nom. sing. neut.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *dana*, *a[cha]yika* (VI, 14), *anusachana* (XIII, 2), *[du]kara* (VI, 16), *draṇana* and *daṇana* (VIII, 17), *puṭha* (XI, 24), *maṅgala* (IX, sections D and F), *maha-phala* (IX, F). As in the nom. sing. masc., Māgadhā forms in *-r* are frequent; see *dane* (VII, 4), *draṇane* (VIII, 17), *likhite* (XIV, 13), *vijite* (XIV, 13), &c. In a few gerundives we have *-o* instead of *-ane* or *-r*: *kaṭavo* (IX, 18, 19; XI, 24), *prāṇivedavo* (VI, 14) and *paṇivedavo* (VI, 15), *valavo* (IX, 19; XI, 24; XII, 8), *śako* (XIII, 7). The Sanskrit masculine *bhāga* is used as neuter in *sahasra-bhagan* (XIII, 7).

Acc. sing. masc.—In *aṭh[r]e* (VI, section E), *dosha* and *ba[hu]ka* (I, 1), the Anusvāra is omitted. There are two irregular forms: *dhramo* (XII, 6) and *sayame* (VII, 2).

Acc. sing. neut.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *[da]na* (XII, 1), *karaya* (XIV, 14), *vasana* (XIII, 5), and in a few other instances.

Loc. sing.—The group *sp* of the termination *-spi* is assimilated in *[o]pakarapasi* (XII, 3), *uphanas[i]* (VI, 15), *[śa]panasi* (III, 7), *mahana[sas]i* (I, 2), *yu[ta]ni* (V, 13). The termination *-s* occurs also in *anupāsi*, *abadhe*, *avake*, *Kaṭige*, *prakara[ṇ]e*, *pravase*, *vijay[e]* (XIII, 11), *vijite*, *vivake*, *śile*.

Nom. plur. masc.—The Sanskrit neuter *apatya* is used as masculine in *[y]e me apacha vaktshanti* (V, 11).

Nom. plur. neut.—The termination is *-s* instead of *-ani* in *[o]sha[dha]ni* . . . . *harapita cha vata cha* (II, 5).

The remaining instances of the acc. plur. masc. are *-bāndhani*, *Kaṭiga[ni]*, *prashanāni*, *pravrajita[ni]*, *grakathani*.

Gen. plur.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *abhiratana* (XIII, 5), *mahamatrana* (VI, 14), *-bramaṇa* (twice), *-bramaṇa* (IV, 9).

<sup>1</sup> Mānaseśu reads *śi[ni]ho*.

(2) Feminines in -i.

| Singular.                                 | Plural.   |
|---|---|
| Nom. <i>ichha</i> , &c.                   | <i>chik[i]sa</i> , [ <i>kr</i> ][ <i>śa</i> ], <i>striyaka</i> . <sup>1</sup> |
| Acc. <i>pūja</i> , &c.                    |   |
| Instr. <i>pūjaye</i> , <i>vividhaye</i> . |   |
| Loc. <i>sa[m̐]hiraṇṇaye</i> .             |   |

II. BASES IN -i.

(1) Masculines in -i.

Nom. plur. *trayo*.  
Gen. plur. *ātina[m̐]*, *ātina*, *Nabhitina*.

(2) Feminines in -i and -ī.

| Singular.  | Plural.        |
|--|----------------|
| Nom. <i>dīpi</i> , &c.                             | <i>afavi</i> . |
| Acc. <i>Sabodhi</i> , &c.                          |                |
| Instr. <i>-anusā[sti]ya</i> , <i>bhātiya</i> .     |                |
| Dat. <i>-anusātiya</i> , <i>vaḍhiya</i> .          |                |
| Abl. <i>nivṛtiya</i> , <i>Ta[m̐]hapaṇi[m̐]ya</i> . |                |
| Loc. <i>ayatiya</i> .                              |                |

With the nom. plur. *afavi* cf. Pāli *rattī*, nom. plur. of *rattī* (= Skt. *rātri*).

III. BASES IN -u.

The same forms as at Gīrnār and Kālsī occur, viz. nom. sing. masc., fem., and neut. *sadhu*; nom. and acc. sing. neut. *bahu*; nom. and acc. plur. neut. *bahuni*; instr. plur. *bahuki*; gen. plur. *guruna*, *garnna*.

IV. MASCULINES AND FEMININES IN -ī.

Nom. plur. *nataro*.  
Gen. plur. *bhratuna*, *spasa(su)na*.<sup>2</sup>  
Loc. plur. *pitushu*.

The instr. sing. follows the *u*-declension: *pituna*, *bhratuna*.

V. BASES IN CONSONANTS.

(1) Present participles in -at.

As at Kālsī, we have the two nom. masc. *sa[m̐]tanī* (*salanī*) and *karamtanī* (*karatanī*).

(2) Masculine in -vat.

Nom. sing. *prajava* (= Skt. *prajāva*).

(3) Masculines and neuters in -an.

| Singular.                              | Plural.                         |
|--|---------------------------------|
| Nom. masc. <i>raja</i> , <i>raya</i> . | <i>rajano</i> , <i>rajani</i> . |
| Acc. neut. <i>nama</i> .               |                                 |
| Instr. <i>raña</i> .                   |                                 |
| Gen. <i>raño</i> .                     |                                 |

The neuter base *karmān* follows the *a*-declension: nom. sing. *kraman*, dat. *krammāye*.

<sup>1</sup> The Skt. feminine *stṛī*, from which this curious diminutive is formed, occurs at XII, 9 in the form *ś[stṛī]*.

<sup>2</sup> At Mānashrī (V, 24) the reading is *spas[u]na*.

## INTRODUCTION

(4) Masculines in *-is*.Nom. sing. *Priyadrasī*.Instr. sing. *Priyadrasīna*.Gen. sing. *Priyadrasīsa*.Acc. plur. [*a*] *ṛtina* (*astī[ne]* at Mānsehrā).The gen. sing. follows the analogy of the *a*-declension.(5) Neuters in *-as*.Acc. Sing. *yaśo*, *bhūy[et]*.The base *vacha-* (XII, 2) corresponds to Skt. *vachas*.(6) Neuter in *-is*.The base *joti-* (IV, 8) corresponds to Skt. *jyōtis*.(7) Feminine in *-ā*.

The base *pariskad* follows the *a*-declension: loc. sing. *pariskāye*. The nom. sing. *pariskā* is preserved at Mānsehrā (III, 11).

## C.—PRONOUNS

## (1) Pronoun of the first person.

Nom. sing. *aham*.Instr. sing. *maya*.Gen. sing. *maa*, *me*.

With the gen. *maa* cf. Prākṛit *maha*, which seems to be derived from the Skt. genitive *mama* under the influence of the dative *māyam*; see Michelson, JAOS, 30, 85, n. 2.

(2) Base *ta*.

| Singular.             |                                  | Plural.                           |
|-----------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Nom. masc. <i>so</i>  | } neut. <i>taś</i> , <i>so</i> . | Masc. <i>te</i> .                 |
| Acc. masc. <i>taś</i> |                                  |                                   |
| Instr. <i>tena</i> .  |                                  |                                   |
| Dat. <i>taṃ</i> .     |                                  |                                   |
| Gen. <i>tasa</i> .    |                                  |                                   |
| Loc. <i>tasi</i> .    |                                  | <i>tesha[śi]</i> , <i>tesha</i> . |

Nom. sing. fem. *sa*.Acc. plur. fem. *ta* (XIII, 7).

In two places (XIII, section T, and V, section H) we have *sa* for *so* (nom. masc. and acc. neut.).

(3) Base *śa*.

The acc. plur. neut. *śa* (VI, 16) corresponds to *śe* (acc. plur. masc.?) at Mānsehrā; cf. Text, p. 59, n. 1.

(4) Base *eta*.

| Singular.   |                            | Plural. |
|---|----------------------------|---------|
| Nom. masc. <i>eśa</i> ; neut. <i>eta</i> , <i>etani</i> , <i>etake</i> , <i>eśa</i> | } Masc. <i>eta</i> (I, 3). |         |
| (X, section E).   |                            |         |
| Instr. <i>etakeṇa</i> .   |                            |         |
| Dat. <i>etaya</i> , <i>etakeya</i> .  |                            |         |
| Gen. <i>etisa</i> (III, 6; XII, 9).   |                            |         |

Nom. sing. fem. *eska* (XIII, 4).

The *i* of the gen. sing. *etisa*, which is found also at Mānśhrā (XII, 8), is perhaps due to the analogy of the Pāli interrogative *kissa* (from base *ki*) = *kassa* (from base *ka*).

(5) Demonstrative *idam*.

Singular.

Nom. masc. *ayaiṇ*, *ayi*; neut. *idam*, *ida*, *iman*, *ima*, *iyaṇ*, *īyo*.

Acc. neut. *iman*.

Gen. *imisa* (IV, 10).

Nom. fem. *aya*, *ayi*.

Dat. fem. *imisa* (III, 6).

With the gen. masc. *imisa* cf. *etisa* (from *eta*) and the Gīrnār and Pāli instrumental *iminā*.

The dat. fem. *imisa* is an imperfect spelling of Pāli *imissā*. Cf. the feminine bases *imi*, *ti*, *ei*, *ṛi*, *ḥi* in Prākṛit (Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 424).

(6) Interrogative pronoun.

The indefinite *kichi* (nom. and acc. sing. neut.) forms the nom. sing. masc. *kachi* (XII, 5). The compound *kiti* is used in the sense of 'that'.

(7) Relative pronoun.

Singular.

Nom. masc. *yo*, *y[ε]*; neut. *yaṇ*, *ye*.

Acc. neut. *yaṇ*, *yo* (X, 21), *[ε]* (XIII, 5).

Instr. *ye[ṇa]*.

Gen. *yasa*.

Loc.

Masc. *ye*.

*yesha* (*yesha[n]*) at Mānśhrā).

*yesu*.

Plural.

Nom. sing. fem. *ya* (XIII, 12).

Nom. plur. fem. *ya* (XIII, 7).

(8) Base *anya*.

Singular.

Nom. masc. *aṇe*, *aṇṇi*; neut. *aṇaṇ*.<sup>1</sup>

Acc.

Dat. *aṇaye*.

Gen. *aṇamaṇasa*.

Masc. *aṇṇe*

} neut. *aṇani*.

Plural.

(9) Base *sarva*.

Singular.

Nom. neut. *sav[ε]aṇ*, *savva*.

Acc. masc. and neut. *savvaṇ*, *savvaṇ*.

Loc.

Masc. *savv*.

*savveshu*, *savveshu*.

Plural.

(10) Base *ubhaya*.

Gen. plur. *u[ḥka]y[ε]sa* (*ubhayaṇ* at Mānśhrā).

(11) Base *śkatara*.

Loc. sing. *śkatore*.

(12) Base *\*śkatya*.

Nom. sing. masc. *śkatia*.

## D.—NUMERALS

One.

Acc. sing. neut. [*ś\**]*kāṣi*.

Two.

Nom. masc. and fem. *duv[ī]*.

Three.

Nom. masc. *trayo*.

Four.

As in Ardhamaṅgadhi (Fischel's *Grammatik*, § 439), the acc. masc. *chatur* (= Skt. *chaturāṣ*) is used in the place of the nom. (XIII, 9).

Five, six.

Loc. *pañchashu*, *shashu*.

Eight, ten, twelve, thirteen.

[*aṭka*], *daśa*, *badaya(śa)*, *todāśa*.

Hundred.

Acc. plur. *śatani*, instr. *śatehi*, loc. *śateshu*.

The ordinal is *śata*; see *śata-bhage*, XIII, 7.

Thousand.

The ordinal is *sahasra* (XIII, 7).

Hundred thousand.

Nom. sing. *śa[śa-saka]śre*.Nom. plur. *śata-sahasani*.

## E.—CONJUGATION

## I. PRESENT.

(1) *Bases*.

First Sanskrit class.

Root *kram*: *parakramati*, *nīk[r]**amatu*.

Root *garh*: *garahati*.

Root *ji*: [*vi*]*jinamano*, *vijimīti*; see above, p. lxxxi and n. 1.

Root *trap*: *evatrapetyu*.

Root *drīś*: [*da*]*hhati*.

Root *ni*: *anumeti*.

Root *bhā*: *bhāti*, *hoti*.

Root *labh*: the absolutive *ara[bhītu]* and the two passive forms [*arabhi*]*yo[ti]* and *arabhi-śakti* presuppose the present \**arabhāti*, 'to kill' (= Skt. *ślabhātī*).

Root *vas*: *vasati*.

Root *vyā*: *anuvatatu*, *anuvapāśati*.



Root *vraj*: *vrahasi*. For Prākṛit *vachcha* (for \**vrajyati*?) = Skt. *vrajati* see Hēma-chandra, IV, 225; Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 202 and n. 3.

Root *sthd*. The absolutive *tīṭhiti* (IV, 10) presupposes the present \**tīṭhāti* (= Skt. *tīkṣhāti*).

Second Sanskrit class.

Root *as*: *asti*.

Root *han*: *upahasi*.

Third Sanskrit class.

Root *ku*. The gerundive [*ṣ*]raynhotaw is formed from the Skt. present *jukṣti*.

Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root *pad*: *paṭipajeyati*.

Root *man*: *mañṣati* and *meṣati*.

Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root *ṣp* follows the ninth class: *ṣṛapumati*.

Root *ṣru* follows the *a*-conjugation: *ṣṛuṣyu*.

Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root *iśh*: *ichhāti*.

Seventh Sanskrit class.

Root *yuj* follows the *a*-conjugation: *yujāntu*.

Eighth Sanskrit class.

Root *kṛi*: *karoti*; but the optative *apakareyati* and the two present participles *karāntān* and *ka[ra]min[ṣ]* presuppose the present \**karati*, \**karate*.

Root *kṣhaṇ* follows the *a*-conjugation: *kṣhayati*.

Ninth Sanskrit class.

Root *aś* follows the *a*-conjugation: *aśamana* (part. pres. middle).

Tenth Sanskrit class.

(a) With *aya*: *dīpayami*, *draśayim*, *sukhayami*. The character *aya* is contracted into *e* in *pūjeti*, *pūjetaviya*, *a[ra]dheti*, *avadhetu*, *rochetu*, *lo[ch]a[śh]u*, *a-locheti*, *paṭivedetu*, *paṭivedetavo*, *nivāpēti*, *vadheti*.

(b) With *paya*: *apayayami* and *anapemi*, *anapeṣamti*, *anapita*, *anunija(jha)peti*, *hapēṣadi*.

(c) With *āpaya*: *likha[ṣ]eṣami*, *likhapitu(ṭa)*, *khanapita*, *nīpēṣapita*, *karapita*.

(2) *Moods*.

The terminations of the middle are replaced by those of the active, with the exception of the present participles [*vr*]jinamana, *ka[ra]mina*, *aśamana*.

(a) Indicative,

1. sing. *parak[ṣ]amami*, *karomi*, *anapayami* and *anapemi*.

3. sing. *parakramati*, *garahati*, [*da*]khati, *anuneti*, *bhōti* and *hōti*, *asti*, *upahanti*, *mañṣati* and *meṣati*, *ichhāti*, *karoti*, *kṣhayati*, *anunija(jha)peti*, *pūjeti*, *a[ra]dheti*, *nivāpēti*, *vadheti*.

3. plur. *anuvaṣṭanti*, *vrahasiṭi*, *ichhanti*. The Anuvāra is missing in *bhōti* (XIII, 7), *vasati*, *ṣṛapumati*, *haro[n]* (IX, section C).

(b) Subjunctive.

1. sing. *dīpayami* and *sukhayami* (with indicative termination).

## (c) Optative.

1. sing. *v[r]acheyam* (from \**vrachchati* = Skt. *vrajati*).  
 3. sing. *siya* and *siyati* (= Skt. *syāt*), *paṭipajeyati*, *apakarēyati* (from Skt. *apakarōti*), *nivajeyati*<sup>1</sup> (= Skt. *nirvartayati*; cf. above, p. lxxxii). The four last forms have the termination of the indicative.  
 3. plur. *avatrapeyu*, *vaseyu*, *ṭraṇeyu*, *asu* (= Pāli *assu*) and *siyasu*. With the last form cf. the optative passive [*ka*]mūeyasu (below, V).

## (d) Imperative.

3. sing. *bhotu*, *anuvatatū*.  
 3. plur. *parakramamātu*, *yujamātu*. The Anuvāra is missing in *nik[r]amatū*, *mañā[ṭu]*, *aradhetū*, *rochetū*, *paṭivedetū*.

## (e) Imperfect.

3. sing. *ako* (= Skt. *abhavat*).

## II. AORIST.

## (a) Indicative.

3. sing. *nikrami*.  
 3. plur. *nikramishu*. In *abhuvasu* (VIII, 17) the aorist termination *-su* seems to be affixed to *abhāvan*, the Sanskrit aorist of root *bhā*; cf. Johansson, § 30.

## (b) Subjunctive.

3. plur. *mañishu* (from Skt. *manyati*), *lo[ck]e[sh]u* (*alochayisu* at Kālsi and Mānsehrā).<sup>2</sup>

## III. PERFECT.

To the Sanskrit perfect *āka*, which has the meaning of the present (see Pāṇini, III, 4, 84), the termination of the 3. sing. indicative present is affixed: *ahati* and *hahati*.<sup>3</sup>

## IV. FUTURE.

1. sing. *kasham* ([*ka*]shami at Mānsehrā), *likha[p]śami* (while Girmār has *likhāpayisam*).  
 3. sing. *kashati*, *vaḥisati*, *hapetadi*.  
 3. plur. *kashamti*, *an[u]vaṭisamti*, *vraکشamti* (from root *vraj*), *anustatisamti* (from *anu-sās*), *anapetamti*, *pra[va]dh[e]samti* (*paravahayisamti* at Mānsehrā).

## V. PASSIVE.

3. sing. indicative *vuchati* (= Skt. *uchyati*), *prasavati* (= *prasāvayati*).  
 3. plur. indicative [*a*]nuvidhiyamti (= *anuvīdhiyanti*), *hamham[ti]* (= *kanyanti*).  
 3. plur. optative [*ka*]mūeyasu (XIII, 8) with aorist termination; cf. *siyasu* (= Skt. *syuḥ*, XII, 7), and see Johansson, § 140.  
 3. sing. imperative *anuv[ā]dh[ī]yatu*.  
 3. plur. aorist [*arabhi*]yis[u] (from Skt. *ālabhyati*).  
 3. plur. future *anuvīdhiyam[ti]* (from Skt. *anuvīdhiyati*), *arabhisamti* (for \**ālabhyishyanti* from Skt. *ālabhyati*).<sup>4</sup>

## VI. DESIDERATIVE.

3. plur. optative *susrushayu*.  
 3. sing. imperative *susrushatu*.

<sup>1</sup> Mānsehrā reads *nivajeya*.

<sup>2</sup> See Text, p. 31, n. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Text, p. 58, n. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Arabhāra*, *Arabhira*, and *Arabhisara* at Girmār, where *āh* is also a defective spelling for *āb*.

VII. PARTICIPLES.

(1) Present participle.

Active.

Root *as*: *sa[ni]tanā* (*satanā*).

Root *kṛi*: *karanānā* (*karanānā*).

Middle.

Root *jī*: *[vī]jīnamana*; see above, p. lxxxi and n. 1.

Root *kṛi*: *ka[ra]minā*.

Root *at*: *atamana*.

Other participles in *-mina* or *-minā* are found in the Māgadhā edicts; cf. Bühler, ZDMG, 46, 72, and below, p. cx, and chapters X and XI.

(2) Past passive participle.

(a) In *-ta*: *mata* and *muta* (= Skt. *mata*, XIII, 8), *muṭa* (= *myita*), *kiṭa*, *[kr]iṭa*, and *kīra* (= *kṛita*), *vapaṭa*, *viyapaṭa*, and *viyapaṭa* (= *vyāpṛita*, V, 13), *vistrīṭa* (= *vistrīta*), *uṣaṭa* (= *uṣṛita*), *nīṣita* (= *\*nīṣṛita*), *nīṣita* (= Ancient Persian *nīṣikṣta*; see above, p. xlii), *nīṣeṣita*, *nīṣeṣapita*, *likṣita*, *likṣapita* (*ta*), *khanapita*, *harapita*, *aropita*, *arapita*, *bhūta* (i. e. *bhūta*), *atīkṛata* (= *atīkṛānta*), *[la]ṣita*, *nivṛta* (= *nivṛṛita*), *vṛta* (= *vr̥ta*), *samāta* (= *samāṣṛta*), *samīkṣita* (= *samīkṣṛita*), *vṛddha* (= *vr̥ddha*), *opavṛddha* (= *op̥ddha*), *labha* (= *labḥa*), &c.

(b) In *-na*: *prasanna* (i. e. *prasanna*), *viprahina* (i. e. *\*hina*).

(3) Future passive participle.

(a) In *-avya*: *kṣhamitavya*, *pūjetavya*, *viṣetav[ī]ya*, *kaṭava*, *vātava*, *[ṣ]rayukhātava*, *paṭiv-dātava*.

(b) In *-anīya*: *v[e]danī[ya]*.

(c) In *-ya*: *śaka* (= Skt. *śakya*)

VIII. ABSOLUTIVE.

(a) In *-tu* (= Skt. *-tvā*): *ara[bhūtu]*, *paritijitu* (from root *tyaj* with Samprasāraṇa of *ya*), *frutu*, *dṛalayitu*.

(b) In *-ti* (= Vedic *-tvā*):<sup>1</sup> *tīkṣiti* (from the Skt. present *tīkṣhati*), *vijīniti* (from the present *vi-jīnati*; see above, p. lxxxi and n. 1), *a-lochati*.

(c) In *-ya*: *samīkṣay[a]* (from *samīkṣyā*).

The dialect of the Mānsehrā text is nearly identical with the Shāhbāzgarhī one, but contains some more Māgadhisms.<sup>2</sup> It will, therefore, be sufficient to draw attention only to those forms at Mānsehrā which differ from the corresponding ones at Shāhbāzgarhī.

The vowel *e* for *a* in the second syllable of *sayama* (VII, 33) may be due to the preceding palatal *y*, unless it is a clerical error. For the form *m[unī]ṣa* (II, 8) see above, p. lxx. Instead of the vowel *ri* the Mānsehrā version has (1) *a* in *kaṭa*, *sukaṭa*, *[ma]ṭe*; (2) *u* in *[pa]r[e]ṣṭa*, *puṭka*, *vapaṭa* (= Skt. *vyāpṛita*); (3) *e* in *gekhata* (= *grihastha*);<sup>3</sup> (4) *ra* in *viyapraṭa* (V, 24);<sup>4</sup> (5) *ar* in *kaṭra* (i. e. *kaṭa* = Skt. *kṛita*), *vadhri* (i. e. *varḍhi* = Skt. *vr̥ddhi*); (6) *ri* in *mrig[e]*, *mrigaviya* (= *mrigaviyā*); (7) *ru* in *vruḍhi* (= *vr̥ddhi*);<sup>5</sup> (8) *ur* in *vudhra* (i. e. *vr̥ddha* = Skt. *vr̥ddha*). For *ruckha* = Skt. *vr̥kṣha* (II, 8) see above, p. lxx f.

The guttural *k* becomes *y* in *[di]ya[dha]* (XIII, 1). Greek *χ* is represented by *g* in *[A]tyoga*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Delbrück's *Altind. Verbum*, § 221; Macdonell's *Vedic Grammar*, p. 412.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Michelson, AJP, 30, 285 f.

<sup>3</sup> The Prakṛit form *gṛha* is used for *griha* also in Sanskrit. Another instance of this change is the root *tṣh* = *ṛidh*; see Wackernagel's *Altind. Grammatik*, I, 39.

<sup>4</sup> The spelling (5) *kaṭra* (for *kaṭa*) suggests that (4) *viyapraṭa* is meant for *viyaparta*.

<sup>5</sup> The spellings (5) *vadhri* and (8) *vudhra* suggest that (7) *vruḍhi* is meant for *vr̥ddhi*.

(II, 6). As at Kālsī, the palatal *ch* has been aspirated in *kechhi* (= Skt. *kacchī*) and *kichhi* (= \**kid* + *chid*). Dentals are lingualized in *duva[da]śa* (III, 9) = *duva[da]śa* (IV, 18), *treḍata* (V, 21), and after *ri* in *kaṭa*, *sukaṭa*, [*ma*]śa, *vapaṭa*, *viyapraṭa*, *vrudhi*. Sanskrit *ṣ* is preserved in *paṇatika* (= *praṇaptika*), but is represented by dental *n* in *ti[ni]* (= *triṇi*). In *aṇaiyaṇi* (VI, 31) the first *ṇ* is due to assimilation. The *t* for *dh* in *tuti* (VII, 33) is perhaps a clerical error. The *dh* of the root *bhū* has become *k* in *koti*, *hotu*, *aho*, [*ku*]veyu, *kusu*, *kuta-pruvu* (twice), but not in *bhuta-pruvu* (V, 21) and in the substantive *bhūta* (i. e. *bhūta*). The semivowel *y* is prefixed to *e* in *yeva*, while initial *y* is lost in *e*, *avi* (= *yati*), [*a*]diśe (twice), *atra* (twice = *yatra*), *atha* (thrice = *yathā*). In *supadavuv* (V, 21) we seem to have *r* for *l* and *v* for *y*; see Text, p. 33, n. 3, and above, p. lvii, n. 2. The first *t* of *ta[sa]yike* (IX, 7) is due to assimilation. In the aorists *kusu*, [*arabhi*]isu, and [*ale*]chay[is]u, dental *s* has taken the place of *sh*. In *aa* (VI, 26) = *aha* (i. e. *dha*) and *aam* (VI, 30) = *aham* (VI, 28), *h* is elided between vowels.

Final *as* becomes *e* only in *tato*, *mukhato* (VI, 28), *yato*, *Devanapriyo* (VII, 32), *niśito* (V, 25), but generally *e*; see *he[tute]*, *vā[yaṇi]nate*, *natare* (= Skt. *naplārāḥ*), *rajine* (= *rājīnā*), *ra[jane]* (= *rājīnā*), *Priyadrasine* (gen. sing.), *Devanapriyo*, &c. In *vin[ka]ramaṇi* (XIII, 5) the *-e* is replaced by *-i*.

The hiatus remains in *dhramayuta-apalibodhaye* (V, 23). *a + e* becomes *e* in *usafen-eva* (X, 11), and *a + u* becomes *o* in *praj-opadaye* (IX, 2).

As at Shāhbāgarhi, the letter *r* is sometimes attached to the next following consonant. Thus *nirarthiya* (IX, 3) is meant for *nirarthiya*, *vadhrite* and *vadhrayisati* (IV, 15) for *vardhite* and *vardhaysati*. Similarly *kaṭra* (= Skt. *kṛta*, V, 24) stands for *kaṭṭa*,<sup>1</sup> *vadhri* (= *vriddhi*) for *vardhi*, *vadhra* (= *vriddha*) for *vriddha*. Anusvāra is omitted before consonants in *ata* (II, 5), *aparata* (V, 22), *samata* (II, 6), [*A*]tiyoge, *Adha*, *a[na]latiyena*, *anarabhe*, *anubadha*, *apa-bha[da]*, [*aba*]ha, *asapa[ḥ]ipati*, *Gadharana*, *chhade*, *para[kra]mate* (3. plur.), *satiraṇa* (VI, 30), *kache* (for *kaṇche*), *ksh* becomes *kh* in *chhayaṇi* and *ruchhani*.

*jā* becomes *n* in *biṇata* (= Skt. *kṛtājñatā*), but *jīn* in *rajina* (= *rājīnā*) and *rajins* (= *rājīnā*).

*ṇy* becomes *ṇ* in *puṇa*, *puṇaṇi*, *apu[ṇe]*.

*im* becomes *iv* in *atuvu* (= Skt. *ātman*).

*ty* becomes *tiy* in *apatiye*, [*eka*]tiya.

*tr* remains in *treḍata*, but becomes *t* in *ti[ni]* (= Skt. *triṇi*), and *d* in *tenada* and *yada*.<sup>2</sup>

*dr* becomes *d* in *khuda* and *khudakena*.

*dv* becomes *duv* in *duva[da]śa* and *duva[da]śa*.

*dhy* becomes *jā* in *istrija[ḥ]aksha*.

*ny* becomes *n*, as at Kālsī, in *ana[tra]* (X, 11); *ṇ* in *ane*, *anatra* (X, 9), *anamanasa*, *maṇati*, *maṇ[iku]*.

*pr* remains in *praṇ[o]tra*, but becomes *p* in *paṇatika*, *pavaḍhayisanti*, *avipahin[e]*, *paṭibhagaye*, *paṭivetiya*.

*br* becomes *b* in *bamaṇa* (IV, 15) = *bramaṇa* (passim).

*bhy* remains in *-idhyesku*, but becomes *bhiy* in [*ara*]bh[īyanti], and *bh* in [*arabhi*]isu (aorist passive).

*bhr* becomes *bh* in *bhata(tu)na* (V, 24) = *bhratuna* (twice).

*my* remains in *namya*.

*rg* becomes *g* in *ma[geshu]*.

*rt* becomes *t* in *anuvataṭa* and *kīpi* (= Skt. *kīrti*).

*rik* remains in *nirarthiya* (i. e. *nirarthiya*).

*rdh* remains in *vadhrite* (i. e. *vardhite*, IV, 15) and *vadhrayisati* (i. e. *vardha*), but becomes *dh* in *vadhite* (IV, 12).

*iy* becomes *y* in *kayaṇa* (= Skt. *kāyaṇa*).

*vy* becomes *v* in *vapaṭa*; *vāy* in *viyapraṭa*, *vā[yaṇi]nate*, *mrigaviya*, *kaṭaviya*, *pra[johi]ṭaviya*, *vataviya*, *paṭivudetiya*.

*vr* becomes *v* in [*p*]rava[ḥ]iṭani.

*st* becomes *tā* in *saṁkha[v]*.

<sup>1</sup> In *viyapraṭa* (i. e. *viyapraṭa*) the *r* is combined with the preceding *akshara*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, p. lxxv, n. 4.

*sth* becomes *ṣā* in *chira-ṣhitiha*

*sv* becomes *s* in *pa[r]isave*.

Masculines in *-a*: abl. sing. *anubadha*; dat. plur. *mahamatrehi*.

Feminines in *-ā*: acc. sing. *puja[ā]*; loc. sing. *prajopadaye*; nom. plur. *janika*.<sup>1</sup>

Masculines in *-i*: loc. plur. *[Va]bhapa[ni]śikha*.

Masculines in *-ri*: nom. plur. *natara*.

Present participle in *-at*.—The gen. sing. *asatasa* follows the *a*-declension.

Masculines and neuters in *-an*: instr. sing. *rajina*; dat. sing. *krama[ṣ]* (i. e. *karmaṣ*); gen. sing. *rajina*; nom. plur. *ra[jana]*.

Masculines in *-in*: gen. sing. *Priyadrastina*.

Pronoun of the first person: nom. sing. *asm* (VI, 30) = *āsm* (VI, 28); instr. sing. *me* (III, 9).

Base *ta*.—The nom. sing. masc. *se* is used also as nom. and acc. sing. neut.; dat. plur. *tehi* (XII, 7); gen. plur. *ta[nam]* (XIII, 5).

Base *ṭa*: nom. sing. masc. *[ṣṭha]* (XIII, 6); gen. sing. *ṣ[ṭa]sa*; nom. plur. neut. *[ṣṭand]*.

Demonstrative *idam*: nom. sing. neut. *iya* (VIII, 35); gen. sing. *imasa*; nom. plur. masc. *ime*; nom. sing. fem. *iyam*; dat. sing. fem. *imaya*.

Indefinite pronoun: nom. sing. masc. *kichhi*; nom. and acc. sing. neut. *kichhi*.

Base *itara*: nom. sing. neut. *[i]tara*.

Numerals: *[e]ṣ[e]* (nom. sing. masc.), *du[v]e*, *ti[ni]*, *duva[da]ṭa* and *duva[da]ṭa*, *tradaṭa*.

Present indicative: 3. plur. *yanhi* (from root *i* or *yā*).—Subjunctive: 1. plur. *dipayama*; 3. plur. middle: *para[kra]vate*.—Optative: 1. sing. *ye[kam]* and 3. plur. *[ka]vryn*, as in the Kāśī version, which cf. also for the aorist *huvu* (VIII, 34) and the perfect *aha* (i. e. *āha*).

Passive: 3. plur. indicative *[ara]ḥṭ[iyamti]* (*alabhi[yan]ṭi* at Kāśī); 3. plur. aorist *[arabḥ]ṣu* (*ārabhṣu* at Girnār).

Present participle: *asatasa* (gen. sing.) from root *as*.

Past passive participle: *[anapayit]u* (III, 9),<sup>2</sup> *ropapita* (*ropāpita* at Girnār).

Future passive participle: *pra[johi]tavīye*; see above, p. lxxxi.

Absolutive in *-ti*: *drasṭi*.

## CHAPTER IX. GRAMMAR OF THE DHAULI AND JAUGADA ROCK-EDICTS

### A.—PHONETICS

#### I. VOWELS.

The vowel *a* is converted to *i* through the influence of a neighbouring *y* in *majhima* (= Skt. *madhyama*) and *likhiyis[am]*. It becomes *u* after a labial in *munisa* (= *manushya*), *uchāvucha*, and is assimilated to the vowel of the first syllable in *udāpāna* (= *udapāna*).

The *a* in the second syllable of *puṭhavi*, which corresponds to Skt. *i*, was originally an auxiliary vowel; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 115. In *su* = Skt. *svid*, *i* has become *u* through the influence of the preceding *v*. For *e* = *ṣ* and *i* in *heta* (= *\*itra*) and *edisa*, *hedisa* (= Skt. *idṛisa*), see above, p. lxx.

Skt. *u* is represented by *u* in *pana* (= *punaḥ*). In *pulisa* (= *purusha*) the *i* of the second syllable, which corresponds to Skt. *u*, was originally an auxiliary vowel; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 124. For the *i* in the second syllable of *munisa* (= Skt. *manushya*), see above, p. lxx and n. 3. In *kho* (= Skt. *khalo*), Skt. *u* is represented by *e*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

<sup>1</sup> This is a diminutive of *jani*, 'a wife', which occurs at Kāśī.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, p. lxxviii, n. 3.

Skt. *ri* becomes (1) *a* in *ana[n]a* (= *anriya*), *ānanna*, *ānaniya*, and *ānaniya*, *usaṇa*, *kaṭa*, [*kə*]<sup>1</sup>*tū* and *kaṭu* (= *kṛitvā*), *dakkaṭha*, *dakkāmi*, [*bha*]*ṭaka*, *bhaṭi*, *vaḍḍi*, *viṭṭaṭa*, *viṇṇapaṭa*; (2) *i* in *edisa* and *hedisa*, *iḍḍisa*, *āḍisa* (= *yāḍṛisa*), *dhitti*, *p[ī]ṭi*, *bhāṭi*, *m[ā]ṭi* (= *mātri*, Dhau. IV, 4), *mige*, [*mige*]*vij[ā]*; (3) *u* in *pitū* (= *pitrī*, Dhau. IV, 4), and after labials in [*a*]*nā*[*v*]*uti* (= *andvritti*), [*a*]*ṭi*[*p*]*uchhā*, *puṭhavi* (= *pṛithivī*), *vuḍḍa* (= *vṛddha*); (4) *e* in *dekhata*; (5) *ra* in *drakḥati* (Jau. I, 2). The syllable *vri* is represented by *lu* in *lukha* (= *vriksha*).

The diphthong *ai* becomes *e* in *niche* (perhaps = Skt. *nichai*), and *au* becomes *o* in *-opaga* and *-o**paya*, *osadhāni*, *mokhya* and *mokhiya*, *paṇḍā*, *pālalokika*.

Short *a*, *i*, *u* are lengthened in *āṭiyāyike* (= Skt. *āṭiyayikam*), *abhiḥā*[*la*], *chi*[*la*]-*ṭhiṭṭā*, [*v*]*j*[*vā*]*ha*, *anāvūtiya* (Dhau. Sep.) = [*a*]*nā*[*v*]*uti*[*ya*] (Jau. Sep.), *iḥlanā*[*ya*] and *a*[*ā*]*nā* (for which Jau. Sep. reads [*u*]*ṭya* and [*atulanā*]), *nūḥūyena*, *y[ū]**ṭyū* and *yāṭyū* (also *ṭyūyū* and *ṭyūyū*), *bahūhi*, *bahūru*. Final *a*, *i*, *u* may be lengthened either when they are followed by the particle *ti* (= *iti*) or without it; see *ālā*[*dha*]*yisa*[*th*]*ā*, *āḥā* (passim) = *ā*[*ha*] (Jau. Sep. II, 1), *chā*, *kechā*, *paṭipādayemā* *ti*, *ma*[*m*]*ā* *ti*, *vā* (twice = Skt. *vva*), *saveṇā* (Jau. Sep. II, 3), *hosāmi*, *aphesū* *ti*, *ālādḥayanā* *ti*, [*ka*]*tū* (Jau. Sep.) = *kaṭu* (Dhau. Sep.), *palakama*[*m*]*ā*[*ā*], *yujānā*, [*ā*]*ḍā*[*ā*] *ti*. Final *a*, *i*, *u*, which stand for original *am*, *is*, *ur*, are treated in the same way; see [*aph*]*ā**ḍā* *ti*, *anusāthi* *ti*, *āl*[*ad*]*hē*, [*n*]*ijhā**ti*, *hpi*, *vā*[*ā*]*ḍi*, *sudhi*, *alochayisū*, *ālādḥayevū*, *chaleyū* *ti* and *chalevū*, *nikkamāvū*, *pāṇuvū* *ti*, *ṭyūyū* *ti* and *ṭyūyū* *ti*, *y[ū]**ṭyū* *ti* and *yāṭyū* *ti*, *lahayū*[*ū*], [*vā*]*ṭyū* *ti*, *huvuvū* *ti* and *huvū* *ti*.

The three derivatives *gamu*[*kā*], *nagalaka*, and *vachanik*[*a*] correspond to Skt. *gāmuka*, *nāgaraka*, and *vāchanika*. The *ā* of *mahā*- is shortened in *mahamā* (Jau. Sep. II, 1). Final *ā* is often shortened; see *attha* and *atthā* (= Skt. *yathā*), *ada* and *adā* (= *yadā*), *tatha* and *tathā*, *piṭa* and *piṭā*, *lāja* and *lājā*, *vā* and *vā*, *kam*[*mana*] and *kamana* (= *karmaṇā*), [*a*]*nā*[*v*]*uti*[*ya*] and *anāvūtiya*, and the nominatives singular feminine *achala*, *ichha*, *ikkhi*[*ā*], *sotaviya*. Long *i* is shortened in *nitiyan* (thrice) = *nī*[*i*]*yan* (Jau. Sep. I, 7) and in the nom. plur. *nāṭi* (Dhau. IV, 5) = *na*[*i*] (Dhau. and Jau. V, 2).

Initial vowels are dropped in *pi* (= Skt. *api*), *hakanū* (for *ahakam* = *aham*), *ti* (passim) = *iti* (thrice) and *kiṇṇi*, *vā* and *vā* (= *vva*). In *huvū* (Jau. Sep.) = *huvuy* (Kālsī and Mānsehrā), the vowel *u* seems to be elided.

## II. SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

In the separate edicts at Jaugada the guttural *k* is softened in *palalogam*, *hidalog*[*an*], *hidalogika*, while Dhauḷi reads *palaloka*[*n*], *hidaloka*, *hidalogika*.<sup>1</sup> *k* is represented by *y* in [*n*]*ilaṭhi* *yan* (Dhau. IX, 2) and *supadāṇye* (Dhau. and Jau. V, 3); *g* by *y* in *-o**paya* (Dhau. VIII, 3) = *-opaga* (Dhau. and Jau. II, 3). In *akhakasa* (= Skt. *akarkasa*, Dhau. Sep. I, 22) the aspiration of the first *k* is perhaps due to the influence of the second *k*, which is a defective spelling of *kkh*, and which was produced by the assimilation of the group *rk*.<sup>2</sup> Greek *χ* is expressed by *k* in *Amityoka*.

The palatal *ch* is aspirated in [*k*]*e*[*chha*] (Dhau. Sep. I, 7) = *kechā* (Jau. Sep. I, 4), *kimchhi* and *kichhi*. It is softened in [*a*]*julā* (Dhau. Sep. II, 7) = *achala* (Jau. Sep. II, 9, 11), while *j* is hardened in *Kainbocha* and *vachasi* (= Skt. *vrajī*). The palatal nasal *ṣ* occurs only in *paṭimā* (Dhau. Sep. II, 6), instead of which the Jaugada text reads *paṭimā*. It is replaced by dental *n* also in *ānapāyami*, *ā*[*na*]*p*[*ay*]*i*[*ā*]*ri*, *nāṭisu*.

As at Kālsī, lingual *ṣ* is replaced by dental *n*. But *ṣ* is used in four stray instances: [*kha*]*nas*[*i*] (Dhau. Sep. II, 10), *nijhap*[*e*]*ta*[*vi*]*ye* (Jau. Sep. I, 1), *pālaloki*[*k*]*e*[*na*] (Jau. Sep. II, 4), and *saveṇā* (Jau. Sep. II, 3).

Dentals are lingualized after *ra* in the preposition *paṭi* (also *praṭi* in *praṭivedayanā*, Jau. VI, 2), and after *pi* in *usaṇa*, *kaṭa*, [*ka*]*tū* and *kaṭu*, *puṭhaviyam*, [*bha*]*ṭaka*, *bhaṭi*, *vaḍḍi*, *viṭṭaṭa*, *viṇṇapaṭa*, *vuḍḍa*. *s* becomes *ch* in [*ch*]*ṭi*[*th*]*ru*. In the Jaugada separate edicts, *ṣ* is hardened in the following forms of the root *pad*: *paṭipādayemam*, [*pa*]*ṭipādayem*[*a*], *vipaṭipādayanānam*, [*saṃ*]*paṭipā*[*ta*]*yan*[*am*], *saṃpaṭipādayis*[*av*]*e*, while Dhauḷi reads [*pa*]*ṭipāday*[*am*], &c. For [*iḍḍā*] (Dhau. IV, 8) and *hida* (passim) see above, p. lxxii. The enclitic particle *nam* (in *huvamāsi nam*, Dhau. and Jau. VIII, 1)

<sup>1</sup> Both Dhau. and Jau. have *sava-loka-hita* and *pālalokika*.

<sup>2</sup> For other instances of the aspiration of initial *k* see Fischer's *Grammatik*, § 206.

is derived by native grammarians from Skt. *nānu*; but in Fischel's opinion (*Grammatik*, § 150) it goes back to Skt. *nānam*, which would have lost its first syllable.

The labial *p* is aspirated in *apha[sa]ni* (Jau. Sep. I, 11), as in Prakṛit *pharusa* (= Skt. *parusha*); see Fischel's *Grammatik*, § 208. *bh* becomes *h* in the instrumental and dative plural in *-hi*, in *lahy[ā]* and *lahoru*, *hōti*, *hōp*, *o[h]o*, *huvāniti*, *[h]uvyā*, *huvoru*, and in the participle *hūta*, while *bhūta* is used as substantive.

The semivowel *y* becomes *j* in *majāla* (= Skt. *mayūra*), and *h* in the optatives *ālābhakāni*, *yekāni*, *[p]ā[ti]pādayākaṇi* and *paṭipādayākaṇi*. It is replaced by *v* before *u* and *ā* at Dhauli, while it remains at Jaugada; see *-āvutike*, *aravasu*, *ālādhayevā*, *chalevā*, *[p]ā[ti]punevā* and *pāpunevā*, *yujevā* and *yūjevā*, *lahoru*, *[va]sevā*, *huvoru* and *huvvā*, instead of which Jaugada reads *-āy[ul]ike*, &c. But both Dhauli and Jaugada have *nikhamaṇi* (III, 2). *y* is prefixed to *e* in *yeva*, but is dropped at the beginning of *e*, *ena*, *avi* (= Skt. *yat*), *ata* (= *yatra*), *athā* and *atha* (= *yathā*), *adā* and *ada* (= *yadā*), *asa* (= *yasya*), *ā* (= *yā*), *āni*, *ādise*, *āva* (= *yāvā*). The syllable *ya* becomes *i* in *apriy[a]t[ā]*, *palitijit[ā]*, *bhāpi* (= *bhṛitya*). The syllables *aya* and *ayi* are contracted to *e* in *tedasa* (= *\*trayadaśa*), *Ujeni* (= *Ujjayini*), *nijhap[ā]ta[vī]ye*, *paṭivedataviye*.

As at Kālsī, *r* becomes *l* throughout.

*v* is prefixed to *u* in *v[ul]te* (= *uktam*). The syllable *va* becomes *u* in *[ul]āya* and *[atulanā]*; *vā* becomes *ū* in *[ka]tū* (= *kṛitvā*), and *u* in *kāp*, *anusāritu*, and other absolutives. The syllables *ava* and *avi* become *o* in *olodhana*, *vijvadaśa* (*vijvā\**), *-vijvāhāka*, *hōti*, *hōtu*, *a[h]o*, and *hosati* (= *bhaviṣyati*).

The two sibilants *ś* and *ṣ* are replaced by *s* throughout. Skt. *ś* is represented by *ch* in *chakiye* and *chaghatha*, from root *chak* (= *śak*).

*h* is prefixed in *hida*, *hata*, *hedisa*, *hevanu*.

As in other Prakṛits, final consonants are dropped. A preceding short vowel is lengthened in *saniyā*- (= Skt. *sanyak*), *p[ā]tisā* (= *parishat*), *anusathī*, *ālādhayevā*, &c. (see above, p. c). Conversely, a preceding long vowel is sometimes shortened; see *[siya]* and *siyā* (= *syā*), *da[h]rya* and *\*ak[h]e* *yā*, *anubandhā* (*a*) (= *anubandhāt*, Dhau. V, 6), and the nom. plur. masc. *anuvigina*, &c. (below, p. civ). Final *as* generally becomes *e*; see *Ujraṇṇa*, *kute*, *T[a]kha[s]ilāte*, *dvāḍāte*, *mukhate*, *vijayajanaṭe*, *hetute*, the genitives singular *atane*, *lājine*, *Piyadasine*, the nom. plur. *lājāne*, *da[v]ijye*, *[bhuy]e*, *ne*, *jane*, &c. It becomes *o* only in *seto*, *[ya]so*, and *man[o]*; *a* in *[saniya]pāda* (?), *sa*, *esa*; *ā* in *[ā]dā*. Final *ar* becomes *e* in *avite* = Prakṛit and Pāli *anto* (Skt. *antar*), and *a* in *pana* (= *punar*).

Final *a* and *u* are nasalized in *mamanā* (Jau. Sep. II, 7) = *mama* (passim) and *sahasenā* (Dhau.) = *sahasasu* (Jau.), while the Anusvāra of words ending in short nasal vowels is omitted in *hidaloka*, *bahuka*, *vachanik[a]*, *-a[ni]rik[a]*, &c. (below, p. civ), the acc. sing. fem. *Sanibodh[ā]* and *hīni*, *apāka* (= Skt. *asmākaṁ*) and *i[n]phāk[a]*. The Anusvāra is dropped and the preceding vowel lengthened in *kīpt*, *vaḍhī*, *sudhī*, *kafaviyatālā*, *k[āni]matālā*, *drvālā*, *[oph]ākā* *tī*; cf. above, p. c. But the nom. sing. of neuters in *-a* generally follows the analogy of the masculines and ends in *-e*; see below, p. civ.

Long nasalized vowels are generally shortened; see the genitives plural *bhaginīnāni*, *gulināni*, *bhāt[ā]nāni*, *[te]sā[ni]*, *pānānāni*, &c., the acc. sing. fem. *yātāni*, *sustāni*, and the loc. sing. fem. *[pa]tisāyāni* (Jau. VI, 4), *Samāpāyāni*, *Tasāyāni*, *nitiyāni*, *puṭkaviyāni*. The Anusvāra is omitted in *palisāyā* (Dhau. VI, 3); in *tes[a]* and *samīlanāya* the long *ā* is shortened at the same time.<sup>1</sup>

### III. SANDHI.

Final *ś* is preserved in *[ta]d[ā]pāyā*, and final *m* in *hedisamēva*. In *hemēva* (= Skt. *evamēva*) the syllable *va* of *evam* is dropped.<sup>2</sup> The final *m* is doubled in *hevanimeva* and *sukhanimeva*. Hiatus is prevented by *m* in *bhāpi[m]-ayasu*.

Hiatus remains in *svag[a]-āladhī* (Jau. Sep.), *mahā-apāye* (Dhau. Sep.) = *mahāpāy[ā]* (Jau.

<sup>1</sup> The two last words, although masculine in form, are used as neuters.

<sup>2</sup> But *palisāyā* and *samīlanāyā* may as well be genitives used in the sense of the locative.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *emēva* = Skt. *evamēva*, Hémachandra, I, 271, and Jacobi, ZDMG, 47, 579.

Sep.), *dudhale* (Dhau. Sep. and Jau. Sep.), *pasu-opagāni* (Dhau. and Jau.), *mas[e]-atike* (Dhau. Sep. and Jau. Sep.). As a rule, *a* + *ā* are contracted into *ā*; see *-vasābhāsita*, *pāndlambhā*, &c. But the *ā* is shortened before a group of consonants; see *atata* (= Skt. *yatra yatra*), *āpalamā* (= *\*āpa-rāmāṣṭh*), [*ʃ*][*na*]*tā* (= *tīnātra*), *nasthi* (= *nāsti*), *bandhana[n]tikā* (= *bandhanāntikam*), *sāpāṭhāye*. Final *a* preceding *i*, *u*, *e*, *o* is dropped in *bābhā[n]-āhī[yes]u*, *chu* (= *cha + u*), [*pa*]*j-upadāye*, *chēva*, [*te*]*tesa*, *muni-opagāni*. In *eva* (Jau. Sep. I, 7) the nasal vowel *am* of *evam* is treated in the same manner before *e* (= *yah*). *a* is elided after *e* in [*ʃ*][*am*] for *e* + *ayanā* (= Skt. *yōyam*).

#### IV. GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

The only Sanskrit groups which occasionally remain unchanged are *khy*, *tr*, *tv*, *ny*, *pr*, *my*, *vy*, *sv* (which becomes *sv*), *sm*, *ty*, *sv*. Moreover the group *rs* is preserved at Jaugaḍa in *drasayitu* (IV, 3) and *Piyadrasine* (I, 3), which are meant for *darśayitu* and *Piyadarsine*; cf. above, p. lxxvii. All other groups of consonants are either assimilated, or an auxiliary vowel is developed within them.

A long vowel preceding a group is generally shortened; see *alanā* (= *ātanamā*), *atānanā*, *atīyāyike* (= *ātyayikam*), *amūsthi* (= *amūsthi*), *anusathe*, [*ayesu*] (= *āryeṣu*), *avāsandāye*, *avāsā[n]jyā*, [*a*]*svaseyu*, *avāsaru*, *asamati* (= *asamāpti*), *ālādhi* (= *\*ārādhi*), *tadavāye*, [*a*]*lakamāmi*, *palakamena*, *maga* (= *mārga*), *mahamātā* (Jau. Sep. II, 1), *Laṭhika*, *sarvatam*, *lāya* (= *īrshyā*), *kīti* (= *kīrtim*), *puṭva* (= *pūrva*).<sup>1</sup> But *a* remains in *ānapayāmi*, [*na*]*pa[ay]is[ā]ti*, *mahāmāta* (passim), *sāsvatam* (Jau. Sep. II, 14). In *tīnini* (= *tīnī*) the *i* is shortened and the nasal doubled. Similarly, the short vowels *i* and *u* in *avāsā[n]jyā*, *da[ṽ]jyē*, and [*bhuy*]*e* suggest that these three words are meant for *avāsānjyā*, *davījyē*, and *bhuyyē*; cf. above, p. lxxiv.

A long nasalized vowel is shortened before consonants in *atikamāta*, *apa-bh[am]dāta*, *kīlānte*, *Druvanāpīya*, *Pamḍiyā*, *varābhana*, while the nasal is dropped and the length retained in *bābhana*. In *chkhānda* (Jau. Sep. II, 5, 11) = *chkhānda* (passim), the *am* is lengthened although it is followed by a consonant. Anusvāra is omitted after short vowels in *kichhi* (cf. above, p. lx), *badhana* (= Skt. *bandhana*); *vikisā*; after *e* in *kaletī* (Dhau. and Jau. IX, 2); and before *y* in *anusayānā*, *sayama*, *sayata* (= *sanukta*).

The auxiliary vowel which is developed within some groups is *u* before or after labials in *duva*, *duvāḍasa*, *duvāla*, *puṭva*, *svāmika*, *pāpūnāti*; *e* in *ānaneyanā* (Jau. Sep.) = *ānanīyanā* (Dhau.); and frequently *i*, as the subjoined list of Sanskrit groups and of their equivalents at Dhau and Jaugaḍa will show. I need not quote any examples of the groups *kr*, *gr*, *dr*, *dhr*, *br*, *bhr*, *śr*, *sr*, which have become *k*, *g*, *d*, *dh*, *b*, *bh*, *s*, *ś*, respectively.

*kḥk* becomes *kh* (i.e. *kkh*) in *dukha[ni]* and *dukhtiyati*.

*kt* becomes *t* in *-āy[us]ike*, *-āvutike*, &c.

*ky* becomes *kīy* in *sakiye* and *chakiye*.

*kl* becomes *kīl* in *kīlānte*, *k[ī]lamathena*, *palikilesa*.

*kak* becomes *kh* in *khana*, *khamitave*, *khamisati*, [*kh*]*ud[am]*, *khudakena*, *T[a]kha[s]lāte*, *dakhāmi*, &c.,<sup>2</sup> *nakhatena*, *mokhāye*, *tukhāni*.

*ksh* becomes *khin* in *s[a]khina* (= Skt. *ślakṣhṇa*).

*kshy* becomes *gh* in *chaghattha*.

*khy* remains in *mokhya* (Dhau. Sep.), but becomes *khiy* in *mokhiya* (Jau. Sep.).

*khl* becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

*gn* becomes *g* in [*a*]*gi*, but *gin* in *anuvigina*.

*jā* becomes *jīn* in *lājina*, *lājine*; *nā* in *paṭinā* (Dhau. Sep.); *nin* or *n* in *paṭinā* (Jau. Sep.), *ānapayāmi*, [*na*]*pa[ay]is[ā]ti*, *ānāp[ay]i[ta]*, *nātsu*.

*jy* becomes *y* in the passive forms *yujyā* and *y[ā]jeyā*.

*dy* becomes *ḍiy* in *Pamḍiyā*.

*ny* becomes *nīn* in *kīlānta* and *ānanē*, but *nīy* in *ānanīyanā*, and *ney* in *ānaneyanā*.

*ṣp* becomes *ṣ* in [*pa*]*jupadāye*.

<sup>1</sup> *puṭva* presupposes an intermediate form *\*pūrva*, in which the *ā* of *pārva* was shortened before the group *rv*. The same applies to *atīyāyike*. Cf. above, p. lxxiv, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. lxxiv and n. 5.



*tu* becomes *t* in *atane* and *atāneṇa*.

*ty* becomes *tiy* in *atiyāyika*, *apatiye*, *ekatiyā*.

*tr* remains in *s[a]vatra* (Jau. II, 4), but becomes *t* in *s[a]vata* (passim), *tiṇi*, &c.

*tv* remains in *śadavāye*.

*ts* becomes *s* in *śafena* and *chikisā*.

*tsk* becomes *šk* in *uškāna*, but *tk* in *uškāy[ā]*; cf. above, p. lxxxviii.

*dg* becomes *g* in *uga[ckha](ckhe)*.

*dy* becomes *y* in *nyānasi*; *j* in *oja*, [pa]ṭipa[ju]ti, *paṭipajeyā*, *saṃpaṭipajati*, *sa[ni]paṭipajam[i]*[n[e]].

*dv* becomes *v* in *anuvigina*, but *duv* in *duve*, *duvādana*, *duvāla*.

*dky* becomes *šk* in [n]ijhāt, *ṣijhap[ē]ta[vi]ye*, *majhām*, *majhime[na]*.

*ny* remains in [anye] (Jau. Sep. I, 5), but becomes *nn* in *anna* (passim) and *maṇn[ate]*.

*pt* becomes *t* in *asamati*, *nat[i]* and *nati* (= Skt. *napārah*), [n]ijhāt.

*pn* becomes *pnn* in *pāpūnāti*, &c.

*pr* remains in *praṭivādayanti* (Jau. VI, a), but becomes *p* everywhere else.

*bhy* becomes *ḍky* in *āla[ni]ḍkiyanti*, *ālabhiyanti*, *āla[ḍh]iṣanti*, *-iḍh[ye]n*.

*my* remains (with the nasal doubled) in *saṃmyā-*.

*rk* becomes *kh* in *akhakha* (= Skt. *akarkāsa*).

*rg* becomes *g* in *mageru*, *vagu*, *svaga*.

*ri* becomes *t* in [anu]vataṭu and *anuvatisanti*; *f* in *vaṭṭaviya*, *kaṭṭavya*, *kiṭṭ*.

*rth* becomes *tk* in *atha* (Jau. Sep. II, a, 12, 14); *ṭk* in *aṭha* (passim) and [ni]laṭh[ṭ]yaṭh.

*rdk* becomes *ḍh* in *vadhite*, *vadhyaṭi*, *pavadhyaṭanti*.

*rḍk* becomes *ḍh* in *gadhāgāsi*.

*rm* becomes *nm* or *m* in *a[nu]chātunimāsam*, *kaṇma-* (= Skt. *karmaṇ*) and *kamana* (= *kar-maṇā*), *dhāmma*.

*ry* becomes *y* in [ayesu], but *liy* in *ānāṭṭaliyam*, *nīḥaliyena*, *mādhuliyāye*.

*rv* becomes *v* in *pavataṭi* and *sava*, but *lrv* in *pulvva*.

*ri* becomes *s* in *dasana* and *Piyadasi*, but *rs* in *drasayitu* (i.e. *darsayitu*, Jau. IV, 3) and *Piyadrasine* (i.e. *\*darsine*, Jau. I, 3).

*rsh* becomes *s* in *vasa*.

*rsky* becomes *s* in *iśāya*.

*lp* becomes *p* in *apa* and *-kapam*.

*ly* becomes *y* in *kayāna*.

*vy* remains in *saṃchalitavye* (Jau. Sep. I, 7), but becomes *y* in [icchit]taye (Jau. Sep. I, 5), and *vīy* in *saṃchalitaviy[ē]* (Dhau. Sep. I, 13), *icchitaviye*, and other gerundives, *divu[y]āni*, [miga]viy[ā], *vīyamjanate*, *vīyāpaṭā*, *vīyohālaka*.

*vr* becomes *v* in *vachasi* (= Skt. *vrajṣṭ*).

*sch* becomes *chk* in *pachhā*.

*sl* becomes *s* in *s[a]khina* (= Skt. *ślakṣya*).

*sv* becomes *sv* in *asvāsānāye*, *asvāsa[n]iyyā*, [a]svaseyyu, *asvasruv*, *sāsvatam* and *asvatam*, but *s* in *aso*.

*shk* becomes *k* in *dukaṭam* and *dukala*.

*shkr* becomes *kh* in *nikhamaṭṭā*, [n]ikkhami, [n]i[kkha]m[i]s[su], *nikhamsanti*, *nikkhamayisāmi*.

*shp* becomes *ṭh* in *Lathika*.

*shk* becomes *ṭh* in [ch]i[ṭh]itu, *nīḥaliyena*, *se[ṭhe]*; *tk* in *adkithāna*.

*shp* becomes *ph* in *niphati*.

*shm* becomes *ph* in *tuphe*, &c.

*shy* becomes *s* in *tisa*, *mumisa*, *koṣati*, *asatha* (Jau. Sep.), and other futures, but *k* in *ekatha* (Dhau. Sep.); cf. *Māhārāṣṭri ehi* in Fischel's *Grammatik*, § 529, and *ehisi* in Pāli.

As at Kālsī, *sk* becomes *k* in [a]ḡ-kaṇḍhāni.

*st* becomes *tk* in *athi*, *nathi*, *amṣathi*, *amṣathe*, *viṭhaṇa*, *saṃthuta*, *hathini*; *ṭh* in *aṭhi* (Jau. Sep. I, 4).

*str* becomes *tk* in *iṭhā*.

*sth* becomes *ṭh* in *chila-ṭhithā*.

*sm* remains in *ahamā*, but becomes *ph* in *apha*, &c., and *s* in the locative singular in *-asi*.

*sy* remains in [śa]s[y]ś[na] (Jau. Sep. I, 6), but becomes *siy* in *śasiyena* (Dhau. Sep. I, 11), *siyā* and [śi]ya (= Skt. *śyās*), and *s* in the genitive singular in *-asa*.  
*sv* remains in *svaga*, but becomes *sw* in *swāmika[na]*.  
*h* becomes *nh* in *banhāna*. In *bāhāna* the Anusvāra is omitted, and the long *ā* of Skt. *brāhmaṇa* is preserved.

## B.—DECLENSION

I. BASES IN *-a* . . . . .(1) Masculines and neuters in *-a*.

| Singular.   | Plural  |
|---|---|
| Nom. masc. <i>janā</i> , &c.; neut. <i>dānā</i> , &c.         | Masc. <i>putā</i> , &c.; neut. <i>asadhāni</i> , &c.          |
| Acc. masc. <i>dhanamān</i> , &c.; neut. <i>maghānam</i> , &c. | Masc. <i>kamdhāni</i> , y[u]ś[ān]i; neut. <i>vanāni</i> , &c. |
| Instr. <i>putrā</i> , &c.                                     | <i>jāto[h]i</i> .   |
| Dat. <i>apāya</i> , &c.                                       | <i>mahāmāitiki</i> , <i>samanehi</i> .                        |
| Abl. <i>anubandh[a]</i> , <i>paśchā</i> .                     |   |
| Gen. <i>janasa</i> , &c.                                      | <i>pānānān</i> , &c.  |
| Loc. <i>apāni</i> , &c.                                       | <i>vasesu</i> , &c.   |

Nom. sing. masc.—The original termination *-s* seems to be dropped in [*saṃpa*]tīpāda (Dhau. Sep. I, 14). The termination is *-o* instead of *-e* in the colophon of Dhau. I: *śro* (Text, p. 91).

Nom. sing. neut.—The termination is *-am* in *śivam* (Dhau. and Jau. I, 1) and *durdānam* (Jau. Sep. I, 2); *-a* in *-a[ś]hik[a]* (Dhau. Sep. I, 9; Jau. Sep. I, 5), *durdā[a]* (Dhau. Sep. I, 3; Jau. Sep. II, 2), *mata* (four times), v[a]śitaviya (Jau. Sep. I, 7); *-ā* in *kaṭavīyatālā* (Jau. IX, 6), *k[ān]matālā* (Jau. VI, 5), *durdālā* (Dhau. Sep. II, 2).

Acc. sing. masc.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *hidāloka* (Dhau. Sep. II, 6).

Acc. sing. neut.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *bahuka* (Jau. Sep. I, 4) and *-vachanik[a]* (Jau. Sep. I, 12, II, 1). The form of the nominative is used in *ānamne* (Dhau. Sep. I, 14).

Nom. plur. masc.—The final *ā* is shortened in *anuvigina* (Dhau. Sep. II, 4; Jau. Sep. II, 5), *āya[ta]* (Dhau. Sep. I, 4; Jau. Sep. I, 2), *nagalaka* (Jau. Sep. I, 10), *ma[hā]māta* (Dhau. Sep. I, 1), *vastaviya* (Dhau. Sep. I, 2, II, 1), *-vijokālaka* (Jau. Sep. I, 1).

Nom. plur. neut.—The termination is *-ā* instead of *-āni* in *lopāpitā* and *hālāpitā* (Dhau. II, sections B and C; Jau. II, 4). As at Kāśī and Mānchrā, the two Sanskrit masculines *vyikṣha* and *prāya* are used as neuters: *lukhāni* (Dhau. and Jau. II, 4) and *pānāni* (I, 4).

(a) Feminines in *-ā*.

|   |
|---|
| Nom. sing. <i>paśā</i> , &c.  |
| Acc. sing. <i>yātān</i> , <i>śrūtān</i> .   |
| Instr. sing. <i>isāya</i> , ś[ul]āya, <i>tālana[ya]</i> .                                 |
| Loc. sing. <i>Samāpāyan</i> , <i>saṃtīlanāya</i> , <i>paśāye</i> , [ <i>pa</i> ]jupādāye. |

Nom. sing.—The final *ā* is shortened in *achala*, *ichha*, *likhi[a]*, *sotaviya*.

II. BASES IN *-i*.(1) Masculines and neuters in *-i*.

Nom. and acc. plur. neut. *tiṃni*.  
 Loc. plur. *nātisu*.

(2) Feminines in *-i* and *-ī*.

Nom. sing. *anusathi*, *śladhi*, *tīpi*, &c.  
 Acc. sing. *Sambodh[i]*, *hīni*.  
 Instr. sing. *anusathiyā*, *anāvatiya*.

Dat. sing. *anus[ath]i[ya]*, [*va*]dhiye.

Abl. sing. *niphaty[ā]*.

Loc. sing. *Tasaliyam, mitiyam, puthaviyam, ā[ya]siye.*

Nom. plur. *ikhā*<sup>1</sup>

Gen. plur. *bhaginatam.*

Nom. sing.—The final vowel is long in *anusatti, ā[adā]i*, [*a*]jikaṣi, *līpi*, *v[a]dhi* (Dhau. IV, section I), *sudhi* (Dhau. VII, section E).

Acc. sing.—The termination is *-i* in *kipp, vaḥi* (Dhau. IV, J), *sudhi* (Dhau. and Jau. VII, B).

### III. BASES IN -a.

Nom. sing. masc., fem., and neut. *sādhu, sādhi[ā]*.

Nom. and acc. plur. neut. *bahāvi.*

Instr. plur. *bahāvi.*

Gen. plur. *gūḥamān.*

Loc. plur. *bahāsu.*

### IV. MASCULINES IN -ri.

Nom. Sing. *pīḥ, pīḥ* (Jau. Sep. II, 10).

Gen. plur. *bhāḥ[ī]nam.*

Loc. plur. *p[ī]ḥ[ī]su.*

The instr. sing. follows the *i*-declension: [*p*]itind. *bhātind*, likewise the nom. plur. *naḥ[ī]*, *nati*; cf. Prakṛit and Pāli *aggā* (nom. plur. masc.).

### V. BASES IN CONSONANTS.

#### (1) Present participles in -at.

Nom. sing. masc. *santam, kalamtam*,<sup>2</sup> *vipatipātayamtam, [sanipatipā]ta[yan]tam.*

The base *mahat* follows the *a*-declension: nom. sing. masc. *mahanā.*

#### (2) Masculines and neuters in -an.

| Singular.  | Plural.        |
|--|----------------|
| Nom. masc. <i>lājā, lāja</i> (Dhau. Sep. II, 4). | <i>lājāne.</i> |
| Acc. masc. <i>atānam</i> ; neut. <i>nāma.</i>    |                |
| Instr. <i>lājind, kavi[mana], kamana.</i>        |                |
| Dat. <i>kanimam.</i>                             |                |
| Gen. <i>atane, lājine.</i>                       |                |

The neuter base *karman* may also follow the *a*-declension: nom. sing. *kanime*, acc. *kaniman*, gen. *kanimasa.*

#### (3) Masculines in -in.

Nom. sing. *Piyadasi.*  
 Instr. sing. *Piyadarind.*  
 Gen. sing. *Piyadasine.*  
 Acc. plur. *kathini* (= [*ka*]thini at Kālat).

#### (4) Neuters in -as.

Acc. sing. [*ya*]o, *da[v]iye, [bhay]e.*

#### (5) Feminine in -ā.

The base *parishad* follows the *a*-declension: nom. sing. *p[ā]ḥā, loc. [pā]ḥidya[an]* and *palitāya.*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *ajasi*, above, p. xci.

<sup>2</sup> For these two forms see above, p. lxxvii.

## C.—PRONOUNS

## (1) Pronoun of the first person.

| Singular.  | Plural.  |
|--|--|
| Nom. <i>hakan̄</i> .   | <i>inaye</i> .                                 |
| Acc.   | <i>aphe</i> , a[ <i>ph</i> ]eni.               |
| Instr. <i>mamayā</i> , <i>mamāye</i> , <i>mamiyāye</i> , <i>me</i> . |  |
| Abl. <i>mamate</i> .   |  |
| Gen. <i>mama</i> , <i>mamā</i> , <i>maman̄</i> , <i>me</i> .         | <i>aphāka</i> , [a <i>ph</i> ]ākā, <i>ne</i> . |
| Loc.   | [a <i>phesu</i> ], <i>aphesū</i> .             |

For the forms *hakan̄* and *mamayā* see above, p. lxxviii. With the instr. sing. *mamāye* (Dhau. Sep.), instead of which Jau. Sep. reads *mamiyāye*, cf. *mamāi*, Hēmachandra, III, 109. The ablative *mamate* for Skt. *matlak̄* is, like the instrumental *mamayā*, due to the influence of the genitive *mama*. The nom. plur. *maye* is derived from Skt. *vayam*, but influenced by the instr. sing. *māyā*, and the acc. *aphe* (Dhau. Sep. II, 7) is formed from the same base as Skt. *asmān*. The acc. a[*ph*]eni (Jau. Sep. II, 10) and the loc. *aphesu* follow the analogy of the masculines in -a.

## (2) Pronoun of the second person.

|  |
|--|
| Nom. plur. <i>tuphe</i> , <i>phe</i> .     |
| Acc. plur. <i>tuphe</i> , <i>tupheni</i> . |
| Instr. plur. <i>tuphehi</i> .              |
| Gen. plur. [u]phāk[a].                     |
| Loc. plur. <i>tuphesu</i> .                |

The base \**tushma*, from which the nom. and acc. plur. *tuphe* (= Prākṛit *tumhe*) is derived, seems to be a compromise between the Skt. base *yushma* and the singular *tvam* (Prākṛit *tumam̄*).<sup>1</sup> With the form *phe* (Jau. Sep. I, 2) cf. *bhe*, Hēmachandra, III, 91. The three forms *tupheni* (Jau. Sep.), *tuphehi*, and *tuphesu* follow the analogy of the masculines in -a.

(3) Base *ta*.

| Singular.  | Plural.                      |
|--|------------------------------|
| Nom. masc. <i>te</i> , <i>te</i> (Dhau. Sep. I, 13). | <i>te</i> , <i>se</i> .      |
| Acc. neut. <i>tāni</i> , <i>se</i> , <i>sa</i> .     |                              |
| Instr. <i>tēna</i> .                                 |                              |
| Gen. <i>tasa</i> .                                   | [t̄c]sa[m̄], <i>tes</i> [a]. |
| Loc. <i>tasi</i> .                                   |                              |

In Dhau. Sep. II, 7, the nom. plur. neut. *tāni* takes the place of the masc. *te* (Jau. Sep. II, 9).

(4) Base *tta*.

| Singular.  | Plural.                                 |
|--|---|
| Nom. masc. [s̄]ā (Dhau. VIII, 3); neut. <i>esa</i> . | Masc. <i>ete</i> ; neut. <i>etāni</i> . |
| Acc. masc. and neut. <i>etam̄</i> .                  |   |
| Instr. [s̄]ākēna.                                    |   |
| Dat. <i>etāye</i> , <i>etākāye</i> .                 |   |
| Gen. <i>etasa</i> .                                  |   |
| Loc. <i>etasi</i> .                                  |   |

Nom. sing. fem. *etā(ta)k̄ā*.

In Dhau. Sep. I, 11 f., the nom. plur. masc. *ete* [jātā] corresponds to the nom. plur. neut. *es[s̄]ni* [jātā[n̄s]] in Jau. Sep. I, 6.

<sup>1</sup> With *aphe* and *tuphe* cf. the Singhalese nom. plur. *api* and *topi*.

(5) Demonstrative *idam*.

| Singular.  | Plural.            |
|--|--------------------|
| Nom. masc. <i>ay[am]</i> , <i>iyam</i> ; neut. <i>iyam</i> . | Masc. <i>ims</i> . |
| Acc. neut. <i>imam</i> .                                     |                    |
| Instr. <i>imena</i> .  | <i>imahi</i> .     |
| Dat. <i>[i]m[d]ye</i> .                                      |                    |
| Gen. <i>imasa</i> .  |                    |

Nom. sing. fem. *iyam*.  
Dat. sing. fem. *im[d]ye*.

As at Kālsī, the nom. sing. masc. *ayam* occurs only in *[e]y[am]* (= Skt. *yoyam*, Jau. Sep. I, 6).

(6) Interrogative pronoun.

Nom. sing. neut. *kih*. The acc. sing. neut. *kam* and the acc. plur. neut. *kāni* are used as demonstratives. The abl. sing. of the same base is preserved in *akasmā*. The indefinite pronoun is formed with *cha* or *chha* (nom. sing. masc. *kechā*, [*k*]*e[chhā]*), and with *chhi* = Skt. *chid* (neut. sing. *kinchhi*, *kichhi*); and *kinisi* is used in the sense of 'that'.

(7) Relative pronoun.

| Singular.  | Plural.   |
|--|---|
| Nom. masc. <i>ye</i> , <i>e</i> ; neut. <i>e</i> . | Masc. <i>ye</i> , <i>e</i> ; neut. <i>āni</i> . |
| Acc. neut. <i>am</i> .                             |   |
| Instr. <i>ena</i> .                                |   |
| Gen. <i>asa</i> .                                  |   |

Nom. sing. fem. *yā*, *ā*.

(8) Base *anya*.

| Singular.   | Plural.                                     |
|---|---|
| Nom. masc. [ <i>anye</i> ], <i>anine</i> ; neut. <i>anine</i> . | Masc. <i>anine</i> } neut. <i>anināni</i> . |
| Acc.  |   |
| Dat. <i>anināye</i> .   |   |
| Loc.  | <i>aninesu</i> .                            |

(9) Base *sarva*.

| Singular.                              | Plural.            |
|--|--------------------|
| Nom. neut. <i>sav</i> .                | Masc. <i>sav</i> . |
| Acc. masc. and neut. <i>savam</i> .    |                    |
| Instr. <i>savama</i> , <i>savayā</i> . |                    |
| Gen. <i>savasa</i> .                   |                    |
| Loc.                                   | <i>savesu</i> .    |

(10) Base *\*ikatya*.

Nom. plur. masc. *ekatiyā*.

D.—NUMERALS

One.

Nom. sing. masc. *ek*; instr. sing. *ekena*, *ek[a]k[e]na*.

Two, three, five.

Nom. masc. *druv* (cf. above, p. lxxx); nom. and acc. neut. *tiñni*; loc. *panichasu*.

## INTRODUCTION

Ten, twelve, thirteen.

ś[a]śa, dvādaśa, trdaśa.

Hundred.

Acc. plur. *śaśani*; instr. *śaśhi*.

Thousand.

Loc. plur. *śaśasū, śaśasūni* (Dhau. Sep. I, 4).

Literary Prākṛit also uses the termination *-śśun* besides *-śśu*; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 371.

Hundred thousand.

Nom. plur. *śaśa-śaś[a]śāni*.

## E.—CONJUGATION

## I. PRESENT.

(1) *Bases.*

First Sanskrit class.

Root *kamp*: *anukampati*.

Root *kram*: *p[a]lakamāmi, nikhamāvū*.

Root *gam*: *gachhema*.

Root *chal*: *chaley[ā]*.

Root *drīś*: *dakhāmi, drakhati, dekhata*.

Root *bhū*: *hoti, huvaṁti* (sixth class).

Roots *rabh* and *labh*: *ālabheham, lahey[ā]*.

Root *vas*: *[va]śevū*.

Root *vṛt*: *[anu]vatatu*.

Root *śvas*: *[a]śvasayū*.

Root *sthā*: *[ch]ā[th]ītu* (from \**chīthāti*), *utthāy[ā]* (from \**utthāti*).

Second Sanskrit class.

Root *as*: *atshi, aphi* (Jau. Sep. I, 4).

Root *ī*: *eti*.

The two roots *yā* and *śās* follow the *a*-conjugation: *yeham, anusāsāmi*.

Third Sanskrit class.

Root *hu*: *pajohitaviye*; see above, p. lxxxi.

Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root *pad*: *[pa]śīpa[jā]ti*.

Root *man*: *manm[ati]*.

Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root *ap* follows the ninth class (*pāpumāti, pāpumātha*) and the *a*-conjugation (*pāpumayn*).

Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root *īkṣ*: *īkṣati*.

Seventh Sanskrit class.

Root *yuj* follows the *a*-conjugation: *yujeyā* and *yajevā, yujanāti, yujisanakti*.

## Eighth Sanskrit class.

Root *kṛi*: *kaleti*, *kalāmi*, *kalānti*, *kalāntam*; see above, p. lxxxii.

## Ninth Sanskrit class.

Root *jñā*: *jānitu* and *jānisamti* are formed from the present *jānāti*.

## Tenth Sanskrit class.

(a) With *aya*: *atikāmayisati*, *nikhāmayisāmi*, *daseyitu* and *drasayitu* (i.e. *darsayitu*), *paṭipādāyemā*, *ālādhayāntu*, *likhiyis[āmi]*<sup>1</sup>, *alochayisā*, *vaḍhayis[ā]ti*, *vedayati*, *sukhayāmi*. The character *ayā* is contracted into *e* in *paṭivedetaviya*.

(b) With *paya*: *hāpayisat[ī]*. In *ānapayāmi* and *nijhap[ē]ta[vi]ye*<sup>1</sup> the long vowel of the two roots *jñā* and *dhyā* is shortened.<sup>2</sup>

(c) With *āpeya*: *khānāpitāmi*, *likhāpitā*, *hālāpita*.

(d) With *pāpeya*: *lopāpita*.

(e) With *tya*: *dukkhiyati* (denominative of Skt. *duḥkha*).

## (a) Moods.

## (a) Indicative.

1. sing. *p[ā]lakamāmi*, *dakhami*, *anusāsāmi*, *ichchāmi*, *kalāmi*, *ānapayāmi*.

3. sing. *anukaripati*, *[pā]lakama[ṣ]i*, *drakhati*, *hoti*, *aṣhi* and *aṣhi*, *eti*, *[pā]ṭipā[ja]ti*, *saṁpāti-pajati*, *pāpunāhi*, *ichchati*, *ka[ṣ]ti*, *vedayati*, *dukkhiyati*. The only middle form is *mam[ate]* (Dhau. X, 1).

2. plur. *pāpunātha* (from the strong base of the ninth class).

3. plur. *huvamti*, *ichchamti*, *kalānti* and *kaleti* (Dhau. and Jau. IX, 2).

## (b) Subjunctive.

1. sing. *sukhayāmi* with indicative termination; cf. above, p. xcv.

3. plur. *nikhāmānu* with optative termination; cf. Johansson, *Skāhb.*, part 2, p. 89, n. a.

## (c) Optative.

1. sing. *ālabbheham*, *yeham*, *[pā]ṭipādayeham* and *paṭipātayeham*; see above, p. lxxxii.

3. sing. *uga[chha](chhe)*, *dak[h]yā* and *da[k]heya*, *nikhāy[ā]* (from the indicative \**utthāti* = Pāli *utthāti*; cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 483), *[h]uvveyā*, *siyā* and *[siya]* (= Skt. *syāt*). *paṭipajeyā*.

3. plur. *chaleya*[ū] and *chalevā*, *hveyā*, *huvvā* and *huvvā*, *lahey[ā]* and *lahevā*, *[va]sevū*, *[a]svasevū* and *asvasevū*, *pāpnevū*, *[pā]p[ā]pnevū* and *pāpnevū*, *yu[j]cy[ū]*, *yujeyā*, and *yājeyā*, *ālādhayey[ā]* and *ālādhayevā*.

## (d) Imperative.

3. sing. *hotu*, *[anu]vatatu*.

2. plur. *dakhattha* (with indicative termination), *dekhatha*.

3. plur. *[pā]lakamāntu* and *palakama[ni]ṣ[ā]tu*, *yujāntu*, *ālādhayāntu*, *prāṭivedayāntu*.

## (e) Imperfect.

3. sing. *a[k]ṣi*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the substantive *nijhāti* (= \**nidhyapāti*) in the rock-edict VI, which is formed from \**nidhyāpayati*, as Skt. *nijhāpāti* and *nijhāpāsi* from *jñāpayati* = *jñāpayasi*.

<sup>2</sup> But in *ānap[ay]i[ta]* (Dhau. III, 1), the long vowel of the root *jñā* is preserved.

# INTRODUCTION

## II. AORIST.

### (a) Indicative.

3. sing. [n]ikhami; 3. plur. [n]i[kha]m[i]j[u].

### (b) Subjunctive.

3. plur. alochayisū; see Text, p. 31, n. 7.

## III. PERFECT.

3. sing. ā[ha] (only Jau. Sep. II, 1) and āhā.

## IV. FUTURE.

1. sing. hosami and hosāmi (= Prakṛit hōssāmi), nikhāmayisāmi, likhiyis[āmi\*].

3. sing. khamisati, hosati, kachhati,<sup>1</sup> atikāmayisati, ā[no]p[ay]is[ā]ti, vadhayis[ā]ti.

2. plur. esatha and ehatha, chaghattha (from root chak = Skt. śak),<sup>2</sup> ālādhayisatha and ālā[dha]-yisa[śh]ā.

3. plur. nikhamisanti, anuvatisanti, [a]nns[ā]sisanti[i], yujisanti, kachhanti, jānisanti, pavahayisanti.

## V. PASSIVE.

3. plur. indicative āla[ni]bhīyanti.<sup>3</sup>

3. plur. optative yujeyū, y[ā]jeyū, yujevū, y[ā]jevū.

3. plur. aorist ālabhiyisu.

3. plur. future āla[bh]īyisanti and ā[ai]bhīyis[ni]f[i].

## VI. DESIDERATIVE.

3. sing. imperative sushsatu.

## VII. PARTICIPLES.

### (1) Present participle.

#### Active.

Root as: santani.

Root kri: kalanitani.

Causative of pad: vipaṭipātayanantani and [sainpaṭipā]ta[yan]tani (Jau. Sep.).

#### Middle.

Root pad: sa[ni]paṭipajam[i]n[e], and causative: [vi]paṭ[i]pādayamine (Dhau. Sep.).

### (2) Past passive participle.

(a) In -ta: mata, kaṭa (= Sk. kṛita), viyāpaṭa (= vyāpṛita), vitkaṭa (= vistrīta), usaṭa (= ntsṛita), [n]isita (= \*nifrita), likhuta, likhāpita, khānāpita, hālāpita, ālopita, lopāpita, ānā-

<sup>1</sup> For an explanation of this form see above, p. lxxxiii, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. sagghasi in the Suttanipāta, verse 894.

<sup>3</sup> For the probable origin of the nasal within the root, see above, p. lxxxiii, n. 2.



$p[ay]t[ta]$ ,<sup>1</sup> *hūta*, *atikānūta*, *hilānūta*, *āya[ta]* (i. e. *dyatta*), *sayuta* (= *saihiyukta*), *v[ū]ta* (= *ukta*), *vuṅka* (= *vridhka*), *anusatka* (from *anu-sār*), &c.

(b) In *-na*: *uvigina* (= *udvigina*).

### (3) Future passive participle.

(a) In *-tava*: *etaviya*, *sotaviya*, *kaṭaviya*, *vataviya*, *pajohitaviya*, *ichhitaviya* and *[ichhi]toya* (from the present *ichchhati*), *chalitaviya*, *sainchalitaviya* and *\*taviya*, *vuṭitaviya*, *viyovadita[viya\*]* *paṭivedetaviya*, *ṇijhap[et]a[va]ya*.

(b) In *-niya*: *asvāsa[ni]ya*.

(c) In *-ya*: *sakiya* and *chakiya*.

## VIII. INFINITIVE.

*khanmitave*, *blādhayitave*, *saiṇpaṭipādayitave* and *saiṇpaṭipādayi[av]e*.

## IX. ABSOLUTIVE.

*kaṭe* and *[ka]ṭe* (= Skt. *kṛitvā*), *anusāsitu*, *blādhitu*, *sainchalitu*, *jānitu* (from *jāndti*), *paṭijij[ā]u* (from root *tyaj*), *[ch]p[ṭh]itu* (from *\*chijṭhāti*), *dasayitu* and *drasayitu* (i. e. *darsayitu*), *kāpayitu*. In *wditū*, which corresponds to Skt. *vādayitvā*, the causative character *ay* is neglected.

A few words may be inserted here on the small Bombay-Sōpārā fragment of the eighth rock-edict (Text, p. 118). The preserved forms agree with the Māgadha dialect of Dhauli and Jaugada. But, as at Gīrā, the semivowel *r* is not changed to *l*; see *kirāṇa* (= Skt. *kiranya*, l. 7) and *[ra]ṇ* (l. 9). In the aorist *nikhamaṭha* (l. 5) the lingual is retained, while Kāśī has *nikhamaṭhā* and the pillar-edicts have *kuthā* and *vaḍkithā*, with dental *th*.

# CHAPTER X

## GRAMMAR OF THE PILLAR-EDICTS

### A.—PHONETICS

#### I. VOWELS.

THE vowel *a* is replaced by *i* in the second syllable of *gihika* (see above, p. lxx), in *majhima* (see above, p. xcix), and perhaps in *min[ā]* (Delhi-Mīrāth) and *nina* (= Skt. *manāḥ* ?). It becomes *u* in the second syllable of *udupāna* (see above, p. xcix), and after *u* in *mūta* (= *mata*), *mūnisa* (= *manushya*). The change of *a* into *e* in *seyaka* (i. e. *śhyaka*), which is the reading of three versions instead of *sayaka* (= Skt. *śalyaka*) at Delhi-Tōprā, is due to the following palatal *y*.

Skt. *i* is represented by *a* in the first syllable of *kaplikā* (Delhi-Tōprā) = *kīpilikā* (Allahabad-Kōsam) and = Skt. *pīpilikā*, and by *u* after original *v* in *dutya* and *dutiya*, *dupada*, *kinasu* (i. e. *kinassu*) = Skt. *kīnasvit*; see Text, p. 134, n. 1. *e* corresponds to Skt. *i* in *hedisa* (Sārnāth, ll. 6, 7).

*i* corresponds to Skt. *u* in the second syllable of *gūṇisa* (see above, p. xcix) and of *mūnisa* (see above, p. lxx). In *kho* (= Skt. *khalu*) Skt. *u* is represented by *o*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

*ri* becomes (1) *a* in *anugahinevu*, *apakaṭha* (= Skt. *apakṛiṣṭha*), *kaṭa*, *kāpāna* (= *kṛipāṇa*), *dāna* [*gaṇa*]<sup>2</sup> (Queen's edict, l. 3), *bhaṭakam*, *vaḍikā* and *vaḍikya* (= *\*vṛitikā*), *vaḍki*, *viyāpaṭa*; (2) *i* in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. lxxxiii, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *gahatha* (= Skt. *grihasṭha*) at Kāśī.

*gihithā* (= *grihastha*), *nijjitu* (from *nirijati*), *piṭṭhu* (= *pitriku*), *simala* (= *śrimala*), *hediśa* (= *diśa*); (3) *e* in *dekhati*, &c.

*i* corresponds to Skt. *e* in *ika* (Sāmāth, II. 6, 7, 8), i.e. \**ikka* = Prakṛit *ekka* and Skt. *eka*. Cf. Ardhamaṅgadhī *ikkārasa* = Skt. *ikādāsa*; Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 44.3.

*ai* becomes *e* in *kevaṭa* (= Skt. *kaivarta*), and *au* becomes *o* in *-opagāni*, *Kosambiyāni*, *putā-papoti*, *mokhya*.

Initial *a* is lengthened in *ānāvāsasi* (Sāmāth) = *anā[vā]sasi* (Kausāmbi and Sāmāth). Final *a* is lengthened frequently; see *eva*, *yeva*, *va* and *evā*, *yevā*, *vā* (= Skt. *eva*), *cha* and *chā*, *na* and *nā* (in *nāsantani*), *hetā*, *āha* and *āhā* or *ahā*, *vaḍhithā*, *huthā*, *vivāsāpayāthā*, [*sa*] *mmamāhāpayāyā*, *nāma* and *nāmā* (in *nāmā ti*), *mama* and *mamā*, *asvasa* and *asvasā*, *gonasa* and *gonasā*, *jānapadasa* and *jānapadasā*, *Devānampiyashā*, *lokasa* and *lokasā*, *usāhena* and *usāhenā*, *bhāyena* and *bhāyenā*, *v[a]chanenā*. Interconsonantal *i* and *u* are sometimes lengthened; see *ganīyati* (Queen's edict, I. 4), *-thitka* and *-khitka* (also *-thitka* and *-khitka*), *tilita* (thus Allahabad-Kōsam), *tilita* in the other versions), *deviye* (Queen's edict, I. 2; *deviye*, id., II. 4, 5), *pavajitānām*, *lājīhi* (instr. plur. of Skt. *rājani*), *anupaṭipajamāni*, *anupaṭipajamāni* (also *anupaṭi*), *anupaṭipajisati*, *anupaṭipati* (also *anupaṭi*), *anupaṭipati*, *paṭipati*, *paṭibhoga* (also *paṭi*), *paṭivisiṭham* (also *paṭi*), *paṭi[vedayamāni]*, *niṭhāyise*, *pachupagamane* (*pachupa* Allahabad-Kōsam), *bahāsu* (but *gulusu*). Final *i* and *u* may be lengthened before *ti* (= *iti*) or without it; see *anuvīdkiyamāni*, *āvahāmi ti*, *kachhāmi ti*, *khādiyati ti*, *ti ti* (Delhi-Tōprā, II, I 16), [*ha*] *niṭhāyāni*, *anupaṭipajamāni*, *hoti ti*. Final *i* and *u*, which stand for original *i* and *u* or *ur*, are treated in the same way; see [*gr*] *ti* and *goti ti*, *tipi* and *lipi*, *bhikku* and [*bhik*] *ti*, *Sakyamuni ti*, *sādhu* and *sādhu*, *ālādhayevu* and *ālādhayevu ti*, *upadahevu* and *upadahevu*, *pavajayevu ti*.

Initial *ā* is shortened in *āvahāmi* and *ava*<sup>1</sup> (Delhi-Tōprā) = *āvahāmi* and *āva* or *āvā* (in the other versions). Interconsonantal *ā* is shortened in the Queen's edict in *ālama* (= Skt. *ārāma*) and *mahamata* (= *mahāmātra*). Final *ā* is often shortened; see *atthā* and *attha* (= Skt. *yathā*), *tathā* and *tatha*, *vā* and *va* (= Skt. *vā*), *apakaṭa* and *apakaṭa*, *lāja* and *lāja*, *atanā* and *atana*, *lājina*, *Piyadasina*, *anusathiyā* and *anusathiya*, and the nom. sing. fem. *esa* (pillar edict I, section D), *apekka* and *apekha*, &c. Also final *i* is sometimes shortened; see *Piyadasi* (Allahabad-Kōsam) and *Piyadasi*, *duḍi* and *duḍi*, *dhāti* (= Skt. *dhātri*), *apthami-pakha* (Delhi-Tōprā) and *apthami-pakha*, *chātumimāsi-pakha*, *devi-kumālānāni*, *bhikkhuni*, *Lumminīgāme*. Interconsonantal *i* is shortened in *duṭiya* = *duṭiya*<sup>2</sup> (Queen's edict, I. 5), and *ā* in *anulupāyā*, *thube*, *bhutānāni*, *susāsa* (also *susāsa*).

Initial vowels are dropped in *pi* (= Skt. *apī*), *laghāmi* (= Skt. *arhanti*), *hakanī* (for *ahakam* = *aham*), *ti* (for *iti*) and *kiṇti*, *posatha* (for *upavasatha*), *va* and *vā* (for *iva*).

## II. SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

As at Kālsi, palatal *ñ* and lingual *ṇ* are replaced by dental *n* throughout.

The guttural *k* is palatalized in *aḍha*-[*kos*] *jityāni* and *vaḍkiyā*;<sup>3</sup> cf. above, p. lxxi. It is represented by *y* in *aṭha-bhāgiye* (Rummindī, I. 5), *ata-patiye* (Delhi-Tōprā, IV, II. 4, 14), *niṇsi*-[*ḍha*] *yā* (= Skt. \**nīlīshṭakā*), and perhaps in *gevaṭā*; see Text, p. 120, n. 4. *gh* is preserved in *laghāmi* (for \**alaghāmi* = Skt. *arhanti*), but has become *h* in *lahu*.

The palatal *ch* is softened in *samkuja*, which is probably connected with Skt. *sāṃkuchi*, 'skate-fish.' It is aspirated in *kichhi* (Queen's edict, I. 4) = *kuchhi* at Kālsi, &c.

Lingual *ḍ* may become *ḷ*; see *eḍake* and *eḷake*, *eḍakā* and *eḷakā*, *duḍi* and *duḷi*.

Dentals are lingualized after *ri* in *kaṭa*, *bhaṭakesu*, *vaḍhi*, *viyāpaṭa*, *vaḍikā* and *vaḍkiyā* (= \**vritikā*), in which the *f* (for *r*) is softened, and after *ra* in *nigamāṭha* (= Skt. *nirgrantha*) and in the preposition *paṭi*, but not in *pachupagamana* (= *pratyupagamana*), *paṭiyāsanna* and *paṭiyāsanna* (= *pratyāsanna*). *i* is elided, *a* lengthened,<sup>4</sup> and *v* developed from *u* in *chāvudāsā* (= Skt. *chaturdaśā*), while *u* is contracted to *o* in *chodasa* (= *chaturdaśa*). *d* becomes *ḍ* or *ḷ* in *duvūḍasa* and *duvūḍa*-[*sa*], *paṭinaḍasā* and *paṭmaḍasā* (= Skt. *pañchadaśā*). The original *dh* of the root \**nadh* (= Skt. *nāh*)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *ava*, *avā*, *avanī* at Kālsi. Michelson (IF, 23. 236) compares Avestan *yavaṭ* (= Skt. *yavaṭ*).

<sup>2</sup> Pischel (*Grammatik*, § 82) derived Prakṛit *duḍiā*, &c., from a supposed Skt. form \**duṭiya*.

<sup>3</sup> In *anbā-vaḍkiyā* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, I. 23) = *anbā-vaḍikā* (Queen's edict, I. 3).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, §§ 78 and 443.

is preserved in [sa]mnādhāpayiṣā and sanādhāpayiṣu.<sup>1</sup> *dh* becomes *h* in *nigoha* (= *nyagrōdha*), *vidāhmi* and *upadāhnu* (from *dadāhmi*). For *hida* (= *idha* at Gīrṇār) see above, p. lxxii.

*ṣ* is softened in *thuba* (= *stūpa*, Nigāli Sāgar, I. 2) and *libi*<sup>2</sup> (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, II, 31, 32) = *lipi* (passim). It becomes *k* through dissimilation in *kīpikā* and *kapikā* = Skt. *pīpikā*.<sup>3</sup> *bh* becomes *k* in [a]hiye, *hoti*, *hotu*, *kurvāti*, *kosanti*, *hohanti*, *hukhā*, *husu*, and in the instr. plur. in *-hi* (for *-bhik*). *m* becomes *ṣ*, and the aspiration changes place, in *kaphaḥa* = Skt. *kamāṭha*; cf. *apke* and *tupke* (= Prākṛit *amke* and *tumke*) at Dhāuli and Jaugāḍa, and [ta]phā (= Skt. *tasmāt*) at Kālst.

*y* is represented by *h* in *abhyūnūmaychasi*, and by *v* in *āvuti* (= *\*āyukti*), *vishava* (= Skt. *vishaya*), *sochava* for *sochaya* (= *\*sauchya*), *pāpovā* (= *\*prāpnō + yāt*), *yāvu*, *anugahinevu*, *ālādhayevu*, *upadāhnu*, *paṣatayevu*. It is prefixed to *e* in *yeva* and *yevā* (also *eva* and *evā*), but is dropped at the beginning of *ata* (= Skt. *yatra*), *athā* and *atha* (= Skt. *yathā*), *āva* (also *yāva*, = Skt. *yāvat*), *āvate*, *e* (also *ye*), *ena* (also *gena*). At the end of *etad-athā* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, I, 24) the syllable *ya* seems to be dropped: cf. above, p. lviii. It becomes *i* in *nigoha* (= Skt. *nyagrōdha*), *paṭivēkhāmi*, *dupaṭivēkhe*, and *ayi* becomes *e* in *jhāpeta viye* (also *jhāpayiaviye*).

*v* has become / throughout, except in *cham[da]m[a-sū]rī[yi]ke* (Sārnāth, I, 4).

*va* becomes *u* in *anuvēkhamāne*; *vā* becomes the same in the absolutes in *-tu* (= Skt. *tvā*); *ava* and *avi* become *o* in *odāta*, *olodhana*, *posatha*, *paṭiyovadātha*, *paṭiyovadisanti*, *viyovadisanti*, *viyohāta*, *hoti*, *hotu*, *hosanti*, *hohanti*.

The two sibilants *ś* and *ṣh* have become *s* throughout. But *śh* is used in *vishava* (= Skt. *vishaya*, Sārnāth, I, 10), *Devānāmpiyasā* and *she* (Queen's edict, II, 1 and 4). In *chaghati*, *ś* is represented by *ch*; cf. above, p. ci.

*h* is prefixed in *hida*, *hidata*, *hedisa*, *hevaṃ*. For *hetā* (Queen's edict, I, 2) see above, p. lxx.

Final consonants are dropped. A preceding vowel may be shortened; see *min[dā]* and *mina* (= Skt. *manāḥ?*), *pāpovā* and *pāpova*, *siyā* and *siya*, *avimānā* and *avimāna*, *abbhā* and *abbhāta*, &c. (below, p. cxvii). Conversely, a preceding short vowel may be lengthened; see *āva* and *āvā* (= *yāvat*), *lipi* and *līpi*, *sādhū* and *sādhā*, &c. (above, p. cxii). Final *a* generally becomes *e*; see *ite*, *suve* (= *svas*), *bhūye*, *lājāne*, *viyāpāṭase*, *jane*, &c. But it becomes *o* in *rayo*; *a* in *chāmdama*- and *esa* (nom. sing. masc. and neut.); and *ā* in *esā* (nom. sing. neut.).

The vowel *u* is nasalized in *chun* (Sārnāth, I, 3) for *chu* (passim). Final *Anusvāra* is omitted in *bāḍha* (Delhi-Tōprā, III, I, 21), *heva* (= Skt. *evam*,<sup>4</sup> Rāmpurvā, I, I, 1), and in the acc. sing. *vaḍhi* (pillar-edict VI, B). The *Anusvāra* is dropped, and the preceding vowel is lengthened, in the acc. sing. *anupāṭipati* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, I, 24) and in the nom. sing. *[dā]nā* (Delhi-Mīrāth, II, I, 2). But the nom. sing. of neuters in *-a* generally follows the analogy of the masculine and ends in *-e*; see below, p. cxvii.

Long nasal vowels are generally shortened; see *kiyaṃ* (= Skt. *kiyām*), *Bhagavaṃ* (= *Bhagavān*), the gen. plur. in *-aṃ*, the loc. sing. fem. *tiśāyaṃ*, *tiśyaṃ*, *Kosamibiyaṃ*, *puṇṇamāsiyaṃ*, and the acc. sing. *mām* (= *mām*), *imāṃ* (= *imām*), *tāṃ* (= *tām*, pillar-edict VI, B), *ikām* (= *ikām*), *paṣaṃ* (= *prajāṃ*), *dukkhīyaṃ*, *chāvudasaṃ*, *paṇṇadasaṃ*, *paṭipadaṃ*, *hedisaṃ* (acc. sing. fem., Sārnāth, I, 7). But the *Anusvāra* is omitted in the acc. sing. *p[a]tipadā* (Delhi-Mīrāth, V, I, 6), and the long *ā* is shortened at the same time in *kiya* (Lauriyā-Nandagarh, II, I, 1).

### III. SANDHI.

Final *d* is preserved in *etad-athā* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, I, 24), and final *m* in *etamēva* (id., I, 23; Sārnāth, II, 8, 9), *kayānamēva* (Allahabad-Kōsam, III, I, 1), *hedisamēva* (Sārnāth, I, 7). The final *m* is doubled in *iyamēva* (= Skt. *idam anyat*), *kayānamēva*, *hevamēva*. In *hemeva*, *hemevā*, *hemeveva*, the syllable *va* of Skt. *evam* is dropped.

Hiatus remains in *-vasa-nbhixita* at Delhi-Tōprā (six times),<sup>5</sup> while the remaining versions (and Delhi-Tōprā, VII, I, 31) read *-vasābhixita*. Other instances of *a + ā = ā* are *dhammānupāṭipati*,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *pilandhāsi* &c. in E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> This Prākṛit form is mentioned already by Pāṇini, III, 2, 21.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Geiger's *Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalesen*, § 29, section 1.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above, p. lviii, n. 2, and p. lxxvii, I, 6 from bottom. <sup>5</sup> Also at Delhi-Mīrāth, V, I, 14.

*dhammānusaṭṭhi*, *dhammānupādāna*, *dhammānupakkhā*, *apāsinaṇe*. The *ā* which results from the contraction is shortened before a group of consonants in *saṅghaṭṭhasi* and *-apadānathāye* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, ll. 25 and 28). The nasal vowel *am* of *tuphākaiṇ* and *upāsakānāṇi* is treated in the same manner before *amikaṇ* in *tuphāk-āmitikaṇ* and *upāsakān-āmitikaṇ* (Sārāṇṭh, ll. 6 and 7). In *ikike* (= Skt. *ikāṅkikā*), *chu* (= *cha + u*), *chruva*, and *chkhay-apagāni*, final *a* and *ā* are elided before the initial *t*, *n*, *r*, and *o* of the next following word.

#### IV. GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

The only Sanskrit groups which occasionally remain unassimilated are *ky*, *khy*, *ty*, *dhy*, *dhr*, *bhy*, *rshy* (which becomes *sy*), *śv* (which becomes *sv*), *shy* (which becomes *sy*). For the group *ky* see also above, p. cxii and n. 3.

A long vowel preceding a group is generally shortened; see *ata-* (= Skt. *ātman*), *asvatha* (= *āsvasta*), *anusathi* (= *anulāsti*), *āladha* (= *\*āradha*), *kinasu* (for *\*kinā + ssu* = Skt. *svi*), *pata* (= *prāpta*), *maga* (= *mārga*), *madava* (= *mārdava*), *mahamata* (= *mahāmātra*, Queen's edict, l. 1), *Sakyamuni*, *isyā* (= *irshyā*), *-sulyika*<sup>1</sup> (for *\*sūryika*), *dusa* (= *dūshya*), *punnamāsīyam*. But the length remains in *ānapayati*, *pāpovā* (from *prāpnōti*), *mahāmāta* (for *\*mātra*), *palikkā* (for *parikkhā*). While long *i* is preserved before *n* in *-gāmini* and *bhi[khun]inam*, it is shortened, and the following nasal is doubled, in *tiṇni* (= *triṇi*). Similarly, *anusathini* and *devinam* are perhaps defective spellings for *anusathinni* and *devinnam*. Before *y* and *l* the length is preserved in *anvīdhīyaniti*, *sukhiyanā*, *kapilikā*, but it is shortened (and probably the following consonant is doubled) in *anvīdhīyaniti*, *sukhiyanā*, *bhnye*, *kīpilikā*; cf. above, p. cii. A short vowel preceding a group is lengthened in *āgācha* (= *āgātya*), *dākhinā* (also *dakkhinā*, i.e. *dakkhinā*), *putāpapotika*<sup>2</sup> (for *putraprāṇa*), *punāvāsune* (for *punarvāṇa*), *kicchī* (for *\*kid + chid*, Queen's edict, l. 4), *nīlakkhiyati* (for *nīrīla*), *nīlakkhiyaviye* (also *nīla*<sup>3</sup> at Rāmpurvā, V, l. 9), *vaḍḍhisati* (also *vaḍḍhisati*, i.e. *vaḍḍhissati*), *saṇḍaḍḍhisati* (also *\*ḍisati*), *anupāṭṭhisati*, *anūḍ[ā]ṭṭhamne* (for *anuprati*).

A long nasal vowel is shortened before consonants in *ambā* (= Skt. *āmra*), *atikamṣam*, *Kosambiyam* (= *Kausāmbiyam*), *Devānampiya*,<sup>4</sup> while the nasal is dropped, and the length is retained, in *bābhana* (= *bāmhana* at Gīrmār). *Anusvāra* is lost after a short vowel in *thabha* (Rummindē, l. 3) = *thasubha* (Delhi-Tōprā), in *soyame* and *savibhāge* (also *saṇḍame* and *saṇḍavibhāge*), in *vihisāye* (but not in *avikimsāye*), and in *sativisati*. The nasal vowel *im* is replaced by a length in *visati*, *pamnavisati*, and *saḍḍvisati*. Similarly, *am* seems to be replaced by *ā* in *bh[ā]khati* (= Skt. *bhāṅkshyati*). In *visvāṇsasyatave* (Sārāṇṭh, ll. 8, 9) the nasal vowel *am* corresponds to Skt. *ā*.

The auxiliary vowel which is developed within some groups is *u* before *v* in *duvekhi*, *duvādasa*, *saḍḍvisati*, *suve*; *a* in *duṣanipatipādāye*, *laghamiti* (for *\*alaghamiti*), *sochaye* and *sochave*; and frequently *i*, as will appear from the subjoined list of Sanskrit groups and of their equivalents in the pillar-edicts. It is unnecessary to quote examples of the groups *kr*, *gr*, *tr*, *pr*, *br*, *vr*, *sr*, which have become *k*, *g*, *t*, *p*, *b*, *s*, *s*, respectively.

*khh* becomes *kh* (i.e. *kkh*) in *dukkhiyamam*.

*kt* becomes *t* in *abhisita*, *yuta*, *vataviya*, *viyata*.

*ky* remains in *Sakyamuni* (Rummindē, l. 2).

*khl* becomes *jh* in *jhāpayitaviye*,<sup>4</sup> but *kh* everywhere else.

*kshy* becomes *khiy* in *nīlakkhiyati*; *kh* in *dupaṭivekhe* and *bh[ā]khati*; *gh* in *chaghati*.

*khy* is preserved in *mukhya* and *mokhya*, but is assimilated in *mukhā* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 27).

<sup>1</sup> This word presupposes an intermediate form with short *u*: *\*suryika*; cf. above, p. cii, n. 1. In the Māgadhī dialect the affix *-ika* does not, as in Sanskrit, necessarily involve Vṛddhi of the first syllable; see *putāpapotika* and *hidatika* but *ānugahika*. In *avitatika*, *adhakosika*, *chanidamasulyika* we cannot say whether the *a* preceding the group of consonants in the first syllable was originally long and subsequently shortened. The same applies to the first *a* of *chamāḍiya*, which was formed from Skt. *chanda* with the affix *-ya*. In *nīthūlya* and *punnamāsīyam* the first vowel has remained unchanged, while the corresponding Skt. forms are *naishikurya* and *purnamāsīyam*, with Vṛddhi of the first vowel.

<sup>2</sup> The Sāṅchi pillar (section C) has *putāpapotika*.

<sup>3</sup> The *Anusvāra* is omitted in *Devāma[ṇi]yena* (Rummindē, l. 1).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Fischel's *Grammatik*, § 326.

- khl* becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.  
*chy* becomes *chay* or *chav* in *sochaye* and *sochav*.<sup>1</sup>  
*jā* becomes *jin* in *lājina*; *nin* in *chkanūdamānāni* and *vinīnapayisaviye*; *n* in *ānapayati*, *ānapita*, *nātikā*, *hātisu*.  
*āch* becomes *nin* in *paṇinavāsati*, *paṇinadāsā* and *paṇinālasā*, but remains in [pa]nicha[dasā] (Allahabad-Kōsam).  
*ḍy* becomes *ḍiy* in *chandiye*.  
*ḍv* becomes *ḍuv* in *saḍvāsati*.  
*ṣm* becomes *nim* in *āṣanmāsikē*.  
*tē* becomes *t* in *ukasā*.  
*tm* becomes *t* in *ata-* (= Skt. *ātman*).  
*ty* remains in *patyāsana*, but becomes *tiy* in *patiyāsana* (Delhi-Tōprā), and *ch* in *āgācha*, *pachupagamane*, *sache*.  
*tīr* becomes *s* in *usapāpīte*.  
*ts* becomes *s* in *usāka*.  
*ty* becomes *chh* in *machhe*.  
*dh* becomes *ḍ* in *ubalike*.  
*dy* becomes *j* in *anupaṭipajamtu*, &c.; *diy* in *khādiyati*; *day* in *ḍusanipaṭipādāye*.  
*dr* becomes *d* in *chandama-*.  
*dv* becomes *d* in *dupada*, *ḍutiya* and *dutiya*, but *duv* in *ḍuvehi*, *ḍuvāḍasa*.  
*dhy* remains in *avadhya*, but becomes *dhiy* in *avadhiya*, and *jh* in *majhima*, *nijhatiya*, *nijhapayisa*, *nijhapayisā*, *nijhapayisanti*.  
*dhr* remains in *dh[r]uvāye* (Delhi-Mīrath), but becomes *dh* in *dhuvāye* and *vadhi* (pillar-edict V, D).  
*ny* becomes *nin* or *n* in *anina* (passim) and *ana* (pillar-edict III, H).  
*ṣt* becomes *t* in [gu]ṭi, *goti* (= Skt. \**gṛṇti*), *nikhita*, *nijhatiya*, *pata* (= *prāpta*), *sata* (= *sapta*, Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 31).  
*pn* becomes *p* in *pāpovā*.  
*bhy* remains in *abhyunmāmayehani* and *abhyunnamisati*, but becomes *hiy* in [a]hiye.  
*bhr* becomes *bh* in *palibhasayisam*.  
*mḥ* becomes *nim* in *Lumini-* (Rummindē, l. 4).  
*mr* becomes *mḥ* (for *mhr*) in *aikhā-* (= Skt. *āmra*).  
*yy* becomes *yi* in *āvāsaiye* and [sa]nnanidhāpayiyā.  
*rg* becomes *g* in *magesu* and *visaga*.  
*rgr* becomes *g* in *nigamthesu*.  
*rgk* becomes *lagh* in *laghamti* (for \**alaghamti*).  
*rṇ* becomes *nim* in *paṇina* (pillar-edict V, B) and *puṇnamāsiyani*.  
*rt* becomes *t* in *paratayevū*, but *ṭ* in *kaṭaviya*, *kevaṭa*, *palihāṭave*, *apahāṭā*.  
*rk* becomes *th* in *atha* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, W and OO), but *ṭh* in *atha* (passim).  
*rd* becomes *d* in *chakkudāne*, *chodasa*, *chāvudasa*, *madave*.  
*rdk* becomes *dh* in *vaḍhati*, *vaḍheyā*, *vaḍhithā*, *vaḍhisati*, *vaḍhita*.  
*rḥk* becomes *bh* in *gabhinā*.  
*rm* becomes *nim* in *kāṣṇmāni*, *chātumāst*, *dhaniṣa* (spelt *dhama* at Lauriyā-Arārāj, II, l. 3).  
*ry* becomes *tiy* in *nīṭhiya*, *paliyovadātha* and *paliyovadisanti*, *-suliṭke* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 31), but *riy* in [-rē]r[ē]ṭ[ē] (Sānchi, l. 4).  
*rl* becomes *l* in *nilakhiyati* and *nilakhitaviye*.  
*rv* becomes *v* in *puṇāvāsane* and *sava*.  
*rl* becomes *s* in *Piyadasi*.  
*rsh* becomes *s* in *ukasā* and *vasa*.  
*rshy* becomes *sy* in *isyā*.  
*ḥp* becomes *p* in *apa* (pillar-edict II, C).  
*ḥy* becomes *y* in *kayāna*, *sayaka* and *syaka* (= Skt. *satyaka*).

<sup>1</sup> Three versions of the pillar-edict II, C, read *socheye*, which Michelson (IF, 29.241) identifies with Pāli *socheyya* (= Skt. \**sauchya*).

*vy* becomes *viy* in *viyañjanena*, *viyata*, *viyāpaṭa*, *viyovādisamti*, *viyohāla*, and in the gerundives in *-taviya*.

*vr* becomes *v* in *pavañjīlānaḥ*.

*śy* becomes *s* in *palibhasayisaṁ* (future of the causative of Skt. *bhṛaśyati*).

*śl* becomes *nis* in *nimsi[ḍha]yā* (= Skt. \**nīślīṣṭakā*); cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 74.

*śv* becomes *sv* in *arva*, *asvatha* (= Skt. *āsvasta*), *visvaṁsayitave* (infinitive of *viśvāsayati*); *svv* in *svve* (= *śvakh*); *s* in *seta*.

*sth* becomes *th* in *vañhithā* and *huthā*; *th* in *aṭha-bhāgiye*, *aṭhavi*, *apakatṭhesu*, *tukhāyatan[ā]ni*, *paṭivisipham*; *ḍh* in *adhṛ[koṣ]iḍyāni* and *nimsi[ḍha]yā*.

*sth* becomes *th* in *nithūliye*.

*skp* becomes *p* in *chatupada*.

*skpr* becomes *p* in *dupaṭivekhe*.

*sky* becomes *sy* in *tisyaṁ*; *siy* in *tisiyaṁ*; *s* in *tisyaṁ* and *tisāye*, *dusāni*, *pusitaviya* (from Skt. *pushyati*), *munisa* (= *manuskyā*), *hosamti* and other futures; *h* in *hohamti*.

*st* becomes *th* in *athi*, *anusathi*, *asvatha* (= Skt. *āsvasta*), *thambhāni*, *thuba* (= *stūpa*), *paṭitha-lisamti*.

*sth* becomes *th* in *gihitha* (= Skt. *grihastha*) and *-thitika* or *-thitika*;<sup>1</sup> *th* in *anathika* and *-thitika* or *-thitika*.<sup>2</sup>

*sn* becomes *sin* in *āsinava* (from *ā-snu*).

*sm* becomes *s* in the locative singular in *-asi*.

*sy* becomes *siy* in *siyā* (= Skt. *syāt*); *s* in the genitive singular in *-asa*; *h* in *dāhamti*.

*hṛ* becomes *hin* in *anugahinevu*.

*hm* becomes *bh* in *bābhana*.

## B.—DECLENSION

### I. BASES IN *-a*.

#### (1) Masculines and neuters in *-a*.

| Singular.  | Plural.   |
|--|---|
| Nom. masc. <i>jane</i> , &c.; neut. <i>dāne</i> , &c.  | Masc. <i>pulīsā</i> , &c.                       |
| Acc. masc. <i>janam</i> , &c.; neut. <i>dānam</i> , &c.  | Masc. <i>pulīsāni</i>                           |
| Instr. <i>dhanimena</i> , &c.  | neut. <i>sāvanāni</i> , &c.                     |
| Dat. <i>aṭhāye</i> , &c.   | <i>ākālehi</i> , <i>pulimehi</i> . <sup>3</sup> |
| Gen. <i>janasa</i> , &c.   |   |
| Loc. <i>janasi</i> , &c.   | <i>pānānam</i> , &c.                            |
|  | <i>aṭhesu</i> , &c.                             |
| Nom. sing. neut.—In [dā]nā (Delhi-Mīrath, II, l. 2) the termination is <i>-ā</i> .   |   |
| Instr. sing.—The final <i>a</i> is lengthened in <i>usāhenā</i> , <i>bhāyenā</i> , <i>v[a]chanenā</i> .  |   |
| Gen. sing.—The final <i>a</i> is lengthened in <i>asvasā</i> , <i>gonasā</i> , <i>jānapadasā</i> , <i>Dvūnanāmpiyashā</i> , <i>lokasā</i> .  |   |
| Nom. plur. masc.—The final <i>ā</i> is shortened in <i>abhita</i> , <i>asvatha</i> , <i>āyata</i> , <i>kaṭa</i> , <i>pūjita</i> , <i>mahām[ā]ta</i> (Kausāmbi edict, l. 1), <i>laṭṭuka</i> . The Vedic termination <i>-āsaḥ</i> is preserved in <i>viyāpaṭāse</i> (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, ll. 25, 27).                  |   |
| Nom. plur. neut.—The final <i>i</i> is lengthened in [ka]ntaviyāni (Delhi-Mīrath, V, l. 8). The following Sanskrit masculines have the termination of the neuter: <i>thambhāni</i> , <i>nikāyāni</i> , <i>nigohāni</i> , <i>niyamāni</i> , <i>mohāni</i> , <i>tiṇni divasāni</i> and <i>etāni divasāni</i> (acc.). |   |

<sup>1</sup> With the compound *chilam-thitika* or *chilam-thitika* cf. Skt. *chiranjivin* and *chirantana*.

<sup>2</sup> In *chila-thitika* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 32) and *chila-thitika* (Allahabad-Kōsam, II, l. 3).

<sup>3</sup> From *pulisa* = Pāli *purima*.

(2) Feminines in -ā.

| Singular.  | Plural.               |
|--|-----------------------|
| Nom. <i>icchā</i> , &c.  | <i>vaḍḍhiyā</i> , &c. |
| Acc. <i>pajāñ</i> , &c.  |                       |
| Instr. <i>pāḷāyā</i> and <i>pāḷāya</i> , &c.   |                       |
| Dat. <i>vihiṣāya</i> , <i>avikhiṣāya</i> .   |                       |
| Abl. <i>dakkhiṇāya</i> , <i>dakkhiṇāya</i> .   |                       |
| Gen. <i>duṭṭhiyāya</i> , <i>duṭṭhiyāya</i> .   |                       |
| Loc. <i>tisāyaṃ</i> , <i>tisāya</i> , <i>chāvudāsāya</i> , <i>paṇṇaḍāsāya</i> ,<br><i>paṭṭipadāy[ā]</i> . <sup>1</sup> | <i>disāsu</i> .       |

Nom. sing.—The final ā is shortened in *apekha*, *avadhya*, *isya*, *kapilika*, *kālāpita*, *jatūka*, *daya*, *pālana*, *likhāpita*, *vaḍḍhiya*, *viyāta*, *sālūka*, *sukhiyana*.

Acc. sing.—The termination is -ā in *p[ā]ṭipadā* (Delhi-Mīraṭh, V, l. 6).

Instr. sing.—The termination is -āyā in *agāyā*, *anulupāyā*, *kāmātāyā*, *paṭṭhāyā*, *vividhāyā*, *sukhāyanāyā*, *surūsāyā*, while the final ā is shortened, as at Giraṇ, Dhauli, and Jaugada, in *agāya*, *kāmātāya*, *paṭṭhāya*, *vividhāya*, *surūsāya*.

II. BASES IN -i.

(1) Masculines and neuters in -i.

Nom. sing. masc. *vidhī*, *Sakyaṃ*; acc. plur. neut. *tiṃsi*; loc. plur. *nāṭisu*.

The feminine base *anusathi* forms the nom. and acc. plur. *anusathini* with the termination of the neuter.

(2) Feminines in -i and -ī.

| Singular.   | Plural.   |
|---|---|
| Nom. <i>vaḍḍhi</i> , <i>dhātī</i> , &c.   |   |
| Acc. <i>lipiṃ</i> , <i>vaḍḍhi</i> (pillar-edict VI, B), <i>anupaṭṭipati</i> .                                     |   |
| Instr. <i>vaḍḍhiyā</i> , <i>anupaṭṭipatiyā</i> , &c.  |   |
| Dat. <i>anupaṭṭipatiye</i> , <i>dhātīye</i> , <i>devīye</i> .   |   |
| Gen. <i>Kāluvākiye</i> , <i>devīye</i> and <i>devīye</i> .  | <i>bhi[ḥ]kun[ā]ṇam</i> , <i>devīnam</i> .       |
| Loc. <i>tisyaṃ</i> , <i>tisyaṃ</i> , <i>Kosambiyaṃ</i> , <i>pūṇṇamāsi-</i><br><i>yaṃ</i> , <i>chātunimāsiye</i> . | <i>chātunimāsiṃ</i> , <i>siṃ</i> . <sup>2</sup> |

Nom. sing.—The final vowel is long in *gabhiṇi*, *sūkālī*, *duḍḍī* (also *duḍḍi*), *līpī* (also *līpī*).

Instr. sing.—The final ā is shortened in *anusathiya* (also *anusathiya*).

III. MASCULINES AND NEUTERS IN -na.

| Singular.   | Plural.                         |
|---|---------------------------------|
| Nom. masc. <i>bhikkhu</i> and <i>[bhikkh]ā</i> , <i>sādhu</i> and<br><i>sādhū</i> , <i>lahu</i> ; neut. <i>bahu</i> . | Neut. <i>bahūni</i> .           |
| Gen.  | <i>[bhi*]kkhūna[ṇi]</i> .       |
| Loc. <i>punāvāsune</i> , <i>bahune</i> .  | <i>gulusu</i> , <i>bahūsū</i> . |

The loc. sing. is formed from a base in -na.

IV. MASCULINES AND FEMININES IN -ṇi.

Nom. sing. *apakaḥā* and *apakaḥa*, *nijhapaṇi*.

Gen. sing. *mātu*.

Loc. plur. *pitisu*.

<sup>1</sup> As in Pāli, the Skt. feminine *pratipad* has assumed the form *paṭṭipadā*. Cf. Hēmachandra, I, 15.

<sup>2</sup> In Sanskrit the corresponding form is *tiṣṭiṣu*.

## INTRODUCTION

## V. BASES IN CONSONANTS.

(1) Present participles in *-at*.

Nom. sing. masc. *śaṅkātāḥ*, *amṣaṣṭapajātātāḥ*; cf. above, p. cx.

(2) Masculines in *-yat* and *-vat*.

Nom. sing. masc. *hīyāḥ* and *hīya* (Lauriyā-Nandagarh), *Bhagavatāḥ*. The base *yāvat* follows the *a*-declension: nom. sing. masc. *śvātāḥ* (Sārnāth, l. 9).

(3) Masculines and neuters in *-an*.

| Singular.  |  | Plural.           |
|--|--|-------------------|
| Nom. masc. <i>lājā</i> , <i>lāja</i> .               |  | <i>lājāṇa</i> .   |
| Acc. neut. <i>nāma</i> .                             |  | <i>kanimāni</i> . |
| Instr. <i>alanā</i> , <i>alana</i> , <i>lājina</i> . |  | <i>lājīhi</i> .   |

The instr. plur. follows the *i*-declension.

(4) Masculines and neuters in *-in*.

Nom. sing. masc. *Piyadasi*; instr. sing. *Piyadasina*; nom. plur. neut. *gāmīni*.

The final *i* of the nom. sing. masc. is preserved only in the Allahabad-Kōśam version, while all others read *Piyadasi*.

(5) Masculines and neuters in *-as*.

Acc. sing. neut. *bhūye*.

The masculine *chandama-* (= Skt. *chandramas*) and the neuter *vayo-* occur as first members of compounds. The base *avimanas* follows the *a*-declension: nom. plur. masc. *avimānā* and (with shortening of the final *a*) *avimāna*.

## C.—PRONOUNS

## (1) Pronoun of the first person.

Nom. sing. *hakaṇi*.

Acc. sing. *maṇi*.

Instr. sing. *mamayā* and *mamiyā*, *mama* and *mamā*, *me*.

Gen. sing. *mama*, *me*.

## (2) Pronoun of the second person.

Nom. plur. *tuphe*; gen. plur. *tuphākāṇi*.

(3) Base *ta*.

| Singular.                                     |                               | Plural.                         |
|---|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Nom. masc. and neut. <i>ta</i> . <sup>1</sup> |                               | Masc. <i>te</i> .               |
| Acc. neut. <i>taṇi</i> , <i>ta</i> .          |                               | Neut. <i>tāni</i> .             |
| Instr. <i>tena</i> .                          |                               |                                 |
| Gen. "  |                               | <i>tesaṇi</i> , <i>tānaṇi</i> . |
| Loc.  |                               | <i>teṣu</i> .                   |
|   | Acc. sing. fem. <i>taṇi</i> . |                                 |
|   | Dat. sing. fem. <i>tāye</i> . |                                 |

(4) Base *na*.

Nom. plur. neut. *nāni*; see Text, p. 127, n. 10.

<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the nom. sing. neut. *ta* occurs in the Queen's edict, l. 4.



(5) Base *ka*.

| Singular.   | Plural.              |
|---|----------------------|
| Nom. masc. <i>esa</i> ; neut. <i>esa</i> , <i>esā</i> . | Masc. <i>etc.</i>    |
| Acc. neut. <i>etani</i> .                               | Neut. <i>etāni</i> . |
| Instr. <i>etena</i> .                                   |                      |
| Dat. <i>etāye</i> .                                     |                      |
| Loc.  | <i>etāsu</i> .       |
| Nom. sing. fem. <i>esa</i> .                            |                      |

(6) Demonstrative *idam*.

Nom. sing. neut. *iyān*; nom. plur. masc. *ime*, neut. *imāni*; nom. sing. fem. *iyān*, acc. *iman*.

## (7) Interrogative pronoun.

The base *ki* forms the acc. sing. neut. *kiñ* (in *kiñsi*), *kinan* or *kiñman* (see Text, p. 129, n. 5) and the instrumental *\*kiñā*<sup>1</sup> (in *kinasu*, i.e. *\*kinassu* = Pāli *kenassu* and Skt. *kīnarvīṣ*). The base *ka* is used as demonstrative: nom. plur. neut. *kāni* (in *potake cha kāni*; see Text, p. 127, n. 10) and acc. plur. masc. *kāni* (four times). The indefinite pronoun is formed with *pi* (= Skt. *api*) or *chi* (= Skt. *cid*): instr. sing. *kenapi*; nom. plur. neut. [*k*]ānichi.

## (8) Relative pronoun.

| Singular.                                   | Plural.                               |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| Nom. masc. and neut. <i>ye</i> , <i>e</i> . | Masc. <i>ye</i> ; neut. <i>yāni</i> . |
| Instr. <i>yona</i> , <i>ona</i> .           |                                       |
| Nom. sing. fem. <i>yā</i> .                 |                                       |

(9) Base *anya*.

| Singular.  | Plural.                                     |
|--|---|
| Nom. masc. <i>anīne</i> ; neut. [ <i>a</i> ]nīne, <i>ana</i> . | Masc. <i>anīne</i> ; neut. <i>anīnāni</i> . |
| Gen.   | <i>anīnānām</i> .                           |
| Loc.   | <i>anīnessu</i> .                           |

The gen. plur. *anīnānām* follows the analogy of the nouns in *-a* (above, p. cxvi); cf. *tānam* for *tesam* (above, pp. lxxviii and cxviii), *sa[nam]* at Mānśhrā, and the dat. sing. fem. *tāye* (above, p. cxviii), *imāya* and *imā[y]* at Gīrnār, Kālst, and Dhaurī, *imāye* at Mānśhrā.

(10) Base *sarva*.

| Singular.                 | Plural.          |
|---------------------------|------------------|
| Nom. masc. <i>sarva</i> . |                  |
| Loc. <i>sarvasi</i> .     | <i>sarvasu</i> . |

## D.—NUMERALS

## One.

Nom. sing. masc. *ikike* (= Skt. *ekaikaḥ*), fem. *ikā*; acc. sing. fem. *ikan*.

## Two.

Instr. masc. *duvehi* (from the base *dva*). The base *dvi* appears as *du* in the ordinal *duṣṭya* or *duṣṭya*, and in the compound *dupada*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *kiñā*, Hémachandra, III, 69, and Fiechel's *Grammatik*, § 498.

Three, four, six.

Acc. neut. *tiñni*; loc. fem. *ñsu*. The bases *chatur* and *shash* form part of the compounds *chatupada* and *śaṣṭamāṣika*.

Twelve, fourteen, fifteen.

*duvāḍasa* and *duvā*[śa][a]; *chodasa*. The ordinals *chāvudasa* and [*pa*]ñicha[*dasā*] (Allahabad-Kōsam), *paññadasa*, *paññajasa* correspond to Skt. *chaturdasi* and *pañchadasi*.

Twenty, &c.

*vīsati*, *pañnavīsati*, *śaḍvīsati*, *satavīsati*.

Hundred thousand.

Loc. plur. *sata-sahasasu*.

## E.—CONJUGATION

### I. PRESENT.

#### (1) Bases.

First Sanskrit class.

Root \**argh* (= Skt. *arh*): *laghamānti* for \**alaghamānti*; cf. Skt. *argha* and Pāli *agghati*, and see Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 993.

Root *lśk*: *pañvekkhāmi*, *anuvekkhamāne*.

Root *āyī*: *dekkhāti*.

Root *bhū*: *hoti*, *huvāti* (sixth class).

Root *vad*: *paṭiyovadātha*.

Root *vah*: *āvahāmi*.

Root *vrih*: *vaḍhati*.

Second Sanskrit class.

Root *as*: *atthi*.

Root *i*: *eti*.

Root *yā*: *yāti*.

Root *śās*: *anus[ā]śāmi* (subjunctive).

Third Sanskrit class.

Root *dhā*: *vidahāmi*, *upadahevu* (which follows the *a*-conjugation).

Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root *pad*: *anupaṭipajjāntu*, &c.

Root *push*. The gerundive *pusitaviya* is formed from the Sanskrit present *pushyati*.

Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root *āp*: *pāpovā*.

Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root *lśk*. The aorist *icchisu* and the gerundive *icchitaviya* are formed from the Sanskrit present *icchhāti*.

Root *kship*: *nikhīpātha*.

Root *srij*: absolutive *nirjītu* (from the Sanskrit present *nirjijati*).

## Ninth Sanskrit class.

Root *grāh* follows the *a*-conjugation: *anugrahinevu*.

Root *jñā*. The future *jñāsisati* and the infinitive *jñānitave* are formed from the present *jānāti*.

## Tenth Sanskrit class.

(a) With *aya*: *abhyvināmayekam*, *sainpaṭipādayasiti*, *pāyamā* (from *pāyati* = *pāyati*; see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v. *piyati*), *paṭibhasayisati* (future of the causative of Pāli *bhasati* = Skt. *bhrāṣyati*; see Michelson, IF, 23. 263); *āśādhayevu*, *āvāsayaṇe*, *vivāsayaṇtha*, *paṭ[vedayaṇiti\*]*, *pavatayevu*, *visvanisayitave*.

(b) With *paya*: *jhāpayitaviye* and *jhāpetaviye* (from root *kṣai*). The long vowel of the roots *jñā*, *dā*, *dhya* is shortened in *ānapayati*, *vināpayitaviye*, *samādapayitave*, *nijhāpayisanti*, *nijhāpayitā*, *nijhāpayitave*.

(c) With *āpaya*: *kālāpita*, [*sa*] *ānanādhāpayiṣā* and *sanādhāpayitu* (from root \**uadh* = Skt. *nah*), *likhāpita*, *vā[sā]petaviye*, *vivāsāpayāthā*, *sāvāpayāmi*.

(d) With *pāpaya*: *lopāpita*, *usapāpita*; cf. *Ardhamāgadhi āsaviya* (= \**uchchhrāpita*) in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 64, and Skt. *uchchhrāpayaṭi*. Similar forms are *viññāpāpeti* in E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 122, *thapāpeti* in Geiger's *Pāli*, § 182, and *devāpeti* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 552.

(e) With *āpāpaya*: *khānāpāpitiṇi*, *likhāpāpiti*.

(f) Denominatives: *stūta* and *stūta* (from Skt. *stṛayati*), *sukhayite*, *sukhāyanā*, *sukhiyanā*, *dhakkhiyan[ā]*, *maṇḍiyite*.

(a) *Moods*.(a) *Indicative*.

1. sing. *paṭivekkhāmi*, *vidakkhāmi*.
3. sing. *dekkhati*, *hoti*, *vaḍḍhati*, *atthi*, *eti*, *yāti*, *ānapayati*.
3. plur. *laghasanti*, *dekkhasanti*, *sainpaṭipādayasanti*, *paṭ[vedayaṇiti\*]*.

(b) *Subjunctive*.

1. sing. *āvahāmi*, *anuss[ā]ssāmi*, *sāvāpayāmi*.
3. sing. *huvāti* (Sārnāth, l. 6).
3. plur. *nikkhāpātha*, *paṭiyovadātha*, *vivāsayaṇtha*, *vivāsāpayāthā*.

(c) *Optative*.

1. sing. *abhyvināmayekam*; cf. above, pp. lxxvii, cix.
3. sing. *siyā* and *siya*, *an[pa]ṭipāpayaṇā*, *pāpayaṇā* and *pāpayaṇā* (from the strong base *prāpna-*), *vaḍḍheya*.
3. plur. *yātvā*, *upadahevu*, *anugrahinevu*, *āśādhayevu*, *pavatayevu*.

(d) *Imperative*.

3. sing. *hotu*; 3. plur. *anupaṭipajānātu*.

## II. AORIST.

3. sing. middle: *kutthā*, *vaḍḍhissā*.
3. plur. active: *kusu*, *icchissu*.

## III. PERFECT.

3. sing. *āha*, *āha*, *āha*, the last of which is unreduplicated; see Michelson, IF, 23. 244.

## IV. FUTURE.

1. sing. *palihhasayisat*. Cf. *likhāpaysat* at Girār.  
 3. sing. *abhyūnnamīsati*, *vadhīsati* and *vadhīsati*, *anupaṭipajīsati* (from the present \**paṭjati* = Skt. *padjati*), *saṃpaṭipajīsati* and \**paṭjati*, *chaghasi* (from root *chak* = Skt. *lak*), *bh[ā]khasi* (= Skt. *bhaṅkshyati*), *kachhasi* (see above, p. ccxxii, n. 1).  
 3. plur. *paṭichalīsanti*, *vadhīsanti*, *hosanti* and *hohanti*, *pālyovadisanti*, *viyovadisanti*, *pavi-  
 thakīsanti* (from root *stṛi*), *dāhasanti*, *chaghasanti*, *kachhasanti*, *jānisanti* (from the present *jānti*),  
*nijhāpaysanti*.

## V. PASSIVE.

3. sing. indicative *bhādīyati*, *nīlakhiyati*, *gauṇīyati* (Queen's edict, l. 4).  
 3. plur. indicative *anuvīdhiyanti* and \**dhiyanti*.

## VI. PARTICIPLES.

## (1) Present participle.

Active: *santān*, *anupaṭipajāntān*.  
 Middle: *anuvīkhamān*, *pāyāmān*.

## (2) Past passive participle.

- (a) In *-ta*: *mata* (Delhi-Tōprā) and *muta* (= Skt. *mata*), *kata*, *viyāpata*, *hlita* and *hlita*, *mahiya*, *sukhayita*,<sup>1</sup> *ānapita*, *kālāpita*, *sāvāpita*, *lopāpita*, *khānāpāpita*, *likhāpita*, *likhāpāpita*, *anikānta*, *dyata* (i.e. *dyatta*), *nikhita* (= *nikshipta*), *viyata* (= *vyakta*), *yuta* (= *yukta*), *badha* (i.e. *baddha*), *nirudha* (= *niruddha*), *āludha* (= \**ārāddha*), *pata* (= *prāpta*), *apakāṭha* (= *apakṛiṣṭa*), *arvatha* (= *ārvaṣṭa*), &c.  
 (b) In *-na*: *anāp[ā]jīpanna*, *paṭyāsaṃna* and *paṭiyāsaṃna*, *dīmna* (for \**didna*; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, p. 386).

## (3) Future passive participle.

- (a) In *-tavya*: *hastitavya*, *vikatitavya*, *vatitavya*, *kaṭitavya*, *ichhititavya* (from the present *ichchhati*), *pushtitavya* (from *pushyati*), *vināpāyitavya*, *jāpāyitavya* and *jāpētavya* (from the causative of *kṣhati*), *vā[sā]pētavya*. In *nīlakhitavya* (= \**nīrlakshyitavya*) the causative character *aya* is neglected.  
 (b) In *-ya*: *dekhīya* (from the present *dekhati*), *[a]kiya* (from root *labh*), *avadhīya* and *avadhīya*, *dupāpivēkha*, *duṣanpaṭipādāya*, *āvāsīya* (for \**āvāsīya*).<sup>2</sup>

## VII. INFINITIVE.

*bhetave* (from root *bhid*), *palihāṭave*, *paṭichalīṭave*, *ājānitave*, *ālādhaṭave*, *visramsayitave*, *samādapayitave*, *nijhāpayitave*.

## VIII. ABSOLUTIVE.

- (a) In *-tvā*: *sṛtvā* (= Skt. *śrutvā*), *nirjītvā* (from the present *nirjījati*), *samanādhāpayitvā*.  
 (b) In *-ya*: *āgācha* (= *āgāya*), *[sa]mnamdhāpayiā*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In this form the causative character *aya* of the present *sukhayati* is retained, as in *ānapayit* at Kālsī, *[ānapayit]* at Mānsehrā, and *ānāp[ayit]* at Dhauil.

<sup>2</sup> The correct Sanskrit form would be *āvāsīya*; cf. the preceding note.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the two last notes and Pāṇini, VI, 4, 57, who allows both *prāpaya* and *prāpya* to be formed from *prāpayati*.

# CHAPTER XI

## GRAMMAR OF THE MINOR ROCK-INSRIPTIONS

THE language of most of these inscriptions strongly resembles the Magadha dialect of the pillar-edicts and of the Dhauḷi and Jaugada rock-edicts. But, for practical reasons, it appears more convenient to treat the grammar of the minor rock-inscriptions in a separate chapter. The three Mysore edicts (Brahmagiri, Siddāpura, and Jaṭṅga-Rāmēshvara) exhibit a number of dialectical peculiarities and are therefore considered in a special sub-division.

### I. THE FIVE ROCK-INSRIPTIONS AT RUPNATH, ETC., AND THE THREE BARABAR HILL CAVE-INSRIPTIONS

#### A.—PHONETICS

##### (1) VOWELS.

The vowel *a* becomes *u* after *m* in *munisā*, and *i* after *y* in the future *vaḥṣitī* (Rūpnāth and Maski) = *vaḥṣitī* (Sahasrām and Bairāt); cf. Śāurasēni *bhaviṣṣī*, &c., in Hēmachandra, IV, 275, and in the southern manuscripts of Indian dramas. For the *s* of *hetā* (Sahasrām) and for the *i* of *munisā* see above, p. lxx. The abstract *gālava* (= Prakṛit and Pālī *garava*) presupposes the adjective *gala* (= Skt. *guru*), in which *a* corresponds to Skt. *u*; see above, p. lvi. For *o* = Skt. *u* in *kho*, see *ibid.* and n. 2. The diphthong *au* becomes *o* in *momeya*.

*ri* becomes (1) *a* in *kaṭā*, *dakkhaviye*, *vaḥṣi*; (2) *u* in *muṣā* (= Skt. *myśhā*), *suṣ[ṣ]yā*; (3) *i* in *adhigichya* (= Skt. *adhikṛīya*), *disyā* (optative of *drīyati*). In *adḥatā[y]a* (= Pālī *adḥatīya* and Skt. *ardhatṛīya*) the syllable *tri* is lost, as in Ardhamāgadhi *adḥatīja*; see Geiger's Pālī, § 65, 2, and cf. Pālī *adḥuddha* = Skt. *ardhachaturtha*.

Interconsonantal *a* and *i* are lengthened in *[-a]thāta* (?) and *chila-ṭhīṭhā*. Final *a* is lengthened in *evā* and *vā* (= Skt. *eva*), *chā*, *hetā*, *ahā*, [*līkhāpa*] *yāthā*, *h[a]mā*, *stenā(nā)*, *apaladhiyānā*, &c. (below, p. cxvii). Final *i* and *u* are lengthened before *iti* in *saṅghastī ti*, *hosatī ti*, *jāmanatī ti*, and final *u* which stands for *ur* in *upadḥatā[a]yeyā*.

Initial *a* is shortened in *akāle* (Rūpnāth); interconsonantal *i* and *a* in *misibhātā* (Maski), *Jambudīpari* (= *āḍipari* at Sahasrām), *pa[ka]mam[ṣ]menā* (cf. *palakamamēnā* at Sahasrām), *ekunavāsati* (Barābar); final *a* and *i* in *lījā* (Barābar) = *lījā* (Calcutta-Bairāt), *sata* (Rūpnāth) = *satā* (Sahasrām), *Pr[ṣ]iyadas[ṣ]* (Calcutta-Bairāt) = *Piyadasi* (Barābar).

Initial vowels are dropped in *pi* (= Skt. *apsi*), *sumi* (for *\*smi* = Skt. *armi*), *hakan* (for *ahakan* = *akam*), *ti* (= *iṣ*), *hīnti* and *kīti*, *dāni* (= *idānā*), *va* and *vā* (= *eva*).

##### (2) SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

Intervocalic *k* is softened in *adhigichya* (Skt. = *adhikṛīya*) and appears to have become *y* in *dīyadhya* (= *\*dvīkādhyā*).<sup>1</sup> *gh* is preserved in *Lāghula* (= *Rāghula*) and suggests that this name of Buddha's son is derived from the ancient hero *Raghu*. In *kuḥḥā* (Barābar) = Skt. *guhā*, 'a cave', *k* and *h* at first sight appear to correspond to Skt. *g* and *k*. But each of the two words may have a distinct origin. While *guhā* is connected with the root *guh*, 'to hide', *kuḥḥā* may be related to *humhā*, 'a pot' (originally 'a cavity'), and Greek *κόρυς*, 'a (hollow) boat'.<sup>2</sup>

Lingual *ṣ* is replaced by dental *s* throughout, but is improperly used at Calcutta-Bairāt in *Atiya-vasthi* (= Skt. *Ārya-vasthī*).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *dīyadhya* and *dīyadhā*, above, pp. lxxi and lxxv.

<sup>2</sup> The same root has assumed the slightly different meaning of 'a round projection' in Ancient Persian *kaufa*, 'a mountain', Avestan *kaufa*, 'a mountain, the hump of a camel', and Skt. *kaubhā*, 'a peak'; cf. *kaubh*, 'a peak, a hump'.

Dentals are lingualized in *udāla* (= Pāli *ufāra* and Skt. *udāra*), *duvādasa*, and after *ṛi* in *kaṭṭa*, *vaḍḍhi*. *r* is palatalized in *adhigichya* (= Skt. *adhikriya*). *dh* seems to be preserved in *ka(hi)dha* (= *idha* at Girmār?), but has become *h* in *[ni]goha* (= Skt. *nyagrōdha*).

Intervocalic *p* becomes *v* in *pāṣa*[a][a]v (*Sahasrām*), the infinitive of \**prāpati* (= Skt. *prāpnoti*). *bh* becomes *h* in *hotu*, *hosatt*, *hutu*, *devehi*, *[ā]vū*[kehi].

*y* is dropped at the beginning of *āvatake* (from Skt. *yāvat*), *am* and *e* (= *ya*). The syllable *ya* becomes *i* in *[ni]goha* (= *nyagrōdha*). *aya* and *ayi* become *e* in *lekhāpeta*, *lā(hi)khāpetavaya*, *ārodheva* (read *ārādheta*) and *[ā]lādheta*[v], *abhiyāda*[tā]nam.

As in the Māgadhā dialect, *r* becomes *l*; but it is preserved at Rūpnāth in *ārodheva* (read *ārādheta*), *chira-thitike*, *chha(sa)vachhara*, *sāti*[ra]kākāni (read *sātirekākāni*), and at Maski in *pure*, *[sā]ire*[ke].

*v* becomes *p* in *apaladhiyenā* (Rūpnāth) = *ava*[a]dhiyenā (*Sahasrām*). It is developed out of *u* in *vivutha* (*Sahasrām*) = *vy*[u]tha (Rūpnāth). *ava* and *avi* become *o* in *-ovāde*, *hotu*, *hosatt*.

*f* and *sh* have generally become *s*. But *f* is preserved at Maski in *Sake* (= Skt. *Sākya*) and is improperly used at Bairāt in *svage* (= *svage* at Rūpnāth); *sh* is preserved at Maski in *vashā*[n]. In *[cha]khe* and *chakhe*, *f* is represented by *ch*; cf. above, pp. ci and cxxii.

*h* is prefixed in *ka(hi)dha* (?), *hetā*, *havam*.

Final consonants are dropped. *ā* (for *ās*) is shortened in *saṁta* and *-deva* (*Sahasrām*, l. 2 f.) as becomes *e*; see *pure*<sup>1</sup> (= Skt. *purā*), *va* (= *vas*), *bhikkuniye* (nom. plur.), *aṭhe*, &c. It is represented by *ā* in *esā* (nom. sing. neut.), and by *a* in *-[a]thāta* (?), *esa* (nom. sing. neut.), *yāvataka* and *vāta* (Rūpnāth).

Final *a* is nasalized in *chan* (Calcutta-Bairāt, l. 2), while final Anusvāra is omitted in *ima*, *iya*, *tupaka* (for *tupākam*), *diyādhiya* (Rūpnāth), *prakāsa*, *[hā]dha*, *vaḍḍhi* (acc.), *vipula*, *sagha*[a] (acc.). The nom. sing. of neuters in *-a* generally follows the analogy of the masculine and ends in *-e*; see *phale*, &c. The termination *-am* is replaced by *-i* in *bādhī* (Rūpnāth, ll. 1, 2); cf. *ayi* for *ayam* at Shāhbāzgarh.<sup>2</sup> The long nasal vowel *āni* is shortened in the termination (*-am*) of the acc. sing. of feminines in *-ā* (below, p. cxxvi), and *im* becomes *i* in *dāni* (= Skt. *idānīm*).

#### (3) SANDHI

Final *m* is preserved and doubled in *hevaṁmevā* (Calcutta-Bairāt, l. 8).

*a + ā* becomes *ā* in *-vasābhisita*, *sātileke*, *sādhī*[ke], *ap[d]bādhataṁ*, *ja*[lagh]o[sāgama] (?). The *ā* which results from the contraction is shortened before a group of consonants in *-[ā]gama*[thāta] (?), *apaladhiyenā* and *ava*[a]dhiyenā, *diyādhiyam*, but the length is preserved in *diyādhiyam* (*Sahasrām*). Final *d* is elided before *u*, *e*, *o* in *chu* (= *cha + u*), *ekunavisati*, *ma*[ka]tanveva, *Lāghul-ovāde*.

#### (4) GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

The only groups which occasionally remain unassimilated are *ky*, *ty* (which becomes *chy*), *pr*, *rv*, *vy*, *sv*.

A long vowel preceding a group is shortened in *āiya* (= Skt. *ārya*), *pa*[la]kamanitu (= *parākra*), *palakamaminēnā*, *[palaka]m*[t]e, *makata* (= *makātman*), *Sake* and *[Sa]k*[e] (= *Sākya*), *abhihikanam* (= *abhihikṣyam*). But the length remains in *p*[a][d]kame (*Sahasrām*), *p*[d]potave (from *prāpnoti*), *lāti* (= *rātri*), *sāte* (= *sātram*). A short vowel preceding a group is lengthened in *v*[ā]kave (infinitive of *vach*).

The long nasal vowel *āni* is shortened before consonants in *[palaka]m*[t]e<sup>3</sup> and *Devanāṁpiya* (Rūpnāth and Maski), but remains in *Devanāṁpiya* (*Sahasrām* and Bairāt). In *bhanite*, a Buddhist term of address which stands perhaps for *bhaddanto*<sup>4</sup> = Skt. *bhadram* te, 'happiness to you', the syllable *dda* is elided. The nasal vowel *im* is replaced by a length in *ekunavisati*. Anusvāra is sometimes omitted after *a*; see the infinitive *adhigatave* (Maski), *atā* (Rūpnāth) = *anitā* (*Sahasrām* and

<sup>1</sup> The same form is used in Ardhamāgadhī and Pāli. Cf. also *[p]uk* at Kālst, l. 1. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Also Pāli *saddhim* = Skt. *sādhim*, &c.; see Geiger's *Pāli*, § 22.

<sup>3</sup> The Anusvāra is omitted at the same time in *pakata* (= Skt. *prahantak*).

<sup>4</sup> See Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v. *bhadanto*. According to Hémachandra, IV, 287, *bhanite* is the Māgadhī voc. sing. of *bhadante*.

Bairāt), *th[āh]e* (but *thā[m]bhāsi* and *thām[bh]ā*), *paṭamatu* (3. plur.), *[pāla]kamatu* (Bairāt) = *pa[la]kamañtu* (Sahasrām), *vayaṇanā* (= Skt. *vyañjanā*), *Āṭiya-vasāṇi* (= *Ārya-vaiśāṇi*), *saḡhe* (= *saṅghaḡ*), *chha[sa]vachhara* and *saṇ[a]chhal* (= *sañevatsarāḡ*). The final *a* of the first member of a compound is nasalized at Sahasrām in *[m]isañi-drava* and *añmisañi-[de]vā* (read *amī*<sup>1</sup>).

The auxiliary vowel which is developed within some groups is *u* before labials in *duve*, *duvāḡasa*, *[u]aḡ[ʃ]*, *sumi*; *a* in *alahāmi*, *lā(hi)khāpetavaya*, *vayaṇanā*; and frequently *i*, as will appear from the subjoined list of Sanskrit groups and of their equivalents in the rock-inscriptions at Rūpnāth, &c.

*kt* becomes *t* in *abhisita*, &c.

*ky* remains in *[cha]kye* (Bairāt), but becomes *hiy* in *chakiye*, *sakiye*, and *k* in *sake* (= Skt. *takyah*), *Sake* and *[Sa]k[e]* (= *Śakyah*).

*kr* becomes *k* in *pakamasi*, *pa[la]kamañtu*, &c.

*ksh* becomes *kh* in *khudaka*, *bhikhū*, *bhikhuniya*, *dakkhaviye*.<sup>1</sup>

*kshy* becomes *khi* in *abhihiñanā*.

*khl* becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

*gv* becomes *g* in *[u]goka* (= Skt. *vyagrādha*).

*jñ* becomes *jin* in *lājina*.

*ñch* becomes *ñm* in *sapañnā* = Skt. *śatpañchāśat*; cf. *pañnaḡasā*, &c., in the pillar-edict V.

*ḡp* becomes *p* in *sapañnā*.

*th* becomes *t* in *samukase*.

*tm* becomes *t* in *mahata* (= Skt. *mahātman*).

*ty* becomes *chy* in *adhigicīya* (= Skt. *adhikṛitya*).

*tr* becomes *t* in *tata*, *lāti*, *sūte*, *hetā*.

*tv* becomes *t* in *mahatatā* (= Skt. *mahātmatvat*).

*ts* becomes *ch* in *chha(sa)vachhara* and *saṇ[a]chhal*.

*tsk* becomes *th* in *[u]thānām*.<sup>2</sup>

*dr* becomes *d* in *khudaka*, *bha[dak]e*.

*duv* becomes *du* in *duve*, *duvāḡasa*; *d* in *Yambudīpasī*, *diyadhiyan*.

*pn* becomes *p* in *p[ā]potave* (from Skt. *prāpnoti*).

*pr* remains in *prahāsa* (Rūpnāth) and in *abhiḡretam*, *prasāde*, *Pr[ī]yadas[ī]* (Calcutta-Bairāt), but becomes *p* in *Piyadasi*, &c., and perhaps *ph* in *phāsu* = Vedic *prāsu* (?); see Geiger's *Pālī*, § 62, 1.

*rg* becomes *g* in *svage*.

*rth* becomes *th* in *aḡha*, and perhaps *th* in *-[a]thāta* (?).

*rdh* becomes *qh* in *adhast[γ]āni*, *vaḡhisati* and *vaḡhisiti*.

*rdhy* becomes *dhiy* in *apaladhiyānā* and *eva[ā]dhiyānā*; *dhiy* in *diyadhiyan*.

*rm* becomes *ñm* in *dhamma* (spelt *dhama* at Maski, l. 5).

*ry* becomes *liy* in *aliya* (= Skt. *ārya*) and *paliyāya*.

*rv* remains in *sarve* (Calcutta-Bairāt, l. 3), but becomes *v* in *pavata* and *pavatis[u]*.

*si* becomes *s* in *Piyadasi*.

*skh* becomes *sk* in *vashā[ni]* (Maski, l. 2); *s* in *vasa* and *samukase*.

*rh* becomes *lah* in *alahāmi*.

*lp* becomes *p* in *ap[ā]bādhatam*.

*vy* remains in *vy[u]thend*, but becomes *viy* in *dakkhaviye*, *vataviyā*, *vivastavā(vi)[ya]*, and *vay* in *lā(hi)khāpetavaya* and *vayaṇanā*.

*sn* becomes *sin* in *pasine* (= Skt. *prāsnaḡ*).

*sy* becomes *s* in the optative passive *disyā*.

*sr* becomes *s* in *misa* and *sāvane*.

*sth* becomes *th* in *vy[u]tha* (Rūpnāth); *th* in *vivutha* (Sahasrām).

*shw* becomes *ph* in *tupaka* (read perhaps *tuphākam*, as at Sarnāth).

*shy* becomes *s* in *Upatisa*, *muniā*, *vaḡhisati* and *vaḡhisiti*, *hesat*.

*st* becomes *th* in *atth* and *tham[bh]a* (Sahasrām); *th* in *tha[m]bha* (Rūpnāth).

*sth* becomes *th* in *chira-thittho* and *chila-thittho*.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. lxxiv, n. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, p. ciii.

*sm* becomes *sam* in *sumi* (= Skt. *asmi*); *s* in the loc. sing. in *-asi*.  
*sy* becomes *siy* in *siyd* (= Skt. *syāt*); *s* in the gen. sing. in *-asa*.  
*sv* remains in *svage* (spelt *svage* at Bairāt), but becomes *sv* in *s[u]ag[s]* (Sahasrām).

## B.—DECLENSION

### (1) Masculines and neuters in *-a*.

| Singular.   | Plural.   |
|---|---|
| Nom. masc. <i>aṭhe</i> , &c.; neut. <i>phale</i> , &c.        | Masc. <i>devā</i> , &c.; neut. <i>bhāyāni</i> , &c. |
| Acc. masc. <i>saṅghaṇi</i> , &c.; neut. <i>vipulaṇi</i> , &c. |   |
| Instr. <i>Budhena</i> , &c.                                   | <i>devahi</i> .                                     |
| Dat. <i>kālāya</i> , <i>aṭhāya</i> , <i>aṭh[ā]ye</i> .        | [ <i>ājīvi</i> ] <i>kahi</i> .                      |
| Abl. <i>mahatātā</i> .  |   |
| Gen. <i>Asok[ā]sa</i> , <i>Dev[ā]na[ṣṭ]piyasa</i> .           |   |
| Loc. <i>Budhasi</i> , &c.                                     | <i>pavatesu</i> .                                   |

In the nom. sing. masc. *yāvataka* and the nom. sing. neut. *lā(ḥ)kḥāpetavaya*, *vivasatavā(vi)[ya]* at Rūpnāth, *-a* is perhaps only a clerical error for *-e*.

In the acc. sing. masc. *saṅgh[ā]* (for *saṅghaṇi*) and the acc. sing. neut. *vipula* at Rūpnāth, the final Anusvāra is omitted.

The final *a* of the instr. sing. is lengthened in *apaladhiyend*, *aval[ā]dhiyend*, *-adhisitend*, *pa[ka]mam[ī]nenā*, *palakamaminend*, *vayajanend*, *vy[u]ṭhena*.

At Barābar we seem to have a loc. sing. in *-e*: *su[p]ṣ[ā]ye*.

The final *ā* of the nom. plur. masc. is shortened in *-deva* (Sahasrām, l. 3).

The Sanskrit masculines *pariyāya*, *vaṇḍa*, *saṃvatsara* form the nom. and acc. plur. *pariyāyāni*, *vaṇḍāni*, [*saṃvatsarāni*], with the termination of the neuter. The nom. plur. neut. has the ending *-ā* at Sahasrām (l. 6 f.) in *lāṇi-satā vivatthā*; at Rāpnāth (l. 5 f.) we have *sata* instead of *satā*.

### (2) Feminines in *-ā*.

Nom. sing. *kubbā*, *dindā*; acc. sing. *ap[ā]bādhatam*, *phāsu-vikhālatam*; nom. plur. *upāsikā*, *gāthā*.

### (3) Feminines in *-ī* and *-ī*.

Acc. sing. *vaḍhi*; nom. plur. *bhikkhunīye*; loc. plur. *pavatis[u]*.<sup>1</sup>

### (4) Masculines in *-at*.

Nom. sing. *kalamān*; instr. sing. *bhāgevatā*; nom. plur. *saṃtā* (for either *saṃtā* or *saṃtā*).

### (5) Masculines in *-an*.

Nom. sing. *lājā*, *lāja*; instr. sing. *lājina*, *ma[ka]tan[ā]*.

### (6) Masculine in *-in*.

Nom. sing. *Piyadasi*, *Pr[ī]yadas[ī]*; instr. sing. *Piyadasinā*.

## C.—PRONOUNS

### (1) Pronoun of the first person.

Nom. sing. *hakan*.  
 Instr. sing. *mayā*, *hamīdya*, [*me*].  
 Gen. sing. *h[ā]mā*, *me*.

<sup>1</sup> The feminine *parvati* (= *pavata*) occurs in the *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā*; see Böhtlingk's *Wörterbuch*, s. v.



The genitive *h[a]mā* is a compromise between the usual form *mama* or *mamā* and the nom. \**ham* (for Skt. *aham*). With the instr. *hamiyāye* cf. *mamiyāye* at Jaugaḍa.

(3) Pronoun of the second person.

Dat. plur. *ve* (= Skt. *vaś*), which is used for the nom. at Maski (l. 7); gen. plur. *tupaka* (Rūpnāth), which is probably a clerical error for *tupākānā* (Sārnāth).

(3) Base *ta*.

Nom. sing. masc. and neut. *se*; acc. sing. neut. *ta[ś]*; *se*; nom. plur. masc. *te*.

(4) Base *tiā*.

Nom. sing. neut. *esa*, *esā*, *e[s]*; instr. sing. [*etena*], *eteni(nā)*, *etinā*; dat. sing. *etāye*, *etiya*; acc. plur. neut. *etāni*.

With the forms *etinā* and *etiya* at Rūpnāth cf. the gen. sing. *etiā* in the two Kharōṣṭhī versions of the rock-edicts, and *etishā* at Kālst.

(5) Demonstrative *idam*.

| Singular.   |                              | Plural.              |
|---|------------------------------|----------------------|
| Nom. masc. <i>iya[ś]</i> , <i>iya</i> ; neut. <i>iyam</i> . |                              | Neut. <i>imāni</i> . |
| Acc. masc. <i>ima</i> ; neut. <i>imam</i> .                 |                              |                      |
| Dat. [ <i>i</i> ]māyā.                                      |                              |                      |
|   | Nom. sing. fem <i>iyam</i> . |                      |

(6) Interrogative pronoun.

The base *hi* forms part of the conjunction *hinīti* or *hiś*, and the base *ka* of the indefinite *kechi* (nom. sing. neut.).

(7) Relative pronoun.

Nom. sing. masc. and neut. *se*; acc. sing. neut. *ya*, *aś*; nom. plur. masc. *yā*, which follows the analogy of the nouns in *-a*, and [*ye*].

(8) Base *sarva*.

Nom. sing. neut. *sarve*

## D.—NUMERALS

Two: nom. neut. *dvve*.

Twelve: *dvādaśa*.

Nineteen: *ekunavīsati*.

Fifty-six: *sapañṇā*. For *pañṇā* = Skt. *pañchāśat*, see Fischel's *Grammatik*, § 445

Hundred: *satā* and *sata* (nom. plur.).

## E.—CONJUGATION

(1) PRESENT.

(a) Indicative.

1. sing. *alakhāmi*, *sumi*, *ichhāmi*, *likhā[pa]yāmi*.

3. sing. *atthi*.

(b) Subjunctive.

2. plur. [*likhāpa*]yāthā.

## (c) Optative.

3. sing. *adhigacch[e]ya*, *siya*, *diseya* (passive).  
 3. plur. *su[m]e*ya (= *shuwa*[y]u at Kālat), *upadhā[e]ya*.

## (d) Imperative.

3. sing. *hata*.  
 2. plur. *lekhāpeta*, [*lakhāpayatha*].  
 3. plur. *pakamatu* (for \**manatu*), *palakamamtu*, *jānamtu*.

(a) AORIST: 3. plur. *huru*.(3) PERFECT: 3. sing. *ākā*.

## (4) FUTURE.

3. sing. *hasati*, *vadhisati* and *vadhisisi*.

## (5) PARTICIPLES.

## (a) Present Participle.

Active: *halanītan*, *santa* (nom. plur.).  
 Middle: *pa[ha]mam[i]na*, *palakamamīna*.

## (b) Past passive participle.

In -ta: *kata*, *paṭata* (= Skt. *prahrāta*), *vy[u]tha* and *vivutha* (from *vi-vas*), &c.  
 In -na: *dina* (l. e. *dinna*); see above, p. cxxii.

## (c) Future passive participle.

In -tavya: *dakṣhitavya*, *vatavya*, *lā[hi]khāpetavya*, *vivasetavā(vi)[ya]*.  
 In -ya: *sahiya* and *saha*, [*cha*]kya and *chahiya*.

## (6) INFINITIVE.

*adhigatave*, *v[ā]tave* (from root *vack*), *p[ā]ṭave* (from Skt. *prāṇōti*), *pāv[a]ṭa* (from \**prāpati*; see Fischel's *Grammatik*, § 504), *ārodheve* (read *ārādheta*) and [*ā*]ādheta[v]e.

## (7) ABSOLUTE.

*abhiṭṭā[rā]nan*; cf. Fischel's *Grammatik*, § 585.

## II. THE THREE ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS IN THE MYSORE STATE

## A.—PHONETICS

## (1) VOWELS.

For *vadhisisi* and *mumish*, see above, p. cxxiii. Skt. *u* is represented by *a* in *garu* (= *guru*). For *o* = Skt. *u* in *hko*, see above, p. lvi and n. 2. *ri* becomes (i) *i* in *pakitt* (= *prakṛitih*), *pitissu* (= *pitṛishu*); (2) *u* in *pitissu*; (3) *ra* in *drakṣhitavyanis* (from *driṣyati*). *au* becomes *o* in *porāṇa*.

Interconsonantal *a* or *i* are lengthened in *aḥḥāriya* (= Ardhmāgadhī *aḥḥārija*; see above, p. cxxiii), *upayita* (= Skt. *upāta*), *chira-phittu*, *Savanipagittu*, and final *i*, which stands for *is*, in *pakitt*. Initial *a* and *i* are lost in *pe*, *hakan*, *ā*.

## (2) SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

The three Mysore inscriptions agree with the Gīrnār, Shāhībāgarī, and Mānsehrā rock-edicts in retaining the letter *r*, which has become *l* in the Māgadha dialect.

Skt. *ṣ* is preserved in *guṇā, paka[m]i* . . . *ṣṣa* (read *pakamamṣṣa*), *porāṇa, prāṇa, mahā-mātāṇa, li[ṣi]kareṇa, Suvannagiriṭṭa, sāvaṇṇa*, but is replaced by dental *s* in *aṣṭāyāni, khudakana, vāṇāni*. It is used instead of *s* in *Dvāpāṇīya* (Brahmagiri and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara) = [Dv]ā[na]ṇīya (Siddāpura) and corresponds to Skt. *jā* in *āpāyati*.<sup>1</sup>

*h* appears to have become *γ* in *diyaṭṭiya* (= \**dvikārdhya*). *śh* becomes *k* in *hoti, huanā, devaki*.

*y* is developed out of *i* in *upayitā* and becomes *v* before *s* in *ā[gh]āṇvase*. *ayi* becomes *s* in *ārāḥṭavase*. *ava* becomes *o* in *hoti*.

*ś* and *ṣh* have become *s* throughout; but *ś* is improperly used for *s* in *[ś]char[i]yasa* (Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara) and *śa[cha]ni* (Siddāpura). *ā* is prefixed in *āvaṇṇa* and *āmavaṇṇa*.

Final *as* becomes *s* in *Suvannagiriṭṭa, apha*, &c., but *a* in *asa* (nom. sing. neut.). Final Anuvāra is omitted in *iya* and *hāḍha*.

## (3) SANDHI.

Final *m* is preserved, and the syllable *va* is dropped, in *āmavaṇṇa* (= Skt. *svamavaṇṇa*). Final *a* is elided before *s* in *cha* (= *cha + s*), and before *s* in *mahāṭṭamavaṇṇa*. *i + i* become *i* in *āiyāni* (Brahmagiri, l. 4).

## (4) GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

The only groups which occasionally remain unassimilated are *ky, tm* (which becomes *tp*), *dr, pr, vy, vu, ky*.

A long vowel preceding a group is shortened in *ayaputasa, āchariya, āvaradhāṇā, diyaṭṭiyāni, e[i]yaṭṭiya*, but the length remains in *āpāyati, ā[gh]āṇvase, pāpavase* (from Skt. *prāpṇōti*), *mahāmāta, yathārahāṇā*. A short vowel preceding a group is lengthened in *vyāṭṭhama*.

The long nasal vowel *ām* is shortened before consonants in [Dv]ā[na]ṇīya, *prakanāṭṭa* and *pakanāṭṭa*. Anuvāra is omitted after *a* in *ātā* and *sovaḥkharāṇā*.

*kt* becomes *t* in *vataviya*.

*ky* remains in *sakya* (Brahmagiri), but becomes *k* in *saka* (Siddāpura).

*kr* becomes *k* in *pakama, prakanāṭṭa* and *pakanāṭṭa*.

*kṣk* becomes *kṣ* in *khudaka*.

*khl* becomes *kḥ* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

*gy* becomes *giy* in *āragiyaṇā*.

*jū* becomes *ñ* in *āñṭika*; *ṣ* in *āpāyati*.

*As* in *āṭṭa* (= Skt. *ātman*) at Gīrnār, *tm* becomes *tp* in *mahāṭṭa* (= *mahātmāna*).

*ty* becomes *ch* in *sachanā*.

*tr* becomes *t* in *ayaputasa, mahāmāta*.

*ts* becomes *ch* in *sovaḥkharāṇā*.

*dr* remains in *drakhyitavayāni*, but becomes *d* in *khudaka*.

*dv* becomes *d* in *Yambudhāṇī* and *diyaṭṭiyāni*.

*pn* becomes *p* in *pāpavase* (from Skt. *prāpṇōti*).

*pr* remains in *prakanāṭṭa* (Brahmagiri, l. 2), but becomes *p* in *pakanāṭṭa*, &c.

*rg* becomes *g* in *sovaḥ*.

*rgḥ* becomes *gh* in *ā[gh]āṇvase*.

*ry* becomes *shy* in *Suvannagiriṭṭa*.

*rt* becomes *t* in *paravāṭaviya*; *ṭ* in *hāṇviya*.

*rtḥ* becomes *ṭh* in *āpha*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Prakṛit *āpavāṇi*, and *apavāṇi, apavāṇa*, &c. at Shāhībāgarī and Mānsehrā.

## INTRODUCTION

*rdh* becomes *ḍk* in *adḥātīyaṇi* and *vaḥḥisiti*.  
*rdhy* becomes *dhīy* in *avaradhiyā*; *ḍhiy* in *diyaḍhiyaṇi*.  
*rm* becomes *ṣm* in *dḥamā*.  
*ry* becomes *riy* in *āchariya*; *y* in *ayaputasa*.  
*rsh* becomes *s* in *vasāni*.  
*rk* becomes *rah* in *yathārahāṇi*.  
*vy* remains in *vyūthēna* and *drahyitavyaṇi*, but becomes *viy* in the remaining gerunds in -*taviya* (= Skt. -*tavya*).  
*fr* becomes *s* in *misa*, *sāvane*, *sāvile*, *sāvāpīte*, *susū[sī]taviyaṇi*.  
*shf* becomes *th* in *vyūthēna*.  
*shy* becomes *s* in *munisā* and *vaḥḥisiti*.  
*sth* becomes *th* in *chira-ṭhīṭke*.  
*sm* becomes *s* in the loc. sing. in -*asi*.  
*sy* becomes *s* in the gen. sing. in -*asa*.  
*sv* remains in *svage*.  
*ky* remains in *drahyitavyaṇi*.

## B.—DECLENSION

(1) Masculines and neuters in -*a*.

| Singular.   | Plural.   |
|---|---|
| Nom. masc. <i>aṭhe</i> , &c.; neut. <i>phale</i> , &c.                        | Masc. <i>āṭikā</i> , &c.; neut. <i>vasāni</i> , &c. |
| Acc. masc. <i>ekāṇi</i> , <i>savachcharaṇi</i> ; neut. <i>ārogiyaṇi</i> , &c. | <i>devēhi</i> .                                     |
| Instr. <i>kālena</i> , &c.  |   |
| Dat. <i>apḥāya</i> .  |   |
| Abl. <i>avaradhiyā</i> .  |   |
| Gen. <i>ayaputasa</i> , <i>pakamasa</i> .                                     | <i>mahāmātāṇi</i> .                                 |
| Loc. <i>Isilasi</i> , <i>ṭambudīpasi</i> .                                    | <i>āṭikasu</i> , <i>prāṇesu</i> .                   |

The termination of the nom. sing. neut. is -*aṇi* in [*likhita*]*ṇi* (Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara) = *likhite* (Brahmagiri), *vataviyaṇi*, *sacham*.

- (2) Feminine in -*ā*: nom. sing. *porāṇā*.
- (3) Feminine in -*i*: nom. sing. *pakīṭi*.
- (4) Masculine in -*u*: loc. plur. *garu[su]*.
- (5) Masculine in -*ri*: loc. plur. *pīṭisu* (Brahmagiri) and *pīṭisu* (Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara).
- (6) Masculine in -*an*. The Sanskrit base *mahātman* follows the *a*-declension: instr. sing. *mahātman[a]*; nom. plur. *mahātpā*.
- (7) Masculine in -*in*: instr. sing. *amītevasinā*.

## C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Nom. sing. *hakani*; instr. *mayā*, *me*; gen. *mai* (read *me*).

(2) Base *ta*.

Acc. sing. neut. *se*; nom. plur. masc. *se*.

(3) Base *ṭta*.

Nom. sing. neut. *esa*; dat. sing. *ḍ[ṭ]ḍya*; nom. sing. fem. *esā*.

(4) Demonstrative *adam*.

| Singular.   | Plural.            |
|---|--------------------|
| Nom. masc. <i>iyani</i> ; neut. <i>iyani, iya</i> . | Masc. <i>ime</i> . |
| Acc. masc. <i>imesi</i> .                           |                    |
| Instr. <i>iminā</i> .                               |                    |

## (5) Relative pronoun.

Acc. sing. neut. *ya, yani*.

## D.—CONJUGATION

## (1) Present.

(a) Indicative: 3. sing. *hoti, āpāyati*.

(b) Optative: 3. plur. *pakameyu, jāneyu* (which follows the *a*-conjugation).

(2) Aorist: 1. sing. *husaiḥ*.

(3) Perfect: 3. sing. *āha*.

(4) Future: 3. sing. *vaḍhisiti*.

(5) Participles.

(a) Present middle participle: *paka[m]i . . ṇa* (read *pakamamiṇa*), *sawāna* (from root *as*).

(b) Past passive participle: *upayita* (from *upa-i*), *prakāṇṭa* and *pakāṇṭa* (= Skt *prakrāṇṭa*), *vyūṭha* (from *vi-vas*), &c.

(c) Future passive participle: *vataviya, kaṭaviya, drahyitaviya* (from the present *dīhiyati*), *apachāyitaviya, pavatitaviya, susiṭ[i]taviya* (from the desiderative of *śru*).

## (6) Infinitive.

*pāpotave* (from Skt. *prāpnōti*), *ārādhetave*.

# TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

## FIRST PART: THE ROCK-EDICTS

### L THE GIRNAR ROCK

#### FIRST ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) इयं धंमलिपी देवानंप्रियेन
- 2 प्रियदसिना राजा लेखापिता (B) इध न किं-
- 3 चि जीवं आरभित्पा प्रजुहितव्यं
- 4 (C) न च समाजो क्तव्यो (D) बहुवं हि दोसं
- 5 समाजमि पसति देवानंप्रियो प्रियदसि राजा
- 6 (E) अस्ति पि तु एकचा समाजा साधुमता देवानं-
- 7 प्रियस प्रियदसिनो राजो (F) पुरा महानसमिह
- 8 देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो राजो अनुदिवसं व-
- 9 हूनि प्राणसतसहस्रानि आरभिसु सूपाचाय
- 10 (G) से अज यदा अयं धंमलिपी लिखिता ती एव प्रा-
- 11 णा आरभरे सूपाचाय वो मोरा एको मगो सो पि
- 12 मगो न धुवो (H) एते पि भी प्राणा पहा न आरभिसरे

- 1 (A) iy[am] dhamma-lipī Devānaṃpriyena
- 2 Priyadasinā rājā lekh[ā]pitā (B) [i]dha na kiṃ-
- 3 chi jīvaṃ ārabhitpā prajūhitavyaṃ
- 4 (C) na cha samājo katavyo (D) bahukaṃ hi dosaṃ
- 5 samājamhi pasati Devānaṃpriyo Priyadaśī rājā<sup>1</sup>
- 6 (E) asti pi tu ekachā samājā sādhu-matā Devānaṃ-
- 7 priyasa Priyadasino rājō (F) purā mahānaś[amhi]<sup>2</sup>
- 8 Devānaṃpriyasa Priy[a]dasino rājō anudivasam ba-

<sup>1</sup> Before *rājā* a superfluous *sa* seems to have been struck out by the writer.

<sup>2</sup> The first syllable of *mahānaśa*<sup>2</sup> looks almost like *me*, and *sa* like *se*. Originally *mahānaśa* may have been written, to which *mhi* was added subsequently without correcting the *se* into *sa*. As noted by Bühler (EI, 2. 449, n. 10), a second *mhi* was added at the very end of the line.

- 9 hūni prāṇa-sata-sahasrāni ārabhisu sūpāthāya  
 10 (G) se aja yadā ayaṁ dha[ṁ]ma-lip[ī] likhita tī eva prā-  
 11 ṇā ārabharc sūpāthāya dvo morā eko mago so pi  
 12 mago na dhruvo<sup>1</sup> (H) ete pi trī prāṇā pachhā na ārabhisare

## TRANSLATION

(A) This rescript on morality\* has been caused to be written by king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**.

(B) Here\* no living being must be killed and sacrificed.

(C) And no festival meeting\* must be held.

(D) For king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** sees much evil in festival meetings.

(E) But there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**.<sup>2</sup>

(F) Formerly in the kitchen of king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** many hundred thousands of animals were killed daily for the sake of curry.\*

(G) But now, when this rescript on morality is written, only three animals are being killed (daily) for the sake of curry,<sup>3</sup> (viz.) two peacocks (and) one deer, (but) even this deer not regularly.

(H) Even these three animals shall not be killed in future.

## SECOND ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) सर्वत विजितम्हि देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो राजो  
 2 एवमपि प्रचन्तेसु यथा चोडा पाडा सतियपुतो केतलपुतो आ तंव-  
 3 पंथी अंतियको योनराजा ये वा पि तस अंतियक्स सामीपं  
 4 राजानो सर्वैच देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो राजो वे चिकीछ कता

<sup>1</sup> *dhruvo* Senart and Bühler. There are two distinct strokes at the bottom of the *dh*, one of which is *n*, while the upper one is probably *r*. Cf. the *r* of [A] *indhra* in the Girnār edict XIII, l. 9, and of *oparakaramhi* in edict XII, l. 3.

<sup>2</sup> The literal meaning of *dhamma-lipi* (or *dhrama-dipi* in the two Kharoṣṭhī versions) is 'a writing on morality'. To retain the sense of 'writing', I use the translation 'rescript on morality' instead of 'religious edict' as the term was rendered by Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> viz. 'in my territory'. Cf. the rock-edict XIII, Q and R, and the Rūpnāth rock-inscription, K.

<sup>4</sup> Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 93 f.), D. R. Bhandarkar (JBBRAS, 21. 395 ff.; IA, 42. 255 ff.), and Thomas (JRAS, 1914. 392 ff.) have shown by quotations that this is the actual meaning of the word *samāja*, which Fischel (GGA, 1881. 1324 f.) had translated by 'battue'.

<sup>5</sup> This remark seems to refer to the representations mentioned in the rock-edict IV, B.

<sup>6</sup> D. R. Bhandarkar (IA, 42. 257) quotes *Mahābhārata*, III, 208, 8-10, where 'we are told that 2,000 animals and 2,000 kine were slain every day in the kitchen (*mahānasa*) of king Rantidēva, and that by doling out meat to his people he attained to incomparable fame.' Cf. also XII, 29, 127 f., and VII, 67, 16-18: 'On the nights which guests spent with Rantidēva, the son of Saṅkṛiti, 21,000 kine were killed. Then the cooks, who wore ear-rings of bright jewels, were shouting: "Eat ye a lot of curry (*sāpa*)! There is not so much meat to-day, as formerly!"'

<sup>7</sup> Evidently on behalf of some members of the royal household who refused to turn strict vegetarians.

- 5 मनुसचिबीका च यमुचिबीका च (B) सोमुदानि च यानि मनुसीयगानि च  
 6 पसोपगानि च यत यत नास्ति सर्वथा हारापितानि च रोपापितानि च  
 7 (C) मूलानि च फलानि च यत यच नास्ति सर्वत हारापितानि च रोपापितानि च  
 8 (D) पंचेसू कूपा च खानापिता वका च रोपापिता परिभोगाय यमुमनुसानं
- 1 (A) sarvata vijitamhi Devānāmpriyasa Priyadasino<sup>1</sup> rāño  
 2 evamapi pracharitesu yathā Choḍā Pāḍā Satiyaputo Ketālaputo a Tamba-  
 3 parapī Aṁtiyako Yona-rājā ye vā pi tsa Aṁtiy[a]kas[a]<sup>2</sup> sāmi[am]<sup>3</sup>  
 4 rājāno sarvatra Devānāmpriyasa Priyadasino rāño dve chikichha katā  
 5 manusa - chikichhā cha pasu - chikichhā cha (B) osuḍhāni cha yāni  
 m[a]nusopagān[i] cha  
 6 pasopagāni cha yata yata nāsti sarvatrā<sup>4</sup> hārāpitāni cha ropāpitāni cha  
 7 (C) mūlāni cha phalāni cha yata yatra<sup>5</sup> nāsti sarvata<sup>6</sup> hārāpitāni cha  
 rop[a]pitāni cha  
 8 (D) pañthesū kūpā cha khānāpitā vrachhā cha ropāpit[ā] paribhogāya pasu-  
 manusānam

## TRANSLATION

(A) Everywhere in the dominions of king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin, and likewise among (his) borderers, such as the Choḍas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Satiyaputa,<sup>7</sup> the Ketālaputa,<sup>8</sup> even<sup>9</sup> Tāmrarapī,<sup>10</sup> the Yōna king Aṁtiyaka,<sup>11</sup> and also the

<sup>1</sup> Priya<sup>o</sup> Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> Thus Senart and Bühler, EI, 2, 449; Aṁtiyakaś Bühler, ZDMG, 37, 95.

<sup>3</sup> Bühler (ZDMG, 37, 95) would read *sāminam*, which he considered to be a clerical error for *sāmāntā*, the reading of the other versions of this edict. It is quite possible that *sāmāntā* was the original reading of the rock, and that it was subsequently changed by the writer into *sāmiḥ* (or *sāmiḥ*?).

<sup>4</sup> sarvatā Senart, sarvatra Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> yata Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> sarvatra Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> Bühler (ZDMG, 37, 98 ff.) rejected Kera's identification of this term with the Sātpurā range, and explained it by 'the king of the Satvats', whom he located in Western India. D. R. Bhandarkar (JBRRAS, 21, 398) compares Satiyaputa, for which the Kāśī version reads Sātiyaputa, with Sātpurā, a surname current among the present Marāṭhās. Lüders (ZDMG, 58, 693 f.) has shown that the Pāli *putta* (= Skt. *putra*) at the end of compounds frequently means 'belonging to a tribe'. He quotes as examples *Andhakavṛkṣaputta*, *Videhaputta*, *Bhojaputta*, *Milāchaputta*, *devaputta* (cf. the feminine *devadhītā*), and Skt. *rājaputra*.

<sup>8</sup> Ketālaputa is perhaps a mistake for the reading of the Mānsehrā version: Kēralaputra, i. e. the king of Kēraḷa or Malabar, the *Ἀρράβης* of Ptolemy; see Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, vol. I (sec. ed.), p. 188, note, and vol. III, p. 193.

<sup>9</sup> The syllable *ś* cannot be the preposition *ś*, 'as far as', because the latter would require after it the ablative *Tāmbapāṇi*, as at Mānsehrā, XIII, Q. Lüders therefore explains it as an Ardhamāgadhī form of the Skt. relative *yā*; see SPAW, 1914, 831.

<sup>10</sup> Tāmrarapī (*Tāmbapāṇi* in Pāli) is one of the ancient names of the island of Ceylon. It occurs in the *Dīpaṅśu*, and was known already to Megasthenes in the form *Tarposāra*; see IA, 6, 129 and 348. Besides, Tāmrarapī is the name of a river in the Tinnevely district, which was known to the author of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Bombay edition, IV, 47, 17).

<sup>11</sup> Kāśī and Mānsehrā read *Aṁtiyaka*, the remaining versions *Aṁtiyaka*. Antiochus II Theos



kings who are the neighbours<sup>1</sup> of this *Antiyaka*,—everywhere two (kinds of) medical treatment<sup>2</sup> were established by king *Dōvānāmpriya Priyadarśin*, (viz.) medical treatment for men and medical treatment for cattle.

(B) And wherever there were no herbs that are beneficial to men and beneficial to cattle, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(C) Wherever there were no roots and fruits, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(D) On the roads wells were caused to be dug, and trees were caused to be planted for the use of cattle and men.

### THIRD ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवानंप्रियो पियदसि राजा एवं आह (B) द्वादसासाभिहितेन मया इदं आजपितं
- 2 (C) सर्वत विजिते मम युता च राजूके च प्रादेसिके च पंचसु पंचसु वासेसु अनुस-
- 3 यानं नियातु एतायेव अथाय इमाय धंमानुसस्तिय यथा अजा-
- 4 व पि कामाय (D) साधु मातरि च पितरि च सुसूता मिषसंस्तुतजातीनं वाम्बह-
- 5 समणानं साधु दानं प्राणानं साधु अनारंभो अपण्यता अपभाइता साधु
- 6 (E) परिता पि युते आजपयिसति गणनायं हेतुतो च व्यंजनतो च

- 1 (A) *Devānāmpīyo*<sup>1</sup> *Piyadasi* r[ā]jā evaṃ āha (B) *dāvadasa-vāsābhisitena* mayā  
idaṃ ā[ā]pitam
- 2 (C) *sarvata vijite mama yutā cha rājūke cha prādesike cha pañchasu pañchasu*  
*vāsesu anusa-*
- 3 *y[ā]na[r]n n[ī]yātu etāyeva athāya imāya dharmānusa-*  
*siya yathā ā[ā]-*
- 4 *ya pi kāmāy[a]* (D) *[s]ādhu mātari cha pitari cha susūsā mitra-saṃstuta-jātīnaṃ*<sup>2</sup>  
*bāmbha-*
- 5 *samaṇānaṃ sādhu d[ā]naṃ prāṇānaṃ sādhu anāraṃbho apa-vyayatā apa-bhāḍatā*<sup>3</sup>  
*sādhu*
- 6 (E) *parisā pi yute ā[ā]payisati gaṇanāyaṃ hetuto cha vyamjanato cha*

of Syria (361-346 B.C.) is probably meant; see Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, vol. II (sec. ed.), p. 255, and Senart, *IA*, 20. 242.

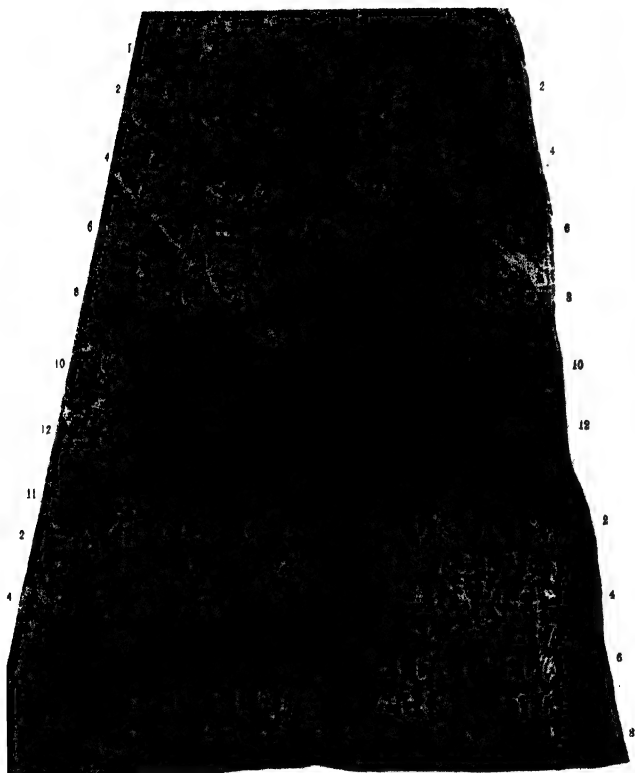
<sup>1</sup> For *sāmanā*, 'neighbours', and its equivalent *sānipan*, literally 'neighbourhood', see JBRAS, 21. 398, *IA*, 34. 245, and *AJP*, 30. 183 ff. The 'neighbours' of Antiochus II were probably the four kings named in the Kālsī edict XIII, Q.

<sup>2</sup> D. R. Bhandarkar (JBRAS, 21. 398 f.) remarks that *chikitsā* means neither 'hospitals' (Bühler) nor 'remedies' (Senart); he translates it by 'provision or provident arrangement'.

<sup>3</sup> *prīyo* Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> *mitra* looks almost like *mitā*; see *EI*, 2. 450, n. 47.

<sup>5</sup> *apabhāṇatā* Senart, *apabhāṇatā* Bühler.



## TRANSLATION

(A) King Dvānāthpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) (When I had been) anointed twelve years, the following was ordered by me.

(C) Everywhere in my dominions the *Yuktas*,<sup>1</sup> the *Rājūks*,<sup>2</sup> and the *Prādātika*<sup>3</sup> shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges)<sup>4</sup> every five years for this very purpose, (viz.) for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business.<sup>5</sup>

(D) 'Meritorious is obedience to mother and father. Liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas is meritorious. Abstinence from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious.'<sup>6</sup>

(E) The council (of *Mahāmātras*)<sup>7</sup> also shall order the *Yuktas* to register (these rules) both with (the addition of) reasons and according to the letter.<sup>8</sup>

## FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) अतिक्रान्तं अंतरं बहुनि वाससतानि वदितो एव प्रत्यारभो विहिंसा च भूतानं ज्ञातीसु
- 2 असंप्रतिपत्ती ब्राह्मणसमवायानं असंप्रतिपत्ती (B) न अथ देवानंमित्रस मित्रदस्तिनो राजो
- 3 धर्मचरणेन भेरीघोसो अहो धर्मघोसो विमानदर्शना च इन्द्रिदसना च

<sup>1</sup> For *yuta* = Sanskrit *yukta*, 'an officer', which occurs in the *Kautiliya*, see Thomas in IA, 37. 21, JRAS, 1909. 467, and 1914. 387 ff., and cf. the terms *dyuktaka* and *vinivuktaka* in the Valabhi inscriptions (Fleet's *Gupta Inscri.*, p. 169, notes 4 and 5).

<sup>2</sup> Bühler (ZDMG, 47. 466 ff.) showed that this term means originally 'a field-measurer' (from *rajju*, 'a rope'), and is the designation of a revenue settlement officer. In the *Kautiliya*, the two terms *chōra-rajju* (p. 60) and *chōra-rajjuka* (p. 232) seem to mean something like 'police' and 'police officer', respectively. Cf. I. J. Sorabji, *Notes on the Arthashastra*, p. 10 f., and Jolly in ZDMG, 71. 228.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas (JRAS, 1914. 383 ff., and 1915. 112) compares this term with *prādātika* in the *Kautiliya*, which is, however, a *nomen agentis* of the verb *prādīkati*, 'to direct', while *prādātika* is derived from the substantive *prādāta*. Kern (JRAS, 1880. 393) translated *prādātika* by 'a provincial governor'. In Kalhana's *Rājataranginī* (IV, 126) *prādātiktvara* means 'a provincial chief'. A reference to the first separate edict (Dhauī, Z-CC; Jaugāḍa, AA-DD) suggests that the *Prādātika* of the third rock-edict may have belonged to the class of the *Mahāmātras*, and that *Prādātika-mahāmātra* would mean 'a provincial high officer'.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Fleet in JRAS, 1908. 821.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the Dhauī separate edict I, CC.

<sup>6</sup> This sentence has been successfully explained by Thomas, IA, 37. 20.

<sup>7</sup> Bühler translated *paris* by 'school', and in edict VI by 'committee'. K. Jayaswal (IA, 42. 283) has drawn attention to the occurrence of the term *mantri-parishad*, 'the council of ministers', in the *Kautiliya*. This meaning fits admirably both here and in the rock-edict VI, F.

<sup>8</sup> I follow Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 839) in the translation of the difficult words *gaganāyau hetuḥ cha vyakṣanato cha*. For *vyakṣana* cf. my note on the translation of the Sarnāth pillar-edict, section I.

- 4 अगिखंपानि च अजानि च दिव्यानि रूपानि दसयित्वा जनं (C) यारिसे बहुहि  
वाससतेहि  
5 न भूतपुत्रे गारिसे अज वडिते देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो राजो धंमानुसस्तिवा अनार-  
6 भो प्राखानं अविहीसा भूतानं ज्ञातीनं संपटिपती ब्रह्मणसमखानं संपटिपती  
मातरि पितरि  
7 मुमुसा चैरमुमुसा (D) एस अजे च बहुविधे धंमचरणे वडिते (E) वडयिसति चेव  
देवानंप्रियो  
8 प्रियदसि राजा धंमचरणं इदं (F) पुषा च पोषा च प्रपोषा च देवानंप्रियस  
प्रियदसिनो राजो  
9 प्रवधयिसंति इदं धंमचरणं आव सबटक्का धंमहि सीलमहि तिस्संतो धंमं  
अनुसासिसंति  
10 (G) एस हि सेस्से कंमे य धंमानुसासनं (H) धंमचरणे पि न भवति असीलस  
(I) त इममिह अयमिह  
11 वधी च अहीनी च सत्थु (J) एताय अषाय इदं लेखापितं इमस अयस वधि  
मुजंतु होनि च  
12 नो लोचेतव्वा (K) शादसवासाभिस्सितेन देवानंप्रियेन प्रियदसिना राजा इदं  
लेखापितं

- 1 (A) atikāraṃ aṃh[a]raṃ bahūni vāsa-satāni vaḍhito eva prāṇāraṃbho vihiṃsā cha  
bhūtānaṃ ātisu  
2 a[s]aṃpratipati brā[m]haṇa-sramaṇānaṃ asaṃpratipati<sup>1</sup> (B) ta<sup>2</sup> aja Devānaṃ-  
priyasa Priyadasino<sup>3</sup> rāṇo  
3 dhamma-charaṇena [bhe]rī-ghosa aho dhamma-ghosa vimāna-darsaṇā<sup>4</sup> cha hasti-  
da[s]aṇā cha  
4 agi-kh[a]ṇdhāni cha [a]ṇṇāni cha divyāni rūpāni dasayitpā janaṃ (C) yārise bahūhi  
v[āsa]-satehi  
5 na bhūta-puve tārise aja vaḍhite Devānaṃpriyasa Priyadasino rāṇo  
dhammanusasasiyā anāraṃ-  
6 [bh]o prāṇānaṃ avihiṃsā<sup>5</sup> bhūtānaṃ ātūnaṃ saṃpaṭipati brahmaṇa-samaṇānaṃ  
saṃpaṭipati mātari pitari  
7 [s]usrusā thaira-susrusā (D) esa aṇe cha bahuvidhe [dha]mma-charaṇe va[dhi]te  
(E) vaḍhayisati cheva Devānaṃpriyo  
8 [Pri]ya[da]si<sup>6</sup> rājā dhamma-[cha]raṇaṃ idaṃ (F) putrā cha [p]otrā cha prapotrā  
cha Devānaṃpriyasa Priyadasino rāṇo

<sup>1</sup> The syllable *pa* was inserted subsequently.

<sup>2</sup> This syllable was inserted subsequently.

<sup>3</sup> The syllable *da* was inserted subsequently.

<sup>4</sup> *-darsaṇā* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> The syllable *hi* was inserted subsequently.

The first syllable of lines 8 and 9 (*pri* and *pra*) is invisible on my materials and is taken from the plate facing ASWI, 2, 102.

- 9 [pra\*]vadhayaṣaṁti<sup>1</sup> idaṁ [dha]ṁma-charaṇaṁ āva. saṇṇa-kapā<sup>2</sup> dhaṁmamhi  
 sīlamhi tiṣṭaṁto [dha]ṁmaṁ anusāsisaṁti  
 10 (G) [e]sa hi seṣṭe kaṁme ya dhaṁmānusāsanaṁ (H) dhaṁma-charaṇe pi na  
 [bha]vati aṣilasa (I) [ta] imamhi athamhi  
 11 [va]dhi cha ahini cha aṣḍhu (J) e[ṭ]ṭṭa athāya<sup>3</sup> ida[m] lekhāpitaṁ imasa atha[sa]  
 v[a]dhi yujamtu hini<sup>4</sup> ch[a]  
 12 [no]<sup>5</sup> lochetavyā (K) dhāḍasa-vāsābhissitena Devān[a]ṁpriyena Priyadasinā  
 rāḍā[a] idaṁ lekhāpitaṁ

## TRANSLATION

(A) In times past, for many hundreds of years, there had ever been promoted the killing of animals and the hurting of living beings, discourtesy to relatives, (and) discourtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas.

(B) But now, in consequence of the practice of morality on the part of king **Devānāhpriya Priyadarśin**, the sound of drums has become the sound of morality,<sup>6</sup> showing the people representations of aerial chariots, representations of elephants, masses of fire, and other divine figures.<sup>7</sup>

(C) Such as they had not existed before for many hundreds of years, thus there are now promoted, through the instruction in morality on the part of king **Devānāhpriya**

<sup>1</sup> See note 6 on previous page.

<sup>2</sup> *saivapa*- Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> Between *thā* and *ya* the rock shows a vacant space which may be due either to a natural fissure or to an erasure.

<sup>4</sup> There is a vacant space between *hi* and *ni*.

<sup>5</sup> Instead of *no* the plate facing EI, a. 452 shows the syllable *mā*, which seems, however, to be due to retouching. Kern (IA, 5. 261 and 262) preferred to read *nālochetavyā*.

<sup>6</sup> For former translations of these words see my remarks in JRAS, 1911, 785 ff. I now adopt the explanation of D. R. Bhandarkar (IA, 42. 25), who says: 'The sound of a drum invariably precedes either a battle, a public announcement, or the exhibition of a scene to the people. But since Aśoka entered on his career of righteousness, it has ceased to be a summons to fight, but invites people to come and witness certain spectacles; and as those spectacles are of such a character as to generate and develop righteousness, the drum has thus become the proclaimer of righteousness.' Cf. the Girnār edict X, A, and the third note on the translation of it.

<sup>7</sup> D. R. Bhandarkar (p. 26 f.) suggests that the aerial chariots were exhibited in order to induce people to practise morality and thereby to become qualified for such celestial abodes. The elephants (*kaṭṭhī* at Dhaulī) he explains as representations of Buddha in the shape of a white elephant; but we may also think of the celestial elephants, which are the usual vehicles of the four Mahārājas or Lokapālas. In the 'masses of fire' Bhandarkar finds an allusion to the fire-pit of the *Kāḍviraṅgūra-jātaka*. But according to Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, p. 18, *aggrikkhandha* is 'used figuratively of a person of brilliancy and distinction'. To the three quotations which he gives from the commentary on the *Dhammapada* may be added *Mahāvagga*, I, 16-18, where the guardians of the four directions, with Indra and Brahmā, are stated to resemble 'great masses of fire' (*mahanā aggrikkhandhā*). Consequently, the expression 'masses of fire' (*aggrikkhandhā*) in the fourth edict has perhaps to be taken in the sense of 'radiant beings of another world'. Thomas (JRAS, 1914, 395) would render *aggrikkhandhā* by 'bonfires'; but this meaning is precluded by the subsequent words 'and other divine figures'. In editing edict IV, Prinsep (JASB, 7. 266) quoted *Mahāvagga*, XII, 34, where Buddha's sermon on the parable of *aggrikkhandha* (*Agguttara-nikāya*, ed. Hardy, part IV, p. 128 ff.) is referred to. With *divyāni rūpāni* cf. *devā* in the Rūpnāth edict, E. See also above, p. 2, n. 5.

**Priyadarsin**, abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Brāhmanas and Śramanas, obedience to mother (and) father, (and) obedience to the aged.

(D) In this and many other ways is the practice of morality promoted.

(E) And king **Dēvānāśpriya Priyadarsin** will ever promote this practice of morality.

(F) And the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of king **Dēvānāśpriya Priyadarsin** will promote this practice of morality until the æon of destruction (of the world),<sup>1</sup> (and) will instruct (people) in morality, abiding by morality (and) by good conduct.

(G) For this is the best work, viz. instruction in morality.

(H) And the practice of morality is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct.

(I) Therefore promotion and not neglect of this object is meritorious.

(J) For the following purpose has this been caused to be written, (viz. in order that) they<sup>2</sup> should devote themselves to the promotion of this practice, and that the neglect (of it) should not be approved (by them).<sup>3</sup>

(K) This was caused to be written by king **Dēvānāśpriya Priyadarsin** (when he had been) anointed twelve years.

#### FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवानंमियो पियदसि राजा एवं आह (B) कलाषं दुकरं (C) यो आदिकरो कलाषस सो दुकरं करोति
- 2 (D) न मया बहु कलाषं कर्तं (E) न मम पुता च पोता च परं च तेन य मे क्षपणं आव संबटकपा अनुवतिसरे तथा
- 3 सो सुकर्तं कासति (F) यो तु एत देसं पि हापेसति सो दुकर्तं कासति (G) सुकर्तं हि धार्यं (H) कतिकर्तं अंतरे
- 4 न भूतयुवं धंममहामाता नाम (I) न मया वैदसवासाभिसितेन धंममहामाता क्ता (J) ते सबपासंसेसु व्यापता धामधिस्तालाय
- 5 ..... धंमयुतस च योगकंबोजगंधारानं रिस्तिकपेतेयिकानं ये वा पि अंजे आपराता (K) भतमयेसु व

<sup>1</sup> See Fleet's remarks in JRAS, 1911, 485, n. 1. Böhtlingk's Abridged Dictionary (vol. VII, addenda) quotes *senivarta-kalpa* from the *Mahāvīryapatti* (§ 253, No. 62).

<sup>2</sup> Hereby the successors of *Asoka* appear to be meant; cf. section F, above.

<sup>3</sup> In the rock-edict XIII, section X, *loketu* at Kālaī corresponds to *roketu* (from Skt. *rōkhyati*) at Shāhbāgarhi. Here, however, we find forms of the verb *loketu* in all versions. Probably these are pure Magadhisms at Gīrnār, Shāhbāgarhi, and Mānsehrā, where forms of *roketu* would have to be expected. The same applies to section E of the rock-edict XIV, where [a] *loketu* at Gīrnār and *aloket* at Shāhbāgarhi correspond to *alokhyitu* at Kālaī.

- 6 ..... सुखाय धंमवुत्तामं अपरिगोपाय व्यापता ते (L) धंमवयस  
पट्टिबिधानाय
- 7 ..... प्रजा ज्ञताभीकारेसु वा चैरेसु वा व्यापता ते (M) पाटलिपुत्रे  
च बाहिरसु च
- 8 ..... ये वा पि मे ज्ञमे जातिक्का सर्वत व्यापता ते (N) यो ज्ञवं  
धंमनिक्षितो ति च
- 9 ..... ते धंममहामाता (O) इताय ज्ञावाय ज्ञवं धंमलिपी लिखिता
- 10 .....
- 1 (A) D[e]vānaṃpriyo Piyaḍṣai rājā<sup>1</sup> evaṃ śha (B) kalāṇaṃ dukaraṃ (C) y[o  
ādikaro] kalāṇ[a]ṇa<sup>2</sup> so dukaraṃ karoti
- 2 (D) ta mayā bahu kalāṇaṃ kataṃ (E) t[a] mama putā cha potā<sup>3</sup> cha paraṃ cha  
tena y[a] me [a]pachāṃ āva saṃvaṭṭa-kapā anuvatisare tathā
- 3 so sukataṃ kāsati<sup>4</sup> (F) yo tu eta desāṃ pi hāpesati so [du]kataṃ kāsati  
(G) sukaraṃ hi pāpa[m] (H) atikātaṃ añtaraṃ
- 4 na bhūta - pravaṃ<sup>5</sup> dhamma - mahāmātā nāma (I) ta m[a]jyā tṛaidasa-  
vāsābhī[a]l[teṇa] dhamm[a] - mahāmātā katā (J) te sava-pāsaṃḍesu vyāpatā  
dhāmadhiṣṭhānāya<sup>6</sup>
- 5 ..... [dha]mma-yutasa cha Yona-K[a]ṇḍboj[a] - Garudhārānaṃ<sup>7</sup> Bistika-  
F[e]ṇḍikānaṃ ye vā pi a[m]h[e ā]paratā<sup>8</sup> (K) bhatamayesu va
- 6 ..... [su]khāya dhamma] - yutānaṃ apar[i]godhāya vyāpatā te  
(L) ba[m]dhana-badhasa<sup>9</sup> paṭividdhāna
- 7 ..... [p]rajā<sup>10</sup> katābhikkāresu vā thairesu vā vyāpatā te (M) Pāṭalipute  
cha bāhiraṣu<sup>11</sup> cha
- 8 ..... [y]e vā pi me añte nātikā sarvata vyāpatā te (N) yo ayaṃ dhamma-  
nariṭo ti va
- 9 ..... [t]e [dha]mma-mahāmātā (O) etāya<sup>12</sup> athāya ayaṃ dhamma-lipī likhitā
- 10 .....

<sup>1</sup> There is a vacant space before and after the syllable *rā*.

<sup>2</sup> *ye ā* ..... *kalāṇesa* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> *potā* Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> The Kāśī and Dhauī versions read correctly *so sukataṃ kachhanti*. As Michelson (AJP, 32. 441) suggests, the Gīrnār reading may be a corruption due to the influence of the next sentence.

<sup>5</sup> Read *-pravaṃ*, which is Senart's reading; *-pruvāṃ* Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> The other versions read *dhammādhī*.<sup>7</sup> *Yona* - Bühler.

<sup>8</sup> *aparitā* Bühler.

<sup>9</sup> The *na* of *bādhana* - was inserted subsequently.

<sup>10</sup> [p]rajā looks exactly like [p]ajā. Cf. the *r* of *tṛaidasa* - in line 4, and above, p. 4, n. 4.

<sup>11</sup> Read *bāhiraṣu*, which is Senart's and Bühler's reading.

<sup>12</sup> The syllable *ya* was inserted subsequently.

## TRANSLATION

- (A) King *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus.  
 (B) It is difficult to perform virtuous deeds.  
 (C) He who starts performing virtuous deeds accomplishes something difficult.  
 (D) Now, by me many virtuous deeds have been performed.  
 (E) Therefore (among) my sons and grandsons, and (among) my descendants (who shall come) after them until the æon of destruction (of the world), those who will conform to this (duty) will perform good deeds.  
 (F) But he who will neglect even a portion of this (duty) will perform evil deeds.  
 (G) For sin is easily committed.  
 (H) In times past (officers) called *Mahāmātras* of morality (*Dharma-mahāmātra*) did not exist before.  
 (I) But *Mahāmātras* of morality were appointed by me (when I had been) **anointed thirteen years**.  
 (J) These are occupied with all sects in establishing morality . . . . . of those who are devoted to morality (even) among the *Yōnas*, *Kambojas*, and *Gandhāras*,<sup>1</sup> the *Ristikas* and *Pētēnikas*,<sup>2</sup> and whatever other western borderers<sup>3</sup> (of mine there are).  
 (K) They are occupied with servants and masters<sup>4</sup> . . . . . for the . . . . . happiness of those who are devoted to morality, (and) in freeing (them) from desire (for worldly life).<sup>5</sup>  
 (L) They are occupied in supporting prisoners<sup>6</sup> (with money)<sup>7</sup> . . . . . (if one has) children, or with those who are bewitched (i. e. incurably ill?),<sup>8</sup> or with the aged.

<sup>1</sup> i. e. the Greeks, Kābulis, and north-western Panjābls; see ASSI, I, 123, n. 1, and, for the *Kambojas*, Weber, *Indische Streifen*, 3, 353 f., and JRAS, 1911, 801 f., 1912, 255 ff., 1915, 171.

<sup>2</sup> Bühler (ZDMG, 37, 261) identified the *Ristikas* with the *Riṣṭikas* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. But *Ristika* is probably a clerical mistake for *Rāṣṭika*; see my note on the translation of the *Shāhbāzgarhi* edict V, J. According to Michelson (IF, 24, 53 ff.), *Petenika* stands for *\*Paitrayanika*. Dhauḷi reads *Pitenika*, and the two Kharoṣṭhī versions read *Pitinika*. The same tribe is mentioned in the rock-edict XIII, R; see my note on the translation of the Kālsī version of that passage.

<sup>3</sup> In Senart's and Bühler's translations the word *apara*, 'western', is disregarded; but it is noticed by Senart in IA, 20, 240. For *aṣṭa* see the Kālsī edict II, I, 1, and XIII, I, 6; Rūpāṇṭh, *Sahasrām*, and Bairāt, H; Brahmagiri and Siddāpura, I; and the second separate edict at Dhauḷi and Jaugaḍa. Later on *Aparānta* became the designation of a tract of land on the western coast, the capital of which was Sōpārā; cf. EI, II, 220.

<sup>4</sup> The *m* between *bhata* (Sanskrit *bhṛta*) and *aya* (Sanskrit *ārya*) is euphonic; see Franke in GN, 1895, 533 f., and cf. Kuhn's *Pāli-Grammatik*, p. 63 f., and Windisch, *Berichte der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1893, 240 f.

<sup>5</sup> Instead of *aparigodha* other versions read *apalibodha*, for which see my note on the translation of the corresponding passage at Kālsī. Thomas has traced the substantive *paligodha*, 'desire', and the participle *paligoddha* (= *parigiddha*), 'desirous', in Buddhist Sanskrit works; see his valuable article in JRAS, 1915, 99 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *bandhāna-bandhānam munisānam* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict IV, L, which renders Bühler's translation of this passage very improbable.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *kirāma-pativedhāna* in the Girār edict VIII, E, and Lüders in SPAW, 1914, 840.

<sup>8</sup> With *kaṭābhikāra* Senart compares *abhiṣṭivartā*, '(female) demons who are bewitchers', and *abhimishkāra*, 'devising (against others)', in the *Ātharvaveda*. Bühler (EI, a. 458) translated 'overwhelmed by misfortune'; cf. his remarks in ZDMG, 48, 55.



(M) They are occupied everywhere, both in Pāṭaliputra and in the outlying ..... and whatever other relatives of mine (there are).

(N) These Mahāmāitras of morality ..... whether one is eager for morality? .....

(O) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written .....

## SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवा ..... सि राजा एवं आह (B) अतिश्रुतं अंतरं
- 2 न भूतपुत्र सव ' ल अथकमे व पटिवेदका वा (C) त मया एवं क्तं
- 3 (D) सवे काले भुजमानस मे ओरोधनमि गभागारमि वचमि व
- 4 विनीतमि च उयानेसु च सवच पटिवेदका स्तिता अथे मे जनस
- 5 पटिवेदेष इति (E) सर्वेष च जनस अथे करोमि (F) य च किंचि मुक्तो
- 6 आजपयामि स्वयं दापकं वा आवापकं वा य वा पुन महामापेसु
- 7 आवापिके ओरोपितं भवति ताव अथाव विवादो निश्चिती व संतो परिसायं
- 8 आनंतरं पटिवेदतथं मे सर्वेष सर्वे काले (G) एवं मया आजपितं (H) नास्ति हि
- मे तोसो
- 9 उस्तानमि अथसंतोरणाय व (I) कतथमतो हि मे सर्वलोकिहितं
- 10 (J) तस च पुन एस मूले उस्तानं च अथसंतोरणा च (K) नास्ति हि कमतरं
- 11 सर्वलोकिहितया (L) य च किंचि पराक्रमामि अहं किंति भूतानं आनयं गच्छेयं
- 12 इध च नानि मुत्तापयामि परचा च स्वगं आरापयंतु त (M) एताय अथाव
- 13 अयं धमलिपी लेखापिता किंति चिरं तिस्टेय इति तथा च मे पुचा पोता च
- प्रपोचा च
- 14 अनुवतरं सबलोकिहिताय (N) दुकरं तु इदं अजच अगेन पराक्रमेन

- 1 (A) [Devā]. ..... [s] rājā evaṃ āha (B) atikrāṭ[a]m aṃtara[m]
- 2 na bhūta-pru[v].<sup>1</sup> [s]. [v]... [I].<sup>2</sup> atha-kamme va paṭivedanā vā (C) ta mayā evaṃ kataṃ
- 3 (D) s[a]ve kāle bhujj[a]mānasa me orodhanamhi gabbhāgāramhi vachamhi va
- 4 vinitamhi cha uyānesu cha savatra paṭivedakā<sup>4</sup> sṭitā athe me [ja]nasa
- 5 paṭivedetha iti (E) sarvatra cha janasa athe karomi (F) ya cha kiṃchi mukhato
- 6 āḥapayāmi svayaṃ dāpakam vā srāvāpakam vā ya vā puna mahāmāitresu
- 7 āchāyī[ke].<sup>5</sup> aropitam<sup>6</sup> bhavati tāya athāya vivādo nijhātī v[a] s[am]to parisāyam

<sup>1</sup> *nissito* = Pāli *nissito* and Skt. \**nivṛtaḥ* (Senart). For *yo ayam* cf. my note on the translation of section L of the Kāśī version of this edict.

<sup>2</sup> Read *-puru*; -*puru* Senart, -*puru* Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> Restore *savā kāle*.

<sup>4</sup> An apparent *v*-mark is attached to the bottom of *ṣi*.

<sup>5</sup> *āchāyika* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> *aropitam* Bühler.

- 8 ānartaraṃ paṣṭi vedeta[v]yaṃ me sa[r]vatra sarve kāle (G) evaṃ mayā āpāpitaṃ  
(H) nāsti<sup>1</sup> hi me to[s]o  
9 uṣṭānamhi atha-saṃtiraṇāya va<sup>1</sup> (I) katavya-mate hi me sa[rva]loka-hitāṃ  
10 (J) tsa cha puna esa mūle uṣṭānaṃ cha atha-saṃtiraṇā cha (K) nāsti hi karmataraṃ  
11 sarva-loka-hitatpā (L) ya cha kimchi parākramāmi ahaṃ kiṃti bhūtānaṃ ānaṃṇaṃ  
gachcheyāṃ  
12 idha cha nāni sukhāpayāmi paratrā cha svagaṃ ārādhaṃtu ta<sup>2</sup> (M) etāya athāya  
13 ayaṃ dha[m]ma-lipi lekḥapitā kiṃti chirāṃ tiṣṭeya iti tathā cha me putrā potā cha  
prapotrā cha  
14 anuvataṃ<sup>3</sup> sava-loka-hitāya (N) dukaraṃ [t]u idaṃ ātatra<sup>4</sup> agena parākramena

## TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāshpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) In times past neither the disposal of affairs nor the submission of reports at any time did exist before.

(C) But I have made the following (arrangement).

(D) Reporters are posted everywhere, (with instructions) to report to me the affairs of the people at any time, while I am eating, in the harem, in the inner apartment,<sup>5</sup> even at the cowpen,<sup>6</sup> in the palanquin,<sup>7</sup> and in the parks.

(E) And everywhere I am disposing of the affairs of the people.

(F) And if in the council (of *Mahāmātras*)<sup>8</sup> a dispute arises,<sup>9</sup> or an amendment is moved,<sup>10</sup> in connexion with any donation or proclamation<sup>11</sup> which I myself am ordering

<sup>1</sup> An ancient fissure of the rock, which extends from l. 8 to l. 11, must have existed already at the time when the inscription was incised. This would account for the spaces which were left vacant by the engraver after *nāsti* in l. 8, *-loka-* in l. 9, *karmata*<sup>2</sup> in l. 10, and *ānaṃṇaṃ* in l. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Read *ti*.

<sup>3</sup> Senart and Bühler correct *anuvataṃ*. Pischel (GGA, 1881. 1331) and Bühler read *anuvataṃ*, which the former considered to be an imperative like *duhrām* in the *Atharvaveda*. Cf. Johansson's *Shāhāśgarhi*, s. 89 f. The *va* certainly resembles *vā*; but the same applies to the *va* of *pakarāṇa* in the Girār edict IX, l. 8, and of *samachairam* in XIII, l. 7, where the reading *vā* is impossible.

<sup>4</sup> *ātata* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Molesworth's *Mardāhi Dictionary*, s. v. *gābhār*.

<sup>6</sup> The locative *vachamhi* (= *vrachaspi* in the two Kharoṣṭhi versions) is generally rendered by 'in the latrine'. But Skt. *varchas* does not mean 'a latrine', but 'ordure'. As, in the rock-edict XII, M, *vachā* or *vrachā* probably corresponds to Skt. *vraja*, 'a cowpen', it may be taken here in the same sense. Establishments for cattle-breeding are kept up by Rajas and their governments even in the present time.

<sup>7</sup> With *vinita* cf. Skt. *vinīta* and *vinīta*; see Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 277.

<sup>8</sup> See above, p. 5, n. 7.

<sup>9</sup> *santo* is a nominative singular absolute. Cf. my note on the translation of the Kālaṃ rock-edict VI, F.

<sup>10</sup> Bühler (ASSI, I, 123) rendered *nijhāṣi* by 'fraud'. This translation seems to be due to an oversight; it would suit the former misreading *nikaṣi*, but not the actual reading *nijhāṣi*. Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1019 f.) has shown that the Sanskrit equivalent of this word would be *\*nidhyapṭi*, 'inducing to meditate', i. e. in the present case, 'moving a repeated consideration'.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, K and M.

verbally, or (in connexion with) an emergent matter which has been delegated to the *Mahāmāyitas*,<sup>1</sup> it must be reported to me immediately, anywhere, (and) at any time.

(G) Thus I have ordered.

(H) For I am never content in exerting myself and in dispatching business.<sup>2</sup>

(I) For I consider it my duty (to promote) the welfare of all men.

(J) But the root of that (is) this, (viz.) exertion and the dispatch of business.

(K) For no duty is more important<sup>3</sup> than (promoting) the welfare of all men.

(L) And whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that<sup>4</sup> I may discharge the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them<sup>5</sup> happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).

(M) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been caused to be written, (viz.) that it may last long, and that my sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons may conform to this for the welfare of all men.

(N) But it is difficult to accomplish this without great zeal.

## SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवानंषियो पियदसि राजा सर्वत इच्छति सवे पासंदा वसेयु (B) सवे ते सबमं च
- 2 भावसुधिं च इच्छति (C) जनी तु उचावचच्छंदो उचावचरागो (D) ते सर्वे च कासंति  
एकदेसं च कसंति
- 3 (E) विपुले तु पि दाने यस नास्ति सवमे भावसुधिता च कांजता च दग्धमिता च  
निचा बाहं

- 1 (A) Devānaṁṣīyo Piyadaśi rājā sarvata ichhati save pāsandā vaseyu (B) save te sayamaṁ cha
- 2 bhāva-sudhiṁ cha ichhati (C) jano tu uchāvacha-chhaṁdo uchāvacha-rāgo (D) te sarvaṁ va kāsanti eka-deśam va kasa[ṁ]ti
- 3 (E) vipul[e] tu pi dāne yasa nāsti sayame bhāva-sudhitā va katamhitā va daḍha-bhatit[ā] cha nichā bāḍham

<sup>1</sup> K. Jayaswal (IA, 42. 283) quotes the *Kaṇḍikya*, p. 29, l. 12: 'अजयिषि कर्षि अजयिषि अजयिषि' वाह्य वृत्तात् 'in the case of an emergent matter the ministers and the council of ministers shall be called and told'.

<sup>2</sup> With *atke-sudhāra* cf. *ślita-danḍa* in the pillar-edict IV, L.

<sup>3</sup> I adopt Bühler's explanation of *kāśmataraṁ* as a comparative of *karma*.

<sup>4</sup> Franke (GN, 1895. 537) has shown that both in the Aśoka inscriptions and in literary Pāli *hiṁsi* means 'that, in order that'. Cf. my note on the translation of the Dhauḷi separate edict I, B, and the rock-edict XIV, D, where *hiṁsi* at Gīrnār, Dhauḷi, and Jaugadā corresponds to *yeṇa* at Kāśī, Shāhbāzgarhi, and Mānsērā.

<sup>5</sup> The form *nāsi* occurs again in the pillar-edict V, C, and in the Queen's edict, l. 4; *nā* in the Kāśī edict XII, C. The pronoun *na* may be derived from Skt. *na*, and *na*, which corresponds to it in the two Kharoṣṭhī versions, from *na*.

## TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin desires (that) all sects may reside everywhere.

(B) (For) all these desire both self-control and purity of mind.

(C) But men possess various desires (and) various passions.

(D) Either they will fulfil the whole, or they will fulfil (only) a portion (of their duties).

(E) But even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control, purity of mind, gratitude, and firm devotion, is very mean.<sup>1</sup>

## EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) अतिक्रान्तं अन्तरं राजानो विहारयातां जयासु (B) एतं मगव्या अजानि च  
एतारिसनि  
2 अभीरमकानि अहंसु (C) सो देवानंप्रियो पियदसि राजा दसवर्साभिसितो संतो  
अयाय संबोधिं  
3 (D) तेनेसा धमयाता (E) एतयं होति बाम्हणसमयानं दसखे च दाने च बेरानं  
दसखे च  
4 हिरंषापटिविधानो च जानपदस च जनस दस्यनं धमानुसस्ती च धमपरिपुक्का च  
5 तदोपया (F) एसा भुय रति भवति देवानंपियस प्रियदसिनो राजो भागे अजे

- 1 (A) atikātaṃ am̐taraṃ rājāno vihāra-yātāṃ āyāsu (B) eta magavyā añāni cha  
etārisani<sup>2</sup>  
2 abhīramakāni ahuṃsu (C) so Devānam̐priyo<sup>3</sup> Piyadasī rājā dassa-varasābhisaṭto<sup>4</sup>  
saṃto ayāya Saṃboddhiṃ  
3 (D) tenesa dham̐ma-yāta (E) etayaṃ hoti bāmaṇa-samañānaṃ dasaṇe cha dāne cha  
thairānaṃ dasaṇe ch[a]<sup>5</sup>  
4 hiraṇṇa-paṭividdhāno cha jānapadasa cha janasa<sup>6</sup> daspanaṃ<sup>7</sup> dham̐mānusa[a]ṇṇi cha  
dhama-paripucchā cha  
5 tadopaya (F) esa bhuya rati bhavati Devānam̐piyasa Priyadasino rāṇo bhā[g]e  
aññe

## TRANSLATION

(A) In times past kings used to set out on pleasure-tours.<sup>8</sup>

(B) On these (tours) hunting and other such pleasures were (enjoyed).

<sup>1</sup> The translation of this section follows Lüders in SPAW, 1914. 844. He identifies *nika* with the Vedic adverb *nichā*. The variant *nika* at Dhauli and Jaugada may correspond to Skt. *nichāṇi* or *nichāṇi*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *sam̐*.

<sup>3</sup> *piyo* Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> -*vasa*<sup>9</sup> Senart and Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> *jānasa* Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> Read *darsanaka*, which is Senart's reading; *darsanaka* Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> Michelson (JAOS, 31. 245) explains *āyāsu* = *\*nyayāsuḥ* in the sense of *nirayāsuḥ*. See also Fleet in JRAS, 1908. 488, n. 2.

(C) But when king *Dēvanāmpriya Priyadarśin* had been anointed ten years, he went to *Sambhōdhi*.<sup>1</sup>

(D) Therefore these tours of morality (were undertaken).<sup>2</sup>

(E) On these (tours) the following<sup>3</sup> takes place, (viz.) visiting *Brāhmaṇas* and *Śramaṇas* and making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with 'gold,'<sup>4</sup> visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality, as suitable for this (occasion).<sup>5</sup>

(F) This second period<sup>6</sup> (of the reign) of king *Dēvanāmpriya Priyadarśin* becomes a pleasure in a higher degree.<sup>7</sup>

## NINTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवानंप्रियो प्रियदत्ति राजा एव आह (B) अस्ति जनो उचावचं मंगलं करोते  
आवापेसु वा
- 2 आवाहवीवाहेसु वा पुपलाभेसु वा प्रवासंमि वा एतन्मी च अजमि च जनो  
उचावचं मंगलं करोते
- 3 (C) एत तु महिहायो बहुकं च बहुविधं च ह्रुदं च निरयं च मंगलं करोते (D) त  
कायमेव तु मंगलं (E) अपफलं तु खो
- 4 एतरिसं मंगलं (F) अयं तु महाफले मंगले य धममंगले (G) ततेत दासभक्तकमि  
सम्यप्रतिपत्ती गुरुन अपचिति साधु
- 5 पाखेसु सयमो साधु बह्वसमभानं साधु दानं एत च अज च एतारिसं धममंगलं  
नाम (H) त वतथं पिता य

<sup>1</sup> D. R. Bhandarkar (IA, 42. 160) suggests that this word may refer to the sacred spot (at Bōdh-Gayā, south of Patnā) on which the Buddha attained to perfect knowledge. Aśoka's visit to the *bōdhi*-tree is described in the *Divyāvadāna* (ed. Cowell and Neil), p. 393. His visit to the Buddha's birth-place is recorded by himself on the Rummindī pillar.

<sup>2</sup> The singular *esā dhammayāsi* seems to be used in the sense of the plural, just as *vikāra-yāsi* in section A.

<sup>3</sup> Bühler (EI, 2. 457, n. 95) explained *etayam* by *eta iyam*. As *ayan* is used for the neuter *idam* in the Girnār edict IX, F, and XII, N, it may as well stand for *eta ayan*; cf. Michelson in JAOS, 31. 238.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above, p. 10, n. 7.

<sup>5</sup> With *tadapaya* Senart compares the Pāli words *tadāpiya* and *opāyika*. Franke (VOJ, 9. 345) connects it with *opaga* in the rock-edict II, B, and in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, R. Previous translators (except Lüders in SPAW, 1914. 845) have construed this word with the next section.

<sup>6</sup> Hitherto the two words *bhāge anīte* and *bhāge anīte* at Kāśī and Dhāuli have been taken as locatives = Pāli *apara-bhāge*. As Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 990) remarks, this is impossible, because in the eastern dialect the two locatives would end in *-asi*.

<sup>7</sup> The word *bhaya* (= *bhaye* in the remaining versions) is perhaps an adverb, as *bhaye* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, KK and NN. Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 846) takes *bhaya-rati* to be a Karmadhāraya compound, which he connects with *esā*, and *bhāge anīte* to be locatives. But *esā* need not be a nom. sing. fem., but may be a nom. sing. masc., as in the Girnār edict XIII, I, and may as such be connected with *bhāge anīte*, as [e] in at Kāśī and *eshe* in the two Kharoṣṭhi versions.

- 6 पुनेन वा भाषा वा स्वामिकेन वा इदं साधु इदं क्ताव्य मंगलं जाव तस क्पस  
निस्सामाय (I) अस्ति च पि पुतं  
7 साधु दन इति (J) न तु एतारिसं अस्सा दानं च अन्नगहो च यारिसं धम्मदानं च  
धम्मगहो च (K) त तु खो मिनेन च सुहदयेन वा  
8 अतिकेन च सहायन च ओवादितयं तम्हि तम्हि पकरये इदं क्च इदं साध इति  
इमिना सक्  
9 स्वगं आराधेतु इति (L) कि च इमिना क्तव्यतरं यथा स्वगारधी

- 1 (A) *Devānampriyo Priyadaśi rājā* eva<sup>1</sup> āha (B) *asti jano uchāvacham maṅgalaṃ*  
*karote ābādhesu vā*  
2 *āvāha-vivāhesu vā putra-lābhesu vā pravāsamhi vā etamhi cha añamhi cha jano*  
*uchāvacham maṅgalaṃ karote*  
3 (C) *eta tu mahidāyo bahukaṃ cha bahuvidham cha chhudaṃ cha nirath[am] cha*  
*maṅgalaṃ karote (D) ta katavyameva tu magalaṃ* <sup>2</sup> (E) *apa-phalaṃ tu kho*  
4 *etarisaṃ* <sup>3</sup> *maṅgalaṃ (F) ayaṃ tu mah[ā]-phale maṅgale ya dhamma-maṅgale*  
(G) *ta[te]ja* <sup>4</sup> *dāsa-bhatakamhi samya-pratipati gurutaraṃ apachiti sādhu*  
5 *pāṇesu sayamo sādhu bamhaṇa-samaññaṃ sādhu dānaṃ et[a] cha añ[a] cha*  
*etarisaṃ dhamma-maṅgalaṃ nāma (H) ta vatavyaṃ pitā va*  
6 *putena vā bhātā vā svāmikena vā idaṃ sādhu idaṃ katavya* <sup>5</sup> *maṅgalaṃ āva tasa*  
*athasa nistānāya (I) asti cha pi vutaṃ*  
7 *sādhu dana* <sup>6</sup> *iti (J) na tu etārisaṃ astā* <sup>7</sup> *dānaṃ va ana[ga]ho* <sup>8</sup> *va yārisaṃ dhamma-*  
*dānaṃ va dhamanugaho* <sup>9</sup> *va (K) ta tu kho mitrena va suhodayena [v]ā*  
8 *fatikena* <sup>10</sup> *va sahāyana* <sup>11</sup> *va ovāditavyaṃ tamhi tamhi pakaraṇe* <sup>12</sup> *[i]daṃ kachaṃ*  
*idaṃ sādha* <sup>13</sup> *iti iminā sak[a]* <sup>14</sup>  
9 *svagaṃ ārādhetu iti (L) ki cha iminā katavyataraṃ yathā svagārādhi* <sup>15</sup>

## TRANSLATION

(A) King *Devānampriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus.

(B) Men are practising various ceremonies during illness, or at the marriage of a son or a daughter,<sup>16</sup> or at the birth of a son, or when setting out on a journey; on these and other (occasions) men are practising various ceremonies.

(C) But in such (cases) women are practising many and various vulgar and useless ceremonies.

<sup>1</sup> *evam* Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> Read *maṅgalaṃ*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> Read *etarisaṃ*.

<sup>4</sup> *tate* Senart and Bühler; but the *te* can be clearly distinguished on the back of the cstampage, and is supported by the other versions.

<sup>5</sup> *katavyaṃ* Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> Read *dānaṃ*; *danaṃ* Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> Read *asti*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

<sup>8</sup> Read *anugaho*.

<sup>9</sup> *dhammanugaho* Bühler.

<sup>10</sup> Read *āsi*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *yena*.

<sup>12</sup> The syllable *ra* looks almost like *rā*.

<sup>13</sup> Read *sādhu*.

<sup>14</sup> *sakaṃ* Bühler.

<sup>15</sup> *radhi* Bühler.

<sup>16</sup> For *āvāha* and *vivāha* cf. *Jātaka*, Translation, vol. V, p. 145, n. 1.

- (D) Now, ceremonies should certainly be practised.  
 (E) But ceremonies like these bear little fruit indeed.  
 (F) But the following practice bears much fruit, viz. the practice of morality.  
 (G) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders,<sup>1</sup> gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas; these and other such (virtues) are called the practice of morality.  
 (H) Therefore a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master ought to say:—'This is meritorious. This practice should be observed until the (desired) object is attained.'  
 (I) And it has been said also: 'Gifts are meritorious.'  
 (J) But there is no such gift or benefit as the gift of morality or the benefit of morality.<sup>2</sup>  
 (K) Therefore a friend, or a well-wisher, or a relative, or a companion should indeed admonish (another) on such and such an occasion:—'This ought to be done; this is meritorious. By this (practice) it is possible to attain heaven.'  
 (L) And what is more desirable than this,<sup>3</sup> viz. the attainment of heaven?

## TENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवानंपियो प्रियदसि राजा यसो व कीति व न महाबाहवा मज्जे अज्जत  
 तदात्मनो दिषाय च मे ज्ञेयो  
 2 धम्मसुसुता सुसुसता धम्मवुत्तं च अनुविधिवाता (B) एतक्काव देवानंपियो प्रियदसि  
 राजा यसो व कीति व इच्छति  
 3 (C) यं तु किञ्च परिक्रमते देवानं प्रियदसि राजा त सर्वं पारिषक्काय किंति सकले  
 अपपरिस्सवे अस्स (D) एस तु परिस्सवे व अपुञ्जं  
 4 (E) दुक्कं तु सो एतं दुक्केन व ज्ञेयेन उस्सेन च अज्जव ज्ञेयेन पराक्रमेन सर्वं  
 परिचज्जिप्पा (F) एत तु सो उस्सेन दुक्कं  
 1 (A) Devānaṃpiyo<sup>4</sup> Priyadaśi rājā<sup>5</sup> yaso va kīti va na mahābhāvah[a] mañate<sup>6</sup>  
 añata tadātmano<sup>7</sup> dighāya cha me [ja]no  
 2 dhamma-susu[r]hja<sup>8</sup> susrusata<sup>9</sup> dhamma-vuttaṃ cha anuvīdhiyātāṃ (B) etakkāya  
 Devānaṃpiyo Priyadaśi rājā yaso va kīti va [chha]ji

<sup>1</sup> The word *sādhū* after *apachitti*, *sayamo*, and *-samanāmanā* is missing in the other versions. It seems to have crept into the Gīrṇār text, because the person who drafted the latter had in his mind passages like the rock-edict III, D.

<sup>2</sup> Bühler (ZDMG, 48, 57 f.) has traced the two terms *dhamma-dāna* and *dhammānuggaha* in the *Jīvuttaka*.

<sup>3</sup> A number of instances in which a comparative is construed with the instrumental (instead of the ablative) have been collected by Pischel, GGA, 1881, 133a.

<sup>4</sup> \**priyo* Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> An obliterated *de* is visible between the syllables *si* and *rā*, and an obliterated *va* between *rā* and *ja*.

<sup>6</sup> *mañate* Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> Read, with Kern (*Jaartelling*, p. 87), *tadātmano*.

<sup>8</sup> *-susrusata* Senart, *-susrusā* Bühler.

<sup>9</sup> \**sañjā* Senart and Bühler.

- 3 (C) ya[rh] tu kich[i]¹ parik[a]mate² Devānāṣ³ Priyadaṣi rājā ta savaṁ pāratikāya  
kiṁti sakale a[pa]-parisave⁴ asa (D) esa tu parisave⁴ ya apuṁñam  
4 (E) dukaraṁ tu kho etaṁ chhudakena va janena usaṭena va aṇātra agena  
parāk[r]ameṇa⁵ savaṁ parichajitpā (F) et[a] t[u] kho usaṭena dukaraṁ

## TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāṣṭriya Priyadarśin does not think that either glory or fame¹ conveys much advantage, except (on account of his aim that) in the present time, and in the distant (future),² men may (be induced) by him to practise obedience to morality, and that they may conform to the duties of morality.³

(B) On this (account) king Dēvānāṣṭriya Priyadarśin is desiring glory and fame.

(C) But whatever effort king Dēvānāṣṭriya Priyadarśin is making, all that (is) for the sake of (merit) in the other (world), (and) in order that all (men) may run little danger.

(D) But the danger is this, viz. demerit.

(E) But it is indeed difficult either for a lowly person or for a high one to accomplish this without great zeal (and without) laying aside every (other aim).¹⁰

(F) But among these (two) it is indeed (more) difficult¹¹ to accomplish for a high (person).

## ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देविर्नमिषो पियदसि राजा एवं आह (B) नास्मि एतारिसं दानं वारिसं धंमदानं  
धंमसंस्सवो वा धंमसंविभागो वा धंमसंबधो व  
2 (C) तत इदं भवति दासभतकम्हि सम्मप्रतिपत्ती मातरि पितर साधु सुसुसा नित-  
ससुतजातिक्कानं बाम्हेणसमयानं साधु दानं  
3 प्रायानं अलारंभो साधु (D) एत वत्तव्यं पिता व पुत्रेण व भाता व नितससुत-  
जातिकेण व आब पटीवेसियेहि इद साधु इद कत्तव्यं  
4 (E) सो तथा क्ख इलोकवस आरपो होति परत च अन्नंतं पुइजं भवति तेन  
धंमदानेन

¹ *kinchi* Bühler.

² Read *parākamate*; *parākamate* Senart, *parākamate* Bühler.

³ Add *⁴priya*.

⁴ *appa-* (probably a misprint) Bühler.

⁵ *parisave* Bühler.

⁶ *parākamena* Senart and Bühler.

⁷ i.e., as shown by Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 575), glory in this life and fame after death.

⁸ Instead of *taddāpano(ṇe) dighāya cha* the Jaugaḍa version has the synonymous expression *śatadāyāya āyatiye cha*, which occurs also in the *Kaṇṭhiya*, p. 248, l. 9 (*taddāro cha āyatiyāṇi cha*), and p. 240, l. 2. For numerous examples of abstracts formed with the Prakṛit affix *-tvaṇa* or *-tṭaṇa*, see Fischei's *Grammatik*, p. 405.

⁹ With this passage cf. the Gīrnār edict IX, E, F, and XI, B, and the Shāhbāgarhi edict XIII, F: 'And this conquest is considered the principal one by Dēvānāṣṭriya, viz. the conquest by morality'.

¹⁰ I adopt Fleet's translation of the last words in JRAS, 1909, 1014, n. 4. The usual translation, 'renouncing everything', is improbable because Aśoka nowhere advocates absolute poverty, though he recommends 'moderation in possessions' in the rock-edict III, D.

¹¹ The Jaugaḍa version reads *dukkhataṭṭale* for *dukkaraṇe*.



- 1 (A) Devīnāmpriyo<sup>1</sup> Priyadasi rājā ev[a]h āha (B) nāsti etārisaṃ dānaṃ yārisaṃ dhamma-dānaṃ dhamma-samstavo vā dhamma-samvibhāgo [vā]<sup>2</sup> dhamma-sambadho<sup>3</sup> va  
 2 (C) tata idaṃ bhavati dāsa-bhatakamhi samya-p[r]atipati mātari pitarā<sup>4</sup> sādhu sus[r]usā mita-sa[st]uta-śātikānaṃ bāhmaṇa-s[r]amaṇa[nāṃ]<sup>5</sup> sādhu dā[nāṃ]  
 3 prāṇānaṃ anārambho sādhu (D) eta vatavyaṃ pitā va putrena va bhāt[ā] va mita-sastu[a]-śātik[ā]k[c]jna va āva paṭivesiyehi<sup>6</sup> ida<sup>7</sup> sādhu ida<sup>8</sup> ka[tav]ya[n] (E) so t[a]thā karu<sup>9</sup> ilokachasa āradho hoti parata cha anantam<sup>10</sup> puññaṃ<sup>11</sup> bhavati tena dhamma-dānena

## TRANSLATION

(A) King Devānāmpriya Priyadattin speaks thus.

(B) There is no such gift as the gift of morality, or acquaintance through morality, or the distribution of morality, or kinship through morality.<sup>11</sup>

(C) Herein the following are (comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, obedience to mother (and) father, liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, (and) abstention from killing animals.<sup>12</sup>

(D) Concerning this<sup>13</sup> a father, or a son, or a brother, or a friend, an acquaintance, or a relative, (or) even (mere) neighbours, ought to say: 'This is meritorious. This ought to be done.'<sup>14</sup>

(E) If one is acting thus,<sup>15</sup> the attainment<sup>16</sup> of (happiness) in this world is (secured), and endless merit is produced in the other (world) by that gift of morality.

<sup>1</sup> Read *Dvānām*<sup>o</sup>, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> *va* Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> Read *-sambadho*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *pitari*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> *-samanānaṃ* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> *paṭi*<sup>o</sup> Senart and Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> *idam* Bühler.

<sup>8</sup> Read *karuṇi*, as in the Gīrnār edict XII, F.

<sup>9</sup> Read *anantam*.

<sup>10</sup> *puññaṃ* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>11</sup> The two expressions *dhamma-dāna* and *dhamma-samvibhāga* occur in a passage of the *Itivuttaka*; see Bühler, ZDMG, 48, 57 f.

<sup>12</sup> The other versions omit the superfluous word *sādhu* after *pitārā*, *-sramaṇaṃ*, and *anārambho*; cf. above, p. 17, n. 1.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, C, I, and RR.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. the Gīrnār edict IX, H and K.

<sup>15</sup> Senart and Bühler take *karuṇi* as a nominative absolute. According to Michelson (JAOS, 31, 244) it is a participle formed of a stem which is a compromise between *karu-* and *kuru-*.

<sup>16</sup> In the Gīrnār version *āradho* seems to be used as a substantive, just as *āradhi* in the Gīrnār edict IX, L, and *āradhi* in the Dhauḷi separate edict I, S, and the Jaugaḍa separate edict I, T. In the other versions of the rock-edict XI the wording is slightly different.

## TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवानंपियो विवदसि राजा सवपासंडानि च पवजितानि च घरस्तानि च  
पूजयति दानेन च विवाधाय च पूजाय पूजयति ने
- 2 (B) न तु तथा दानं च पूजा च देवानंपियो मंजते यथा किंति सारवटी कस  
सवपासंडानं (C) सारवटी तु बहुविधा
- 3 (D) तस तु इदं मूलं च वचिगुती किंति आपपासंडपूजा च परपासंडगरहा च नो  
भवे अप्रकराणि लहुका च कस
- 4 तन्हि तन्हि प्रकरये (E) पूजयता तु एव परपासंडा तेन तन प्रकरयेन (F) एवं कं  
आपपासंडं च बडयति परपासंडस च उपकरोति
- 5 (G) तदंजया करोतो आपपासंडं च कडयति परपासंडस च पि अपकरोति (H) नो  
हि कोचि आपपासंडं पूजयति परपासंडं च गरहति
- 6 संच आपपासंडभतिया किंति आपपासंडं दीपयेन इति सो च पुन तच करातो  
आपपासंडं बाउतरं उपहनाति (I) न समवायो एव साधु
- 7 किंति अप्रनंजस धनं सुहाव च सुसुतिरं च (J) एवं हि देवानंपियस इका किंति  
सवपासंडा बहुसुता च असु बलाणागमा च असु
- 8 (K) वे च तच तत प्रसंता तेहि चतथं (L) देवानंपियो नो तथा दानं च पूजां च  
मंजते यथा किंति सारवटी कस सर्वपासंडानं (M) वहका च एताव
- 9 कया चापता धंममहामाता च इयीस्समहामाता च वचभूमीका च अजे च  
निकाया (N) कयं च एतस कल च आपपासंडवटी च होति धंमस च  
दीपना

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyad[ā]ni rājā sava-pāsandaṇi cha [pa]vajitāni cha gharastāni  
cha pūjayati d[ā]nena cha vivādhāya<sup>1</sup> [cha] pūjāya pūjayati ne
- 2 (B) na tu tathā dānaṃ va pū[jā] va D[ā]vānaṃpiyo mañjate yathā kiti sāra-vaḍhī  
asa sa[va-pā]sandaṇaṃ (C) sār[a]-vaḍhī tu bahuvividhā
- 3 (D) tasa<sup>2</sup> tu idaṃ mūlaṃ va vaci-guṭi kiṃti āpa-pāsanda-pūjā va para-pāsanda-  
garahā<sup>3</sup> va no bhavē aprakaraṇamhi<sup>4</sup> lahukā va asa
- 4 tamhi tamhi prakaraṇe (E) pūjetayā tu eva para-pāsandaṃ tena tana<sup>5</sup> prakaraṇe  
(F) evaṃ karuṃ āpa-pāsandaṃ cha vaḍhayati para-pāsandaṃ cha upakaroti
- 5 (G) tad-añhiathā karoto āpa-pāsandaṃ<sup>6</sup> cha chhanati para-pāsandaṃ cha pi apakaroti  
(H) yo hi kochi āpa-pāsandaṃ pūjayati para-pāsandaṃ v[a]ṃ<sup>7</sup> garahati

<sup>1</sup> Read *vivādhāya*, which is the reading of Sonart and Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> The writer had originally written *tasa tana*, but he scored out the first *sa* and the second *ta*.

<sup>3</sup> The syllable *saṃ* of *-pāsandaṃ* was inserted subsequently.

<sup>4</sup> The syllable *pa* looks almost like *sa*; the horizontal stroke attached to *pa* is probably intended for *r*. Cf. *abhiṣṭāṇa* near the end of the Calcutta-Bairātī rock-inscription.

<sup>5</sup> Read *tana*.

<sup>6</sup> *-pāsandaṇi* Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> *va* Bühler.

- 6 savan ātpa-pāsaṃḍa-bhātīyā<sup>1</sup> kiṃti ātpa-pāsaṃḍam dipayema iti so cha puna tatha karāto<sup>2</sup> ātpa-pāsaṃḍa[m] bāḍhataran upahanāti (I) ta samavāyo eva sādhu
- 7 kiṃti [a]ṣamamhāsa<sup>3</sup> dhammam aruṇā<sup>4</sup> cha susuṭhara<sup>5</sup> cha (J) evaṃ hi D[e]vānāmpriyasa icchā kiṃti<sup>6</sup> sava-pāsaṃḍa bahu-erutā cha asu ka[a]ḥagamā cha [a]ḥu
- 8 (K) ye cha tatra tata<sup>7</sup> prasannā tehi vatavyam (L) Devānāmpriyo no tathā dānam va pūjām<sup>8</sup> va manāte yathā kiṃti sara-vadhī asa sarva-pāsaṃḍanam (M) bahakā<sup>9</sup> cha etāya
- 9 athā vyāpatā dhamma-mahāmātā cha itihbhakha-mahāmātā cha vacha-bhūmiktā cha aṣe cha nikāya (N) ayam cha etasa phala ya ātpa-pāsaṃḍa-vadhī cha hoti dhammasa cha dip[a]ṇā

## TRANSLATION

(A) King Devānāmpriya Priyadarsin is honouring all sects:<sup>10</sup> both ascetics and householders; both with gifts and with honours of various kinds he is honouring them.

(B) But Devānāmpriya does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.

(C) But a promotion of the essentials (is possible) in many ways.

(D) But its root is this, viz. guarding (one's) speech,<sup>11</sup> (i. e.) that neither praising one's own sect nor blaming other sects should take place on improper occasions, or (that) it should be moderate in every case.

(E) But other sects ought to be duly honoured in every case.

(F) If one is acting thus, he is both promoting his own sect and benefiting other sects.

(G) If one is acting otherwise than thus, he is both hurting his own sect and wronging other sects as well.

(H) For whosoever praises his own sect or blames other sects,—all (this)<sup>12</sup> out of devotion to his own sect, (i. e.) with the view of glorifying his own sect,—if he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect very severely.

(I) Therefore concord alone is meritorious, (i. e.) that they should both hear and obey each other's morals.

(J) For this is the desire of Devānāmpriya, (viz.) that all sects should be full of learning, and should be pure in doctrine.

<sup>1</sup> *pāsaṃḍa* Böhler.

<sup>2</sup> Read *karāto*.

<sup>3</sup> *maṣā* Senart, *maṣā* Böhler.

<sup>4</sup> Pischel (GGA, 1887. 1936) proposed to read *aruṇā*. But the form *aruṇā* is probably an imperative; see Introduction, chapter VI.

<sup>5</sup> *susuṭhara* Senart, *susuṭhara* Böhler.

<sup>6</sup> The syllable *ti* was inserted subsequently.

<sup>7</sup> *ata* Böhler.

<sup>8</sup> *pūjā* Senart and Böhler.

<sup>9</sup> Read *bahakā*.

<sup>10</sup> The *cha* after *sava-pāsaṃḍam* is superfluous; see Böhler, EI, 1. 19, n. 42. It is missing in the other versions.

<sup>11</sup> Instead of *vachī-guṇā* the other versions read *vachā-guṇā*. With *vachī* cf. the Ardhamāgadhī from *vaṭ* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 413.

<sup>12</sup> The readings *shaw* at Kāśī and *sewa* in the two Kharoṣṭhī versions show that *sevanā* at Girnar is the nom. sing. neut.; see Franke in KZ, 34. 422.

(K) And those who are attached to their respective (sects) ought to be spoken to<sup>1</sup> (as follows).

(L) *Dēvānāmpriya* does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.

(M) And many (officers)<sup>2</sup> are occupied for this purpose,<sup>3</sup> (viz.) the *Mahāmātras* of morality, the *Mahāmātras* controlling women,<sup>4</sup> the inspectors of cowpens,<sup>5</sup> and other classes (of officials).<sup>6</sup>

(N) And this is the fruit of it, (viz.) that both the promotion of one's own sect takes place, and the glorification of morality.

### THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) ..... जो कलिंगा वज ..... बढे सतसहस्रमाषं तथा  
हंतं बहुतावतकं मत (C) तता पद्दा अधुना लपेसु कलिंगेसु तीवो धमवावो
- 2 ..... सयो देवानंप्रियस वज ..... बधो व भरवां व  
अपवाहो व जनस त वाढं वेदनमत च गुरुमत च देवानंपि .. स
- 3 ..... बाम्हाया व समया व अजे ..... सा मापि पितरि  
सुसुंसा गुरुसुसुंसा मितसंस्तसहायजातिकेसु दासभ ..
- 4 ..... अमिरतानं व विनिखमव (H) वेसं वा प .....  
हायजातिका असनं प्रापुणति तत सो पि तेस उपपातो हाति (I) पटीभागो  
चेसा सब ..
- 5 ..... क्षि इमे निकाया अजच योनेसु ..... म्हि यच नास्मि  
मानुसानं एकतरमिह पासंडमि न नाम प्रसादो (K) वाचतकी जनी तदा
- 6 ..... अभागी व गुरुमतो देवानं ..... न य सक् अमितवे  
(L) या च पि अटवियो देवानंप्रियस पिजिते पाति
- 7 ..... अते तेसं देवानंप्रियस ..... सकभूतानां अकृतिं च  
सयनं च समचैरं च मादव च

<sup>1</sup> Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 586) noted other instances of the dative plural in *-ahi* at Jaugada (*-samanahi*, III, l. 3, and *mahāmātrahi*, VI, l. 3), and at Kālst (*mahāmātrahi*, VI, end of l. 18). See also Mānsehra, VI, l. 28, and XII, l. 7, and *Ājivikehi* in the second and third Barābar Hill cave-inscriptions.

<sup>2</sup> As pointed out by Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 849), the two words *bahukā cha*, which previous translators had connected with section L, are in reality the first words of section M.

<sup>3</sup> For the dative *athā* (= *athāya*), see the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, W, and E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 67.

<sup>4</sup> With *itthijhakkha* cf. *gaṇikādhyaṅksha*, 'the overseer of courtesans', in the *Kaṇṭhiya*, II, 27.

<sup>5</sup> Bühler (EI, 2. 470, n. 18) suggested that *vacha* (= *vachā* at Mānsehra) may be a Prakṛt form of *vraja*, 'a cowpen', and compared *gaṇadhyaṅksha*, 'the overseer of cows', in the *Kāmarātra*, p. 290, l. 1. Cf. also *gādhyaṅksha* in the *Kaṇṭhiya*, II, 29. For the hardening of *j* in *vacha* cf. *vachamiti* and *v[r]achayam* (from Skt. *vrajati*) at Shāhbāzgarhi, XIII, S, and VI, L.

<sup>6</sup> The Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, Z, mentions officers whose special duty it was to attend to Buddhists, Brāhmanas, Ājivikas, Nirgranthas, and other sects.

- 8 ..... लघो ..... नप्रियस इष सवेसु च ..... योनिराज  
परं च तेन चत्वारो राजानो तुरमायो च क्षीतिकिन च मगा च  
9 ..... इष राजविसयम्हि योनिकंयो ..... अपारिदेसु सवत  
देवानंप्रियस धंमानुसर्दि क्षनुवतरे (8) यत् पि दूति  
10 ..... नं धमानुसर्दि च धनं क्षनुविधियरे ..... विजयो  
सवथा पुन विजयो पीतिरसो सा (U) लथा सा पीती होति धंनवीजयम्हि  
11 ..... प्रियो (X) एताव क्षपाव क्षर्व धंमल ..... वं विजयं  
मा विजेतथं मंजा सरसके एव विजये क्षाति च  
12 ..... किखो च पारलोकिखो ..... हलोकिखा च  
पारलोकिखा च

- 1 (A) ..... *ño Kalihgā* [v. j.] ..... [v. dh]e [sa]ta-sahasra-mātram  
tatrā hataṁ bahu-tāvatakaṁ mata<sup>1</sup> (C) tatā pachhā adh[u]nā<sup>2</sup> ladhesu  
*Kalihgeesu* ti[v]o dhammavāyo  
2 ..... [sa]yo Devānaṁpriyasa [v. j.] ..... [va]dho va maraṇaṁ va  
apavāho va janasa ta<sup>3</sup> bādhaṁ vedana-mata<sup>4</sup> cha g[u]r[u]-mata<sup>4</sup> cha  
Devā[na]pi] .. [sa]  
3 ..... bāmaṇā va samaṇā va aṇe ..... [e]ā mātr[i]<sup>5</sup> pitari susuṁsā  
guru-susuṁsā<sup>6</sup> mita-samstata-sahāya-ñātika[su]<sup>7</sup> dāsa-[bha] .....  
4 ..... abhiraṭānaṁ va vinikhamaṇa (H) yesaṁ vā [p.] ..... [h]āya-  
ñātikā vyasanāṁ prāpuṇati tata<sup>8</sup> so pi tesa<sup>9</sup> [u]paghāto hāti<sup>10</sup> (I) paṭibhā[g]o  
chesā s[ava] .....  
5 ..... sti ime nikāyā aṇatra Yone[su]<sup>11</sup> ..... [mh]i yatra nāsti  
mānusānaṁ<sup>12</sup> ekataramhi pāsamaṇamhi na nāma prasa[d]o (K) y[ā]vata[k]o  
j[āno ta]d[ā]  
6 ..... sra-bhāgo va garu-mat[o] Devānaṁ ..... na ya saka<sup>13</sup>  
chhamitave (M) yā cha pi aṭaviyo D[e]vānaṁpiya[sā]<sup>14</sup> piṇṇe<sup>15</sup> pāti<sup>16</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *matam* Bühler.<sup>2</sup> *adhānā* Bühler.<sup>3</sup> *tah* Senart and Bühler.<sup>4</sup> *matam* Bühler.<sup>5</sup> *mātrā* Senart and Bühler; the horizontal stroke on the right of *t* seems to be intended for *r*.<sup>6</sup> *susuṁsā* Bühler.<sup>7</sup> Read *-samstata-*, which is Bühler's reading.<sup>8</sup> *tatā* Senart, *tatra* Bühler.<sup>9</sup> *tesaṁ* Senart and Bühler.<sup>10</sup> Read *hoti*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.<sup>11</sup> *yo nesa* Senart; Mānschri reads *Yoneshu* quite distinctly.<sup>12</sup> *mans* Bühler.<sup>13</sup> *sakan* Bühler.<sup>14</sup> Two old fissures of the rock, the first after *pi* and the second after *sa*, run on to the next line, where they divide the word *samachairam* into three parts; <sup>15</sup> *priyasa* Bühler.<sup>15</sup> Read *viṇṇe*.<sup>16</sup> Read *hoti*.

- 1 (A) ayaṃ dhaṃma-lipī **Devānaṃpriyena Priyadaśinā** r[ā]ṣā l[e]khaṇitā asti eva  
 2 saṃkhiṭṭeṇa asti majhamena asti vistatana<sup>1</sup> (B) na cha sarvaṃ [sa]rvata ghaṭitaṃ  
 3 (C) mahālake hi vijitāṃ bahu cha likhitaṃ likhāpayisaṃ cheva (D) asti cha eta kaṃ  
 4 puna puna vutaṃ tasa tasa atha<sup>2</sup> mādhurātāya kiṃti jano tatha paṭipajetha  
 5 (E) tatra ekadā asamā[ā]n likhita[ṇ] asa desaṃ va sachhāya [kā]raṇaṃ va  
 6 [a]lochetaṇā lipikāraparadhena va

## TRANSLATION

(A) These rescripts on morality have been caused to be written by **king Devānaṃ-priya Priyadarśin** either in an abridged (form), or of middle (size), or at full length.

(B) And<sup>3</sup> the whole was not suitable everywhere.

(C) For (my) dominions are wide, and much has been written, and I shall cause still (more) to be written.

(D) And some of this<sup>4</sup> has been stated again and again because of the charm of certain topics, (and)<sup>5</sup> in order that men should act accordingly.

(E) In some instances (some) of this may have been written incompletely, either on account of the locality,<sup>6</sup> or because (my) motive was not liked,<sup>7</sup> or by the fault of the writer.

## BELOW THE THIRTEENTH GIRNAR ROCK-EDICT, LEFT SIDE

- 1 ..... तेव .....  
 2 ..... पिया .....  
 1 ..... t[esha]<sup>8</sup> .....  
 2 ..... [p]i[p]a<sup>9</sup> .....

## BELOW THE THIRTEENTH GIRNAR ROCK-EDICT, RIGHT SIDE

- ..... र्वस्वेतो हस्ति सर्वलोक्सुखाहरो नाम  
 ..... rva-sveto<sup>10</sup> hasti sarva-loka-sukhāhara nāma

<sup>1</sup> Read *vistatana*.

<sup>2</sup> The syllable *sa* was inserted subsequently.

<sup>3</sup> The other versions read 'for' instead of 'and'. The Gīrnār reading would suit Senart's translation of *ghaṭitaṃ* by 'put together'.

<sup>4</sup> The other versions suggest that *eta kaṃ* must not be joined into one word, but corresponds to *atra kiṃchit*. Cf. also *ata k[i]cchi* in the Kālsī version, E.

<sup>5</sup> The particle *cha* is inserted at Dhauḷi and Jaugaḍa.

<sup>6</sup> Thus the two separate edicts were substituted at Dhauḷi and Jaugaḍa for the rock-edicts XI to XIII. Bühler considered *sachhāya* = *saṃkhyāyam*, and connected it with *kāraṇaṃ*; see ZDMG, 40. 142, and 48. 59 f. It seems more natural to take it as a gerund = *saṃkhyāya* or *saṃkhyāya*.

<sup>7</sup> Senart translates: 'perhaps that the sense has been misunderstood'. I take *locheti* = Skt. *rōchayati*; see above, p. 8, n. 3.

<sup>8</sup> This word is perhaps a portion of the well-known Buddhist formula *kētuṃ tēshāni Tathāgataḥ pravādati tēshāni cha* &c.

<sup>9</sup> Bühler (VOJ, 8. 320) suggested that this line may have contained the name of the writer. I feel tempted to conjecture *līpī[kāraṇa]*, which is the last word of the three Mysore edicts.

<sup>10</sup> Restore *sarva*.

## TRANSLATION

..... the entirely white<sup>1</sup> elephant<sup>2</sup> bringing indeed happiness to the whole world.

## II. THE KALSI ROCK

## FIRST ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

## A.—East Face of Kalsi Rock.

- 1 (A) इयं धम्मलिपि देवानंपियेना पियदस्सिना लेखिता (B) हिदा नो किच्चि जिवे  
अलभितु पजोहितविजे
- 2 (C) नो पि चा समाजे कटथिजे (D) बहुका हि दोसा समाजसा देवानंपिये  
पियदसी लाजा दखति (E) अथि पि चा एकतिया समाजा साधुमता  
देवानंपियसा पियदस्सिना लाजिने
- 3 (F) पुले महानससि देवानंपियसा पियदस्सिना लाजिने अनुद्विसं बहुनि  
पातसहसानि अलंभियसु सुपठाये (G) से इदानी यदा इयं धम्मलिपि  
लेखिता तदा तिनि येवा पानानि अलभियंति
- 4 दुवे मज्जला एके मिंगे से पि चू मिंगे नो ध्रुवे (H) एतानि पि चु तिनि पानानि  
नो अलभियसंति

- 1 (A) iyaṃ dhamma-lipi Devānaṃpiyaṇā Piyadasa[ī]nā [lekhit]ā (B) [h]idā no<sup>1</sup>  
kichhi jive alābhitu pajohitaviye
- 2 (C) no pi ch[a] samāje kaṭṭhiye (D) bahukā hi dosā samājasa Devān[am]piye  
Pi[ya]dasi lājā dakhati (E) athi pi ch[ā e]katiyā samājā<sup>2</sup> sād[h]u-matā<sup>3</sup>  
Devānaṃpiyaṇā Piyadasa[ī] lājine
- 3 (F) [p]ule mahānasasi Devānaṃpiyaṇā Piyadasa[ī] lājina[ṇ]e<sup>4</sup> anudivasāṃ bahuni  
pāta-sahasāṇi<sup>5</sup> alambhiyisu<sup>6</sup> supathāye (G) se i[d]āni ya[dā] iyaṃ dhamma-lipi  
lekhitā tadā tīni yevā pānāni alabhi[yaṃ]ti<sup>7</sup>
- 4 duve majjula[ā]<sup>8</sup> eke mige se pi [chū]<sup>9</sup> mige no dhruve<sup>10</sup> (H) e[t]āni pi ch[u]<sup>11</sup> tīni<sup>12</sup>  
pāna[n]i no alabhi[y]sa[n]ti<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *sabbasato* in Childers's *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *sabbo*.

<sup>2</sup> As stated by Kern (*Journ. Ind. Arch.*, p. 44), Senart (*Inscriptions*, vol. I, p. 323 f.), and Bühler (ZDMG, 39. 490), the Girnār rock must have borne, like the Kālsī and Dhāuli rocks, the figure of an elephant representing the Buddha. This figure was probably destroyed during the construction of a causeway for pilgrims from Junāgarh to Girnār, and along with it those adjacent portions of the fifth and thirteenth edicts which are now missing.

<sup>3</sup> *nā* Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> *sa[m]āje* Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> There is a fissure in the rock here.

<sup>6</sup> *layine* Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> *sata-* Senart, *pāna-* Bühler; read *pāna-sata*.

<sup>8</sup> *alabhi* Bühler.

<sup>9</sup> *alabhi* Senart, *alabhi* Bühler.

<sup>10</sup> *majjula* Senart, *majjula* Bühler.

<sup>11</sup> *ye* Senart, *cha* Bühler.

<sup>12</sup> *dhave* Senart, *dhave* Bühler.

<sup>13</sup> *cha* Bühler.

<sup>14</sup> *alabhi* Senart, *alabhi* Bühler.

## TRANSLATION

(A) This rescript on morality has been caused to be written by *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin*.

(B) Here no living being must be killed and sacrificed.

(C) And also no festival meeting must be held.

(D) For king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* sees much evil in festival meetings.

(E) And there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin*.

(F) Formerly in the kitchen of king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* many hundred thousands of animals were killed daily for the sake of curry.

(G) But now, when this rescript on morality is caused to be written, then only three animals are being killed (daily), (viz.) two peacocks (and) one deer, but even this deer not regularly.

(H) But even these three animals shall not be killed (in future).

## SECOND ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

4 (A) सबता विजितसि देवानंपियसा पियदसिसा लाजिने ये च अंता अथा चोडा पंडिया सातिवपुतो केललपुतो तंबपनि

5 अंतियोगे नाम योनलाजा ये चा अंने तसा अंतियोगसा सामंता लाजानो सबता देवानंपियसा पियदसिसा लाजिने दुवे चिकिसका कटा मनुसचिकिसा चा पसुचिकिसा चा (B) ओसधीनि मनुसोपगानि चा पसोपगानि चा अतता नथि

6 सबता हालापिता चा लोपापिता चा (C) एवमेवा मुलानि चा फलानि चा अतता नथि सबता हालापिता चा लोपापिता चा (D) मगेसु लुखानि लोपितानि उदुपानानि चा खानापितानि पटिभोगाये पसुमुनिसानं

4 (A) sav[a]tā vijitasi Devānāmpiyas[ā] Piyadasis[ā] lājine ye cha aṁtā [a]thā Chodā Paṇḍiā Sātiyaputo Ke[lala]puto Tambe[pa]hni

5 Aṁtiyoge [n]āma Yona-lājā ye chā aṁne tas[ā] Aṁtiyogasā sā[ma]ntā lājāno [sa]vatā Devānāmpiyasā Piyadasisā lājine duve chikisakā kaṭā manusa-chikisā chā pasu-chikisā chā (B) osadhīni<sup>1</sup> manusopagāni chā pasopagāni chā<sup>2</sup> a[ta]tā n[a]thi

6 [sa]vatā [h]ālāpitā chā lo[p]āpitā chā (C) [e]vamevā mulāni chā phalāni chā a[ta]tā<sup>3</sup> nathi savatā hālāp[ī]tā chā lopāpitā [ch]ā (D) ma[g]e[s]u [lu]khāni<sup>3</sup> lopitāni ud[u]pānā[n]i chā khānāpitāni paṭibhogāye pasu-munisānaṁ

## TRANSLATION

(A) Everywhere in the dominions of king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* and (of those) who (are his) borderers, such as the *Chōḍas*, the *Pāṇḍyas*, the *Sātiyaputa*, the

<sup>1</sup> *osadhāni* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> *cha* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> There is a fissure in the rock here.



**Kālaputa**,<sup>1</sup> Tāmraparī, the Yōna king named Antiyoga, and the other kings who are the neighbours of this Antiyoga,—everywhere two (kinds of) medical men were established by king Dēvānāhpriya Priyadarśin, (viz.) medical treatment for men and medical treatment for cattle.

(B) Wherever there were no herbs beneficial to men and beneficial to cattle, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(C) Likewise, wherever there were no roots and fruits, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(D) On the roads trees were planted, and wells were caused to be dug for the use of cattle and men.

## THIRD ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

- 6 (A) देवानंपिबे पियदसि लाजा हेवं आह  
7 (B) दुवाइसवसाभिसितेन मे हवं आनपयितो (C) सवता विजितसि मम बुता लजुके पादेसिके पंचसु पंचसु वसेसु अनुसंयानं निखमंतु एतावे वा अठाये इमाव धमनुसविवा यवा अंतावे पि अंतावे (D) साधु  
8 मातपितिसु सुसुसा मितसंभुतनामिक्खानं वा यंभनसमनानं वा साधु दाने यानानं अनालंभे साधु अपविवाता अपभंडता साधु (E) पल्लिसा पि च बुतानि गननसि अनपयिसंति हेतुवता वा विअंअंते वा

- 6 (A) De[vā]nampīye Piyadasi lāja h[ē]vaṃ āh  
7 (B) du[v]aḍḍasa-v[a]sābhīsitaṇa me iyaṃ ānapayite (C) savatā vijitasi [mama] yutā laj[ū]k[e] pādesike pa[m]c[ā]cha[s]u pañchasu vasesu [a]nusa[m]jyānaṃ<sup>2</sup> nikham[am]tu etāye vā a[th]āye imāya<sup>3</sup> dhammanusathiyā yathā am[nā]ye[pi] kammāye (D) sādhu  
8 mātā-pitisu sususā mita-samhuta-nātikyān[am] chā bambhana-sama[nā]nam [chā] sādhu d[ā]ne pānānam anālambh[e] sādhu [a]pa-v[i]yātā<sup>4</sup> [a]pa-[bha]n[da]t[ā] sādhu (E) palisā pi cha yutāni [ga]ṇanasi anap[a]yisanti betuvatā chā viyañjanat[e] chā<sup>5</sup>

## TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāhpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) (When I had been) anointed twelve years, the following was ordered by me.

(C) Everywhere in my dominions the *Yuktas*, the *Lajukas*, (and) the *Prādetika* shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years for this very purpose, (viz.) for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business.

<sup>1</sup> As the Kāsi dialect replaces *r* by *l*, this form is the correct equivalent of *Kālaputra* at Mīnschūrā.

<sup>2</sup> *lajuki* Senart, *lajuka* Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> *anusāyānaṃ* Senart, *anus[a]yānaṃ* Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> *achāye* *imāy[e]* Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> The other versions read '*yutā* or '*yutā*. There is a fissure in the rock here.

<sup>6</sup> *cha* Senart and Bühler.

(D) 'Meritorious is obedience to mother and father. Liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, and to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas is meritorious. Abstinence from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious.'

(E) And the councils (of *Mahāmātrās*) also shall order the *Yuktas*<sup>1</sup> to register (these rules) both with (the addition of) reasons<sup>2</sup> and according to the letter.

#### FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSĪ

- 9 (A) अतिशतं अंतलं बहुनि वससतानि वधिते वा पानालंभे विहिंसा वा भुतानं नातिना असंपटिपति समनबंधनानं असंपटिपति (B) से अजा देवानंपियसा पियदसिने लाजिने धंमचलनेमा भेलिघोसे अहो धंमघोसे विमनदसना
- 10 हविनि अगिकंधानि अमानि वा दिव्यानि लुपानि दसवितु जनस (C) आदिसा बहुहि वससतेहि ना हुतपुलुवे तादिसे अजा वधिते देवानंपियसा पियदसिने लाजिने धंमनुसथिये अनालंभे पानानं अवहिंसा भुतानं नातिनं
- 11 संपटिपति बंधनसमनानं संपटिपति मातापित्तसु सुसुता (D) एसे वा अने वा बहुविधे धंमचलने वधिते (E) वधियिसति चेवा देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज इमं धंमचलनं (F) पुता च कं नताले वा पनातिक्या वा देवानंपियसा पियदसिने लाजिने
- 12 पवदयिसंति चेव धंमचलनं इमं आवकयं धंसि सीलसि वा चित्ठितु धंमं अनुसासिसंति (G) एसे हि सेठे कंमं अं धंमानुसासनं (H) धंमचलने पि वा नो होति असिलसा (I) से इमसा अयसा वधि अहिनि वा साधु (J) एताये अथाये इयं लिखिते
- 13 इमसा अयसा वधि युजंतु हिनि च मा अलोचयिसु (K) दुवाहसवयाभिसिनेना देवानंपियेना पियदशिना लाजिना लेखिता

- 9 (A) atika[r̥]taṁ a[r̥]ta[la]ṁ bahuni vasa-satāni v[ad]h[ita]cā vā pā[nā]lambhe vi[h]iṣā chā bhūtānaṁ nātina<sup>3</sup> asan[pa]tip[a]ti samana-b[āh]bhanānaṁ asampatiṇṇati (B) s[c] ajā Devānaṁpiyaśa Piyadasine lājine dhamm[a]-cha[an]enā bhehi-ghose aho dhamma-ghose vimana-dasa[nā]
- 10 [ha]thini agi-kandh[ā]ni amāni chā<sup>4</sup> divyāni lupāni dasayitu jana[sa] (C) [ā]disā<sup>5</sup> ba[h]u[hi] v[asa]-[sa]tehi nā huta-puluve tādisa ajā vadhite Devānaṁpiyaśa Piyadasine [lāj]ine dhammanusathiye a[n]lambhe pānānaṁ avhiṣā bhūtānaṁ nātinaṁ<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 993 ff.) has been the first to remark that in the eastern dialect the accusative plural of masculines ends in -āni. Cf. *yutāni* in E with *yutā* in C, and *Kaligyaṇi* in XIII, D, with *Kaligyā* in A; also XII, A, and *pulidāni* in the pillar-edict IV, G.

<sup>2</sup> Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 108) explained *hetuvā* by *hetumatā vākyena*, i.e. 'by a syllogism'. The other versions read *hetu* or *hetu*.

<sup>3</sup> *nātinaṁ* Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> There is a fissure in the rock here.

<sup>5</sup> *adisā* Senart, *adis[ā]* Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> *nātinaṁ* Senart, *nāt[ā]* Bühler.

- 11 *sam̐apāṭipati bambha[na-sa]manānam sam̐apāṭipati māt̐-pitisu sususā (D) ese<sup>1</sup> chā amne chā ba[h]uvīdhe dhamma-chalane vadh[i]te (E) vadhiyisati chevā Devānāmpriya<sup>2</sup> Priyadarśi<sup>3</sup> lāja<sup>4</sup> ima[r̥h] dha[r̥h]ma-chalanam (F) putā cha kam natāle chā panātikyā ch[ā] Devānāmpriyā<sup>5</sup> Priyadasine lājine*
- 12 [pa]v[a]dhayisaṁt[i ch]ev[a] dhamma-chalanam i[ma]m<sup>6</sup> āva-kapa[r̥h] dhammasi a[i]jasi<sup>7</sup> chā chīthi[u] dhammam anusāsisaṁti (G) ese hi seṭṭhe kaṁm[am] am dhammānussāsanam (H) dhamma-chalane pi chā no hoti asilasā (I) se im[a]s[ā] a]khasā v[a]dhi ahini chā sādhu (J) etāye [a]kḥāye iyaṁ likhite
- 13 imas[ā] a[tha]s[ā] vadhi yujamtu hini ch[ā] mā alochayisu (K) duv[ā]das[ā]-vad[ā]bhisattē<sup>8</sup> Dev[ā]nāmpriya[ś] Priyadarśinā lājina<sup>9</sup> lekhitā<sup>10</sup>

## TRANSLATION

(A) In times past, for many hundreds of years, there had ever been promoted the killing of animals and the hurting of living beings, discourtesy to relatives, (and) discourtesy to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas.

(B) But now, in consequence of the practice of morality on the part of **king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin**, the sound of drums has become the sound of morality, showing the people representations of aerial chariots, elephants, masses of fire, and other divine figures.

(C) Such as they had not existed before for many hundreds of years, thus there are now promoted, through the instruction in morality on the part of **king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin**, abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, (and) obedience to mother and father.

(D) Both in this and in many other ways is the practice of morality promoted.

(E) And **king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin** will ever promote this practice of morality.

(F) And the sons,<sup>1</sup> grandsons, and great-grandsons of **king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin** will ever promote this practice of morality until the æon (of destruction of the world), (and) will instruct (people) in morality, abiding by morality and by good conduct.

(G) For this is the best work, viz. instruction in morality.

(H) And the practice of morality also is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct.

(I) Therefore promotion and not neglect of this object is meritorious.

(J) For the following purpose has this been written, (viz. in order that) they should devote themselves to the promotion of this practice, and that they should not approve<sup>7</sup> the neglect (of it).

(K) (This rescript) was caused to be written by **king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin** (when he had been) **anointed twelve years**.

<sup>1</sup> *esha* Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> *lāja* Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> There is a fissure in the rock here.

<sup>4</sup> *silas* Senart, *silasi* Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> *lekhitam* Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> The two syllables *cha kam* seem to have the same meaning as the simple *cha*. They occur twice again at Kālsī (XI, E, and XIII, Z), once at Shāhbāzgarhi (IV, F), three times at Mānsehrā, and once at Brahmagiri (I. 11). Cf. *kam* after *nā, śā, śā* in the *Rigveda*.

<sup>7</sup> See above, p. 8, n. 3. Here, and in three other versions, the augment *a-* is retained after the particle *na*, while Shāhbāzgarhi has *la(chā)śā* in accordance with Sanskrit grammar.

## FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

- 13 (A) देवान्पिये पियदसि लाजा अहा (B) कयाने दुकले। (C) ए आदिकले कयानसा से दुकलं कलेति (D) से ममया बहु कयाने कटे (E) ता ममा पुता चा नताले चा
- 14 पलं चा तेहि ये अपतिवे मे आबकपं तथा अनुवटिसति से सुकटं कळति (F) ए चु हेता देसं पि हापयिसति से दुकटं कळति (G) पाये हि नामा सुपदालवे (H) से अतिवत्तं अंतलं नो हुतपुलुव धम्महामता नामा (I) तेदस-वसानिसितेना ममया धम्महामता कटा (J) ते सबपासडि सु वियापटा
- 15 धंमाधिधानाये चा धंमवदिया हिदसुखाये चा धंमयुतसा योनकंबोजगंधालानं ए चा पि अने अपलंता (K) भटमयेसु वंभनिभेसु अनचेसु वुपेसु हिदसुखाये धंमयुताये अपलिबोधाये वियापटा ते (L) वंधनवपसा पटिविधानाये अपलिबोधाये मोखाये चा एवं अनुवधा पजाव ति वा
- 16 कटाभिकाले ति वा महालके ति वा वियापटा ते (M) हिदा बाहिलेसु चा नगलेसु सवेसु ओलोपनेसु भातिनं च ने भगिनिना ए चा पि अने नातिप्पे सवता वियापटा (N) ए इयं धंमनिसि ते ति वा दानसुयुते ति वा सवता विजितंति ममा धंमयुतसि वियापटा ते धम्महामता (O) एताये अटाये
- 17 इयं धंमलिपि लेखिता चित्थितिकया होतु तथा च ने पजा अनुवतु
- 18 (A) Devānaṃpiya Piyadasi lājā ahā (B) kayāne dukale,<sup>1</sup> (C) e ādikale kay[ā]nasā se dukalaṃ kaleti (D) se mamayā bahu kayāne ka[e] (E) t[ā] ma[m]a[ā] putā ch[ā] nat[ā]le chā
- 14 palam[ā] tēhi [ye] apatiye [m]e āva-kapaṃ tathā anuvaṭṭisa[r]ti s[e] s[u]kkaṭam kachchari[r]ti (F) e chu het[ā] desam pi hāpa[y]j[sat]i<sup>2</sup> s[e] dukaṭam kachhati (G) p[ā]pe hi nāmā<sup>3</sup> supadālaye (H) se atikaṃṭam aṇṭalaṃ no huta-puluva<sup>4</sup> dham[ma]-mahāmata<sup>5</sup> nāmā<sup>6</sup> (I) t[ā]ssa-vasābh[ī]ttenā<sup>7</sup> mamayā dhamma-mahāmāt[ā] ka[t]tā (J) [te] sav[a]-pāsaṃ[de]su viyā[pa]ṭā
- 15 dham[n]ādhithānāye ch[ā] dhamma-vaḍḍhiyā hi[da]-sukhāye vā<sup>8</sup> dhamm[a]-yutta[sā] Yona-Kambh[o]ja-Gandhālānaṃ e vā [pi] aṇṇe apalaṃtā (K) bhāṭamāyesu baṃbhanibhesu anāthesu [v]udhesu hida-sukhāye dhamma-yuttāye apalibodhāye viyapaṭā<sup>9</sup> te (L) baṃdha[na-badha]sā paṭividdhānāy[e] apalibodhāye mokk[ā]ye chā eyaṃ anubaddhā<sup>10</sup> pajāva ti v[ā]
- 16 [kaṭṭabhikā]le ti vā m[a]h[ā]la[ka]ke ti v[ā] viy[ā]paṭā te (M) hida[ā] bā[h]ilesu chā naga[l]lesu s[a]vesu olodha[n]esu bhā[tina]ṃ cha ne bh[ā]g[i]nā[nā] e vā [pi] aṇṇ[e] nātikye savatā viyā[pa]ṭā (N) e iyaṃ dhamma-nisāte ti vā dāna-suyute<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Senart and Bühler omit this sign, which marks the end of the section.<sup>2</sup> mama Bühler.<sup>3</sup> sāmāsi Bühler.<sup>4</sup> nāma Senart and Bühler.<sup>5</sup> -pūlavā Senart and Bühler.<sup>6</sup> -mahāmātā Senart and Bühler.<sup>7</sup> nāma Bühler.<sup>8</sup> vi Senart, chā Bühler.<sup>9</sup> viyāpaṭā Bühler.<sup>10</sup> anubaddha Senart, anubaddham Bühler.<sup>11</sup> -suyute Senart, -samyutta Bühler.

- ti [v]ā sav[a]tā v[i]litas[i] mamā [dha]hṃma-yutasi viyāpaṣi te dhaṃma-  
m[a]hām[a]tā<sup>1</sup> (O) etāye athāye  
17 [i]yaṃ dhaṃma-lipi lekhitā cī[ḥ]la<sup>2</sup>-thitūkyā hotu [tathā] cha me [pa]jā [a]nuva[ta]tu<sup>3</sup>

## TRANSLATION

- (A) King Dēvaṇāśipriya Priyadarsin speaks (thus).  
(B) It is difficult to perform virtuous deeds.  
(C) He who starts performing virtuous deeds accomplishes something difficult.  
(D) Now, by me many virtuous deeds have been performed.  
(E) Therefore (among) my sons and grandsons, and (among) my descendants (who shall come) after them until the æon (of destruction of the world), those who will conform to this (duty) will perform good deeds.  
(F) But he who will neglect even a portion of this (duty) will perform evil deeds.  
(G) For sin indeed steps fast.<sup>4</sup>  
(H) Now, in times past (officers) called *Mahāmātras* of morality did not exist before.  
(I) *Mahāmātras* of morality were appointed by me (when I had been) anointed thirteen years.  
(J) These are occupied with all sects in establishing morality, in promoting morality, and for the welfare and happiness<sup>5</sup> of those who are devoted to morality (even) among the Yōnas, Kambōjas, and Gandhāras,<sup>6</sup> and whatever other western borderers (of mine there are).  
(K) They are occupied with servants and masters, with Brāhmaṇas and Ibhyas,<sup>7</sup> with the destitute, (and) with the aged, for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality,<sup>8</sup> (and) in releasing (them) from the fetters (of worldly life).<sup>9</sup>  
(L) They are occupied in supporting prisoners (with money), in causing (their) fetters to be taken off, and in setting (them) free, if one has children, or is bewitched, or aged, respectively.<sup>10</sup>  
(M) They are occupied everywhere, here<sup>11</sup> and in all the outlying towns, in the harems<sup>12</sup> of our brothers, of (our) sisters, and (of) whatever other relatives (of ours there are).

<sup>1</sup> \*māh Senart and Bühler.<sup>2</sup> anuvataṃti Senart and Bühler.<sup>3</sup> Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 267) explained *supaddhaye* (for which Mānsehrā reads *supadarave*) by *supaddhāyam*. Gīrār and Shāhbāzgarhi read instead of it *sukarāṇi*, 'easily committed'. Perhaps *supaddhaye* is formed from *pada*, 'a step', as *mahāloka* (I. 16) = Prākṛit *mahāloka* from *mahat*.<sup>4</sup> Here and in K the Dhauī version reads *hita-* instead of *hita-*.<sup>5</sup> Here the remaining versions insert the names of two other tribes.<sup>6</sup> I.e. Vāśyas; see Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 269. The readings of the Dhauī and Mānsehrā versions, *ibhya* and *ibhya*, show that *ibha* at Kāśī and Shāhbāzgarhi is meant for *ibhya*. The same follows from the *Yātaka*, No. 544, where, as noted by Bühler (VOJ, 12. 76), the compound *brāhmaṇ-ibhya* occurs several times.<sup>7</sup> The reading *dhaṃma-yutāye* seems to be a mere corruption of that of the Gīrār version, *dhaṃma-yutānāḥ*.<sup>8</sup> According to Childers's *Pāli Dictionary*, *palibodha* means 'obstacle, hindrance, drawback, impediment'. Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 841) has shown that its original meaning was 'fetters, to be fettered'. As its equivalent at Gīrār (*parigodha*), the word seems to be used here in a metaphorical sense, while it has its original meaning in the next section.<sup>9</sup> Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 269) took *ayam anubadhā* = Skt. *ītam anubandham* in the sense of *ītam-artham*. But *ayam* may stand for *a ayam* (cf. *a iyam* in section N = *yo ayam* at Gīrār), and *anubadhā* for the ablative *anubandhāt*, 'in succession, respectively'.<sup>10</sup> Instead of 'here' the Gīrār version reads 'both in Pāṭaliputra'.<sup>11</sup> The Dhauī version inserts 'of myself'.

(N) These *Mahāmātras* of morality are occupied everywhere in my dominions<sup>1</sup> with those who are devoted to morality, (in order to ascertain) whether one is eager for morality<sup>2</sup> or properly devoted to charity.<sup>3</sup>

(O) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been caused to be written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my descendants<sup>4</sup> may conform to it.

## SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

- 17 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (B) अतिक्कं अंतलं नो हुतपुलुवे  
सवं कलं अटक्के वा पटिवेदना वा (C) से ममवा हेवं कटे (D) सवं कलं  
अदमानसा मे
- 18 अलोचनसि गम्यालसि वचसि विनितसि उयानसि सवता पटिवेदका अट  
जनसा . . . वेदु मे (E) सवता चा जनसा अट कळामि हकं (F) यं पि  
चा किळि मुखे आनपयामि हकं दापकं वा सावकं वा ये वा पुना  
महामतेहि
- 19 अतिपायिके आलोपिते होति तायेठाये विवादे निरुति वा संतं पलिसाये  
अनंतलियेना पटि . . . . . विवे मे सवता सवं कलं (G) हेवं आनपयिते  
ममवा (H) नथि हि मे दोसे उदानसा अटसंतिलनाये चा (I) कटवियमुते  
हि मे सवलोकहिते (J) तसा चा पुना एसे मुले उदाने
- 20 अटसंतिलना चा (K) नथि हि कमतला सवलोकहितेना (L) यं च किळि  
पलकमामि हकं किति भुतानं अननिबं येई हिद च कानि सुखायामि पलत  
चा स्वगं आलापयितु (M) से एतायेठाये इयं धमलपि लेखिता चिल-  
ठितिक्या होतु तथा च मे पुतदाले पलकमातु सवलोकहिताये
- 21 (N) दुक्कले चु इयं अनता अगेना पलकमेना
- 17 (A) Dev[ā]nāmpī[y]o Piyadas[i] lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) atikkarṇaṃ antalaṃ no  
huta-puluv[e] sav[a]m kalam<sup>5</sup> apha-k[am]me v[ā] paṭi[vedana]vā vā (C) s[e]  
ma[m]yā hevaṃ kaṭe (D) s[av]aṃ kalam adamāsa[sā]<sup>6</sup> me
- 18 olodhanasi gabhāgālas[i] va[chas] vin[ita]si u[y]ānasi savaṭa p[ati]ve[da]ka aṭ  
janasā . . . vedetu<sup>7</sup> [m]e (E) sa[v]aṭa ch[ā]<sup>8</sup> ja[nas]ā aṭham kachhāmi hakaṃ  
(F) yaṃ pi ch[ā] k[ḥhi] m[u]kha[m]e ānapaya[m]ni [ha]kaṃ dā[pakaṃ] v[ā]  
sāvakaṃ vā ye vā punā mahāmat[ehi]<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Dhauī version reads 'on the whole earth'.

<sup>2</sup> Other versions insert 'or established in morality'.

<sup>3</sup> In the translation of this sentence I differ from Bühler and follow on the whole Senart. Instead of *dāna-suyute* the Mānśrā version reads *dāna-saṃyute*, which might mean 'furnished with gifts'. The distribution of gifts was one of the duties of the *Dharma-Mahāmātras*; see the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, CC and DD. <sup>4</sup> See Lüders in SPAW, 1914, 841 f.

<sup>5</sup> *kalam* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> Restore *paṭivēdanta*, which is Bühler's reading.

<sup>7</sup> Senart and Bühler omit *chā*.

<sup>8</sup> *adam[sā]nasā* Bühler.

<sup>9</sup> *mātski* Bühler.

- 19 a[tiyāyike ślopite<sup>1</sup> h]o[ti] tā[yeth]ā[ye] vivāde n[ī]hāti v[ā] saṁtāṁ palā[ā]ye  
anath[ta][i]yenā paṭ[i] . . . . . viye<sup>2</sup> me sav[a]d[ā] savāṁ kālaṁ (G) hevaṁ  
ānapayite m[a]naya<sup>3</sup> (H) nathi hi me dose<sup>4</sup> uṭhān[a]sā aṭha-saṁti[ā]nāye chā  
(I) kaṭ[a]viya-mute hi me s[a]va-loka-hi[te] (J) t[ā]sā chā<sup>5</sup> [p]u[n]ā es[e] mule  
uṭh[āne]
- 20 [a]ṭha-saṁtilanā chā (K) [na]thi hi kaṁ[ma]talā sava-lo[ka]-hitenā (L) yaṁ cha  
kicchhi<sup>6</sup> palakamāmi hakaṁ kiti bhutānaṁ [a]naniyaṁ ye[ha]ṁ hi[da] cha [kā]ni  
sukhāyāmi palata chā svagaṁ ālādhayitu<sup>7</sup> (M) s[e] etā[y]eṭhāye iyaṁ dhama-lipi  
lekhitā chila-ṭhikiyā hotu tathā cha me puta-dāle palakamātu sava-loka-hitā[ye]
- 21 (N) dukale ch[u]ṭ<sup>8</sup> iyaṁ anat[ā]<sup>9</sup> agenā palakam[e]nā

## TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānampriya Priyadartīn speaks thus.

(B) In times past neither the disposal of affairs nor the submission of reports at any time did exist before.

(C) But I have made the following (arrangement).

(D) Reporters have to report to me the affairs of the people at any time (and) anywhere, while I am eating, in the harem, in the inner apartment, at the cowpen, in the palanquin, (and) in the park.

(E) And everywhere I shall dispose of the affairs of the people.

(F) And also, if in the council (of *Mahāmātras*) a dispute arises,<sup>9</sup> or an amendment is moved, in connexion with any donation or proclamation which I am ordering verbally, or (in connexion with) an emergent matter which has been delegated to the *Mahāmātras*, it must be reported to me immediately, anywhere, (and) at any time.

(G) Thus I have ordered.

(H) For I am never content in exerting myself and in dispatching business.

(I) For I consider it my duty<sup>10</sup> (to promote) the welfare of all men.

(J) But the root of that (is) this, (viz.) exertion and the dispatch of business.

(K) For no duty is more important than (promoting) the welfare of all men.<sup>11</sup>

(L) And whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that I may discharge the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them<sup>12</sup> happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).

<sup>1</sup> *pitam* Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> Restore *paṭivedetaviye*.

<sup>3</sup> *Jauḍa* reads *torā*; Bühler adds *va*.

<sup>4</sup> Bühler omits *chā*.

<sup>5</sup> *kichi* Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> Read *ālādhayaṁtu*.

<sup>7</sup> *cha* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>8</sup> *anmata* Senart, *anata* Bühler.

<sup>9</sup> The form *saṁtāṁ* corresponds to *saṁto* at Gīrnār, and must be a nominative singular, just as in the Kālsī edict VIII, C, and as *kaṁtāṁ* in XII, H; see also *kaṁ[nita]*, XI, E, and *kalata*, XII, F and G, and cf. my note on the translation of the Dhauḷi separate edict I, X.

<sup>10</sup> *mata* for *meta* occurs also in the Kālsī edict XIII, E (*vedaniya-muta gulu-muta chā*). The change of *s* to *m* is due to the preceding labial, as in *uchāvacha* (Kālsī, VII, C, and IX, B) for *uchāvacha* (Gīrnār).

<sup>11</sup> For the use of the instrumental with the comparative see above, p. 17, n. 9.

<sup>12</sup> As *kāni* corresponds to *nāni* at Gīrnār, and to *śā* or *śā* in the two Kharoṣṭhī versions, it seems to be used as a demonstrative. The same meaning fits in the pillar-edict IV, H and M; V, C; VI, C; and VII, H. The singular *kaṁ* occurs in the *Jauḍa* separate edict I, C, and II, C.

(M) Now, for the following purpose has this rescript on morality been caused to be written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my sons and wives<sup>1</sup> may display the same zeal for the welfare of all men.

(N) But it is difficult to accomplish this without great zeal.

#### SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

- 21 (A) देवानंपिये पिवदसि लाजा सवता इहति सवपासंड वसेवु (B) सवे हि ते सयमं भावसुधि चा इहंति (C) जने च उचावुचाहंदि उचावुचलाने (D) ते सवं एहंसें पि ऋहंति (E) विपुले पि च दाने असा नधि
- 22 सवने भावसुधि क्तिनाता दिहभतिता चा निचे वाढं
- 21 (A) Devānāmpīye Piyadaśi lājā [savat]ā [i]chhati sava-[pāsa]hṇḍa vasa[e]vu (B) [sa]ve hi te sayama[ṇ] bhāva-sudhi chā ichhamti (C) jane [ch]ju uchāvucha chh[a]hṇḍe uchāvucha-lā[g]e (D) te savan eka-des[a]ṇ pi k[a]chharh[t]i (E) vipule pi chu dān[e]<sup>2</sup> asā nathi
- 22 sayame bhā[va]-sudh[i] kīṇatā dīḍha-bhatitā chā nī[che] bāḍham

#### TRANSLATION

- (A) King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin desires (that) all sects may reside everywhere.  
 (B) For all these desire self-control and purity of mind.  
 (C) But men possess various desires (and) various passions.  
 (D) They will fulfil (either) the whole (or) only a portion (of their duties).  
 (E) But even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control, purity of mind, gratitude, and firm devotion, is very mean.

#### EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

- 22 (A) अतिकंतं अंतलं देवानंपिया विहालयानं नाम निखमिसु (B) हिदा मिगविया अंनानि चा हेडिसाना अभिलामानि हुसु (C) देवानंपिये पिवदसि लाजा दसवसाभिसिते संतं निखमिचा संबोधि
- 23 (D) देवसा धंनयाता (E) होता इवं होति समनवंभानं दसने चा दाने च वुपानं दसने च हिलनपदिविधाने चा जानपदसा जनसा दसने धंमसुसधि चा धम-पल्लुपुका चा ततोपया (F) एसे भुवे लाति होति देवानंपियसा पिवदसि लाजिने भागे अने
- 22 (A) atikantam aṇṇ[ta]lam Devānāmpiyā [vihāla-yātān nāma] nikhamisu (B) hida migaviyā aṇṇāni chā heḍisānā<sup>3</sup> abhilāmaṇ[i] husu (C) Devānāmpīye Piyadaśi lājā daś[a]-vasābhīsito santān nikhamithā<sup>4</sup> sambodhi
- 23 (D) tenatā dhamma-yātā (E) [h]etā iyaṇ hoti samana-bambhānānaṇ dasane chā

<sup>1</sup> The other versions render it probable that -*daśi* is a clerical mistake for -*matā*, 'grandsons'

<sup>2</sup> *dān[am]* Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> Read '*matā*.'

<sup>4</sup> Read '*asā*', which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> '*mipā*' Senart and Bühler.



dāne cha vudh[ā]nam dasa[n]e ch[ā] hilaṁna-paṭi[v]idhāne chā [jā]napadasā  
[jā]n[a]sā dasa[n]e dhaṁmanusathi chā dhama-palipucchā chā<sup>1</sup> tatopa[ya]  
(F) [e]ce bh[u]ye lāti<sup>2</sup> hoti Devānāṣṭriyāsā Priyadas[i]sā lājine bh[ā]g[e] anne

## TRANSLATION

- (A) In times past the *Devānāṣṭriyas*<sup>3</sup> used to set out on so-called pleasure-tours.  
(B) On these (tours) hunting and other such pleasures were (enjoyed).  
(C) When king Devānāṣṭriya Priyadarśin had been anointed ten years,<sup>4</sup> he went out to Sazhbōdhi.  
(D) Therefore tours of morality (were undertaken) here.<sup>5</sup>  
(E) On these (tours) the following takes place, (viz.) visiting Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas and making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality, as suitable for this (occasion).  
(F) This second period (of the reign) of king Devānāṣṭriya Priyadarśin becomes a pleasure in a higher degree.

## NINTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

- 24 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा आहा (B) बने उचावुचं मंगलं कलेति आवापसि  
आवाहसि विवाहसि पजोपदाने पवाससि एताये अन्याये वा एदिसाये बने  
बहु मंगलं कलेति (C) हेतु च अक्कजनिवो बहु वा बहुविधं वा खुदा वा  
निलयिवा वा मंगलं कलंति  
25 (D) से कटवि चेव सो मंगले (E) अपफले च सो एसे (F) इयं च सो महाफले  
ये धंममंगले (G) हेता इयं दासभट्ठकसि सम्भापट्ठपति गुलुना अपचिति  
पानानं संबने समनकंभनानं दाने एसे अने वा हेदिसे । धंममंगले नामा  
(H) से वत्तविचे पितिना पि पुत्तेन पि भातिना पि सुवामिकेन पि मित्त-  
संयुतेना अक्क पटिवेसियेना पि  
26 इयं साधु इयं कटविये मंगले आव तसा अक्कसा निवुत्तिवा इमं कळामि ति  
(I) ए हि इतले मंगले संसविये से (J) सिया च तं अठं निचटेया सिया पुना  
नो (K) हिदलोक्खिये चेव से (L) इयं पुना धंममंगले अक्कालिये (M) इंचे  
पि तं अठं नो निटेति हिद अठं पल्लत अनंतं पुना पवसति (N) इंचे पुन तं  
अठं निचतेति हिद ततो उभयेसं  
27 लथे होति हिद वा से अठे पल्लत वा अनंतं पुना पवसति तेना धंममंगलेना

<sup>1</sup> *cha* Bühler.<sup>2</sup> Read *lāti*.<sup>3</sup> Instead of this title of Aśoka's predecessors the Gīrnār and Dhauḷi versions have the word 'kings'.<sup>4</sup> For the form *saṁvatsak* see above, p. 35, n. 9.<sup>5</sup> viz. 'in my territory'; cf. above, p. 3, n. 3. The Gīrnār version reads *amass*, but Shāh-bāghatī and Mānsehrā read *amada*, which seems to stand for *amatra*. Therefore Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 496) was probably right in explaining *amass* at Kāśī and Dhauḷi by *ama aśi*.

- 24 (A) Devānāmpīye Piy[ā]da[s]i lā[jā] āhā (B) jan[ē] uch[ā]v[ū]chaṃ maṃgalaṃ ka[ḥ]eti āśādhasi av[ā]ha[si] vivāhasi pajopadāne<sup>1</sup> pavāsasi e[tā]ye amnāye chā edisāye jane bahu magala[m] k[a]ḥ[et]i (C) heta [ch]ju abaka-jan[ī]yo bahu chā bahuvīdhaṃ chā khudā [ch]ā nilathiyā<sup>2</sup> chā magalaṃ ka[ḥ]ānti
- 25 (D) se kaṭavi<sup>3</sup> cheva kho maṃgale (E) apa-phale [ch]u<sup>4</sup> kho [e]s[e] (F) [i]yaṃ chu kho mah[ā]-ph[a]lle ye dhamma-magale (G) he[tā] iyaṃ dāsa-bhāṭakasi s[a]myā-paṭip[a]ṭi<sup>5</sup> gulunā apachiti [p]ā[n]ān[am] samyame<sup>6</sup> s[a]man[a]-bambhanānaṃ dāne ese amne chā heḍise<sup>7</sup> dhamma-magale nāmā (H) se vata[v]ye pitinā pi putena pi bh[ā]tinā pi suvāmiken[a]<sup>8</sup> pi mita-samthuten[ā] ava<sup>9</sup> paṭivesiyenā [p]i
- 26 iyaṃ sādhu iyaṃ kaṭaviye [ma]g[a]lle āva [ta]sā athasā ni[v]utiya<sup>10</sup> imarā kachhāmi ti<sup>11</sup> (I) e hi i[tā]le<sup>12</sup> magale sa[m]sayikyē se<sup>13</sup> (J) siyā va taṃ aṭhaṃ nivatēy[ā] siyā punā no (K) hi[da]llokike chev[a] se<sup>14</sup> (L) iyaṃ punā dhamma-magale akāliky[e] (M) haṃche pi taṃ aṭhaṃ<sup>15</sup> no nīṭeti<sup>16</sup> hida aṭhaṃ<sup>17</sup> palata anaṃtaṃ punā pavasati<sup>18</sup> (N) haṃche punā<sup>19</sup> taṃ aṭhaṃ nivateti hida<sup>20</sup> tato ubhaye[sā]rā
- 27 ladhe hoti hida chā se aṭhe palata<sup>21</sup> chā anaṃtaṃ punā<sup>22</sup> pasavati tenā dhamma-magalen[a]

## TRANSLATION

(A) King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks (thus).

(B) Men are practising various ceremonies during illness, at the marriage of a son or a daughter, at the birth of a child,<sup>23</sup> (and) when setting out on a journey; on these and other such (occasions) men are practising many ceremonies.

(C) But in such (cases) mothers and wives<sup>24</sup> are practising many and various vulgar and useless ceremonies.

(D) Now, ceremonies should certainly be practised.

(E) But these (ceremonies) bear little fruit indeed.

(F) But the following bears much fruit indeed, viz. the practice of morality.

(G) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas; these and other such (virtues) are called the practice of morality.

(H) Therefore a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, (or) a friend or an acquaintance, or even a (mere) neighbour ought to say:— This is meritorious. This

<sup>1</sup> This word cannot be correct, because in the Kāśī dialect the locative of *upadāna* would end in *-asi*. Read therefore (with Dhauḥ and Jaugāḍa) *\*dāye*, which is the actual reading of Senart and Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> *nilathiyā* Senart, *nilathiyā* Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> Read *kaṭaviye*, <sup>4</sup> *vu* Bühler. <sup>5</sup> *paṭipāṭi* Bühler. <sup>6</sup> *samyame* Senart, *sayame* Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> Instead of this mark of punctuation Senart and Bühler read *tan*.

<sup>8</sup> *kaḥ[et]i* Bühler.

<sup>9</sup> *ava* Bühler.

<sup>10</sup> *ka[ḥ]āmi* Bühler.

<sup>11</sup> *ivale* Bühler.

<sup>12</sup> Bühler adds *[hoti]*.

<sup>13</sup> *cha vasa* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>14</sup> *athaṃ* Bühler.

<sup>15</sup> Read, as at Mānsehrā, *nivateti*.

<sup>16</sup> Read (with Shāhbāzgarh) *atha*.

<sup>17</sup> Read *puṃnaṃ pasavati*.

<sup>18</sup> *sukā* Senart, *punā* Bühler.

<sup>19</sup> *hida* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>20</sup> *ta* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>21</sup> Read *puṃnaṃ*, which is Bühler's reading.

<sup>22</sup> Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 43 f.) derived the locative *upadāye* from a supposed Skt. feminine *\*utpad*. Shāhbāzgarh reads *upadane*, which either corresponds to Skt. *upadāni*, or is a mistake for the Mānsehrā reading, *upadaye*.

<sup>23</sup> Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 433) proposed translating 'nurses and mothers'. Cf. *ambika-mādukhin* in the *Mṛichhakaṭika*, act VIII, verse 19.

practice should be observed until the (desired) object is attained, (thinking): 'I shall observe this'.

(I) For other<sup>1</sup> ceremonies are of doubtful (effect).

(J) One may attain his object (by them), but he may not (do so).

(K) And they (bear fruit) in this world only.

(L) But that practice of morality is not restricted to time.

(M) Even if one does not attain (by it) his object in this (world), then endless merit is produced in the other (world).<sup>2</sup>

(N) But if one attains (by it) his object in this (world), the gain<sup>4</sup> of both (results) arises from it; (viz.) the (desired) object (is attained) in this (world), and endless merit is produced in the other (world) by that practice of morality.

## TENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSİ

27 (A) देवानंपिये पियदवा लजा यवो वा किति वा नो मह्यावा मनति अनता  
वं पि यतो वा किति वा इहति तदवावे अयतिये वा जने धम्मसुवा सुमुवातु  
मे ति धम्मवतं वा अनुविधियंतु ति (B) धतकावे देवानंपिये पियदधि

28 लाजा यवो वा किति वा इह (C) अं वा किह्मि लकमति देवानंपिये पियदधि  
लजा त धव पालंतिकावे वा किति सकले अपपलाशवे विवति ति  
(D) एवे चु पलिसवे ए अपुने (E) दुकले चु खो एवे खुदकेन वा वगेना उषुटेन  
वा अनत अगेना पलकमेना ववं पलितिटितु (F) हेत चु खो

29 उषटेन वा दुकले

27 (A) Devā[nah]piye Piy[a]dashā<sup>1</sup> lajā<sup>2</sup> y[a]sho vā kiti vā no [ma]hathāvā<sup>3</sup>  
manati an[atā] [yajh] pi yaso vā ki[tī] vā ichh[atī] tadatvāye ayatiye chā jane  
dhamma-susushā susushātu me ti dhamma-vatah vā anuv[ī]dh[ī]ya[m]tu<sup>4</sup> ti  
(B) dhata[k]ṣye<sup>5</sup> Devāna[m]piye Piyadaśi

28 lajā yasho vā kiti vā ichhā<sup>6</sup> (C) aṁ ch[ā] kichhi lakamati<sup>7</sup> Devāna[m]piye<sup>8</sup>  
Piyadaśi lajā ta [sha]va<sup>9</sup> pālāntikāye<sup>10</sup> vā kiti sakale apa-p[a]lāshave<sup>11</sup>  
shiyāti ti (D) [e]she chu palisave e apune<sup>12</sup> (E) dukale chu kho eshe  
khudakena vā vagenā<sup>13</sup> ushūṭeṇa vā ana[ta] agen[ā] paḷakamenā shava[m]  
palitititu (F) [h]e[ta] chu kho

29 [u]ṣaṭe[na] vā dukale

<sup>1</sup> From this word to the end of the edict the Kālsī version differs completely from the Gīrnār one. Dhāuli and Jaugada agree with Gīrnār, but the two Kharoṣṭhī versions with Kālsī.

<sup>2</sup> [a]śa is the regular equivalent of [ś]āra in Mānśrī. Shābhāgaṛhi reads however *etake*.

<sup>3</sup> The words *pālata ananītanā pūṣanā pasavati* occur again in N, and in the Kālsī edict XI, E. In these two cases *pasavati* is construed with an instrumental, and in the last case it corresponds to *bhavati* in the Gīrnār version. Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 380) was therefore right in explaining it by *pasavati* = Sanskrit *prashvayati*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above, p. 19, n. 16.

<sup>5</sup> Read *Piyadaśi*.

<sup>6</sup> *lajā* Senart, *lajā* Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> *yata* Senart, *yatu* Bühler.

<sup>8</sup> Read *etake*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

<sup>9</sup> Read *ichhā*.

<sup>10</sup> Read *palakamati*.

<sup>11</sup> *Devāna[m]* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>12</sup> *savani* Senart, *shavani* Bühler.

<sup>13</sup> *pāliti* Senart, *pāliti* Bühler.

<sup>14</sup> Read *-palishave*.

<sup>15</sup> The syllable *no* was entered subsequently; *apūṣite* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>16</sup> *vagenā* Senart and Bühler.

## TRANSLATION

(A) King *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* does not think that either glory or fame conveys much advantage, except whatever glory or fame he desires (on account of his aim) that in the present time, and in the future, men may (be induced) by him to practise obedience to morality, or that they may conform to the duties of morality.

(B) On this (account) king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* is desiring glory and fame.

(C) And whatever effort king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* is making, all that (is) only for the sake of (merit) in the other (world), (and) in order that all (men) may run little danger.<sup>1</sup>

(D) But the danger is this, viz. demerit.

(E) But it is indeed difficult either for a lowly person<sup>2</sup> or for a high one to accomplish this without great zeal (and without) laying aside every (other aim).

(F) But among these (two) it is indeed (more) difficult to accomplish just for a high (person).

## ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALŚI

- 29 (A) देवानंप्रिये प्रियदर्शि लाजा हेवं हा (B) नथि हेहिषे दाने अदिष धंमदाने । धमवविभगे । धंमवंधे । (C) तत एषे दावभट्ठवि । धम्मपाटिपति माता-पित्तु । बुबुबा । मितवंधुतनातिक्खानं समनावंभनाना दाने
- 30 पानानं अनालभे (D) एषे वतविषे पित्तमा पि पुतेन पि भातिना पि ववामिक्खेन पि मितवंधुताना अवा पटिवेचियेना इयं वाधु इयं कटविषे (E) ये तथा कल्लत हिदलोकिक्खे च कं आलभे होति पलत चा अनत पुना यववति तेना धंमदानेना
- 29 (A) *Dēvānāmpriye Priyadarśi* [i]ājā hevaṃ hā<sup>3</sup> (B) *nathi* h[e]dishe dāne adisha<sup>4</sup> dha[r]ma-dāne ; dhama-shav[i]bhage<sup>5</sup> ; dhamma-sham-badh[e] ; (C) *ta*[ta] eshe dāsha-bhaṭṭakashi ; shamyā-paṭipati mātā-pitishu ; shushushā ; mita-shamthuta-nātikyānaṃ samānā-[ba]rābhanānā<sup>6</sup> [dā]ne
- 30 *pānānaṃ anāl*[ar]bhe (D) *eshe* vatav[i]ye pi[t]jinā pi pute[na]<sup>7</sup> pi bhā[t]jinā pi sh[a]vām[i]kyena<sup>8</sup> pi mita-śamthutānā<sup>9</sup> avā p[a]jiveshiyen[ā]<sup>10</sup> iy[a]r shādhu<sup>11</sup> iyaṃ kaṭaviye (E) [ś]e tathā kala[m]ta hidalokikyē cha kaṃ āladhe hoti palata ch[ā]<sup>12</sup> anata<sup>13</sup> punā<sup>14</sup> paśavati tenā dhamma-dānenā

<sup>1</sup> The form *shiyāti* occurs again in the Kālśī edict XII, B, where it is spelt *hiyāti*: Cf. also *siyati* in the Shāhbāzgarhi edict XII, L, and in the Māneshrī edict X, C.

<sup>2</sup> In Sanskrit the word *varga* means 'a class'; but here and in the two Kharoṣṭhi versions it corresponds to *jana*, 'a person', at Gīrnār. The same is the case in the first separate rock-edict, where Dhauī (K) reads *jane*, and Jaugada (L) [va]ge. See also *hedisameva vagarā*, 'a person of the same description', in section AA of the same edict at Dhauī.

<sup>3</sup> Read *āhā*.

<sup>4</sup> *yadisak* Senart, [ā]disak Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> *dharmma-shamvibhage* Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> *samāna-* and *nānā* Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> *pute* Senart and Bühler; the syllable *na* seems to be entered below the line.

<sup>8</sup> Read *shudhā*.

<sup>9</sup> The *ta* of *mita-* stands below the line; read '*tenā*'.

<sup>10</sup> *paṭipati* Bühler.

<sup>11</sup> *shādhu* Bühler.

<sup>12</sup> *cha* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>13</sup> *anatanā* Senart, *ananta* Bühler.

<sup>14</sup> *punā* Bühler; read *ananta* Senart, *ananta* Bühler.

## TRANSLATION

(A) King *Dēvanāmpriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus.

(B) There is no such gift as the gift of morality, the distribution of morality, (and) kinship through morality.

(C) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, obedience to mother and father, liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas, (and) abstention from killing animals.

(D) Concerning this a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, (or) a friend or an acquaintance, (or) even a (mere) neighbour, ought to say:—'This is meritorious. This ought to be done'.

(E) If one is acting thus,<sup>1</sup> (happiness) in this world is attained,<sup>2</sup> and endless merit is produced<sup>3</sup> in the other (world) by that gift of morality.

## TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

- 30 (A) देवानामपिये पियदधि  
 31 लाजा वाचापाबंधानि पयस्वित्तानि गृह्यानि वा पुजेति दानेन विविधये च ।  
 पुजाये (B) नो च तच्चा दाने वा पुजा वा देवानंपिये मनति क्वा क्ति  
 चालावदि शिवाति यवपाषाडान् (C) चालावदि ना बहुविधा (D) तच्चा पु  
 हनं मुले अ यवगुति क्ति ति अतपषड वा पुजा वा पलपाषडगलहा च  
 नो यथा  
 32 अपकलनयि लहका वा शिवा तगि तयि पकलनयि (E) पुजेतयि च  
 पलपाषडा तेन तेन अकलन (F) हेव कलत अतपाषडा बढं बढियति  
 पलपाषड पि वा उपकलेति (G) तदा अनय कलत अतपाषड च कनति  
 पलपाषड पि वा अपकलेति (H) ये हि केव अतपाषड पुनाति  
 33 पलपाषड वा । गलहति । यवे अतपाषडभतिया वा क्ति । अतपाषड । दिपयेन  
 ये च पुना तच्चा । कलंतं । बाढतले । उपहति । अतपाषडयि । (I) यमवाये पु  
 बापु क्ति । अंनमनवा धंनं । पुनेनु च । पुपुनेनु च ति । (J) हेवं हि  
 देवानंपियया इक्का क्ति  
 34 सवपाषडः बहुवृता वा कयानागा च । हुवेनु ति । (K) ए च तत तत । पयना ।  
 तेहि वतयि । (L) देवानामपिये नो तच्चा । दानं वा । पुजा वा । मनति ।  
 क्वा क्ति चालावदि शिवा । यवपाषडतिं । (M) बहुका वा । एतावाठाये ।  
 विजापटा । धंममहामाता । इधियिअमहामाता । यवभुमिअ । अने वा  
 निअपाया  
 35 (N) ह्यं च एतिवा । फले । यं अतपाषडवदि च । होति धंमव चा दिपना ।

<sup>1</sup> For the form *kalasitani* see above, p. 35, n. 9.

<sup>2</sup> For *cha kani* see above, p. 31, n. 6.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 39, n. 3.

- 30 (A) [D]evānāpiye [P]āśāṇaḥ[ī]  
 31 lajā shava-pāsham[ī] (ān) : pav[a]jita[ā] gahathāni vā pujeti dānena vividh[āye] :  
 cha :<sup>1</sup> pu[ā]ye (B) t[ā]o ch[u] tathā dāne vā puja vā Devānā[ā]piye m[ā]nati  
 athā k[ī]ja :<sup>2</sup> ā[ā]v-a[ā]dhi :<sup>3</sup> śiyāti ā[ā]va-pāśādāna :<sup>4</sup> (C) śala-vadhī :<sup>5</sup> nā :<sup>6</sup>  
 bahuviddhā :<sup>7</sup> (D) tāsa chu inam :<sup>8</sup> mule a v[ā]cha-guti kiti t[ī] :<sup>9</sup> ata-pāśāḍa :<sup>10</sup>  
 [v]a :<sup>11</sup> puja vā pala-pāśamḍa-galahā vā :<sup>12</sup> no [ā]ya :<sup>13</sup>  
 32 ap[a]k[ā] [ā]na[ā]i lahakā :<sup>14</sup> vā śiyā [ta]ki :<sup>15</sup> tāsi pakalan[ā] [ā]i (E) pujetav[ī]ya chu  
 p[ā]a-pā[ā]dā tena tena akālana :<sup>16</sup> (F) heva :<sup>17</sup> kalata ata-pāśādā :<sup>18</sup> bādhan :<sup>19</sup>  
 vadhiyati pala-pāśāḍa pi :<sup>20</sup> vā upakaleti (G) tadā :<sup>21</sup> anatha :<sup>22</sup> kalata ata-pāśāḍa  
 cha chhanati pala-pāśāḍa :<sup>23</sup> pi vā apakaleti (H) ye [h]i kechha [ā]a-pāśāḍa  
 punāti :<sup>24</sup>  
 33 pala-pāśāḍa vā :<sup>25</sup> ga[ā]hati :<sup>26</sup> shave ata-pāśam[ā]dā-bhātiyā vā kiti :<sup>27</sup> ata-pāśamḍa :<sup>28</sup>  
 [d]ipayema she cha punā tathā :<sup>29</sup> kalamtam :<sup>30</sup> bādhtale :<sup>31</sup> up[ā]ham[ā]i :<sup>32</sup> ata-  
 pāśamḍasahi :<sup>33</sup> (I) shamavāye :<sup>34</sup> vu :<sup>35</sup> shādhu kiti :<sup>36</sup> amnamanashā dhammam :<sup>37</sup>  
 shune[ā]u chā :<sup>38</sup> shushusheyu chā ti :<sup>39</sup> (J) hevaṇ hi Devānāpiyashā ichhā  
 kinti :<sup>40</sup>  
 34 sava-pāśamḍa :<sup>41</sup> baha-shutā :<sup>42</sup> chā kayānāga :<sup>43</sup> cha :<sup>44</sup> huveyu ti :<sup>45</sup> (K) e [cha] :<sup>46</sup> tata  
 t[ā]a :<sup>47</sup> p[ā]a[ā]m[ā]nā :<sup>48</sup> te[hi] va[ā]viye :<sup>49</sup> (L) Devānāpiye no tathā :<sup>50</sup> dānam  
 vā :<sup>51</sup> puja vā :<sup>52</sup> marina[ā]i :<sup>53</sup> athā kiti sh[ā]v-a[ā]dhi :<sup>54</sup> śiyā :<sup>55</sup> shava-pāśamḍatim :<sup>56</sup> :

<sup>1</sup> Read *shava*; *shava-pāśamḍani* Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> *vividhaya* Senart, *vividhena* Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> Bühler omits this sign. <sup>4</sup> Read *kiti*.

<sup>5</sup> *śala* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> The syllable *śa* (*śan* Bühler) was inserted subsequently.

<sup>7</sup> *śala* Bühler. <sup>8</sup> The other versions read *tu*.

<sup>9</sup> The syllable *vi* was inserted subsequently.

<sup>10</sup> Read *iyam*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

<sup>11</sup> *ta* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>12</sup> The syllable *ta* of *ata* is entered above the line; -*pāśāḍa* Senart, -*pāśamḍa* Bühler.

<sup>13</sup> Cancel *vā*.

<sup>14</sup> The words *pala-pāśamḍa-galahā vā* are entered above the line; below them the words *ti apalalahā vā* are struck out.

<sup>15</sup> Read *śiyā*.

<sup>16</sup> Read *lahakā*.

<sup>17</sup> Read *tāsi*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

<sup>18</sup> Read *akālana*.

<sup>19</sup> *hevaṇ* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>20</sup> -*pāśāḍa* Bühler.

<sup>21</sup> *bādhan* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>22</sup> *pi* is entered above the line.

<sup>23</sup> The syllable *dā* is entered above the line.

<sup>24</sup> *amnathā* Bühler; read *tad-anatha*.

<sup>25</sup> The syllable *pā* is entered above the line; -*pāśāḍa* Bühler.

<sup>26</sup> *pujati* Senart, *punati* Bühler; read probably *pujati*.

<sup>27</sup> One feels tempted to read -*pāśamḍani*. But the point after *da* stands much lower than an Anusvāra, and a similar point occurs quite below the *da* in three other cases: *ata-pāśāḍa* in G *sava-pāśamḍa* in J, and *shava-pāśamḍatim* in L.

<sup>28</sup> *sama* Bühler.

<sup>29</sup> Read *chu*; *vā* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>30</sup> *kiti* Bühler.

<sup>31</sup> Read *baku*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

<sup>32</sup> Read *nāgamā*.

<sup>33</sup> *vā* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>34</sup> *tādā* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>35</sup> *pāśamḍa* Bühler.

<sup>36</sup> *śālā* Bühler.

<sup>37</sup> Read *dānash ti*.

(M) bahukā ch[a] ; etāyāhāye ; viyāpaṭā ; dha[n]ma-mahāmātā ; itthidhiyakha-mahāmātā ; vacha-bh[u]mikyā ; aṇe vā [n]iky[ā]y[ā]<sup>1</sup>

35 (N) iyah cha etihā ; phale ; yam ata-pāhamāda-vaḍhi chā ; hoti dhammasha<sup>2</sup> chā dipanā ;

## TRANSLATION

(A) King *Dēvañāmpriya Priyadarsin* is honouring all sects : ascetics or householders, with gifts and with honours of various kinds.

(B) But *Dēvañāmpriya* does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.<sup>3</sup>

(C) This<sup>4</sup> promotion of the essentials (is possible) in many ways.

(D) But its root is this, viz. guarding (one's) speech, (i.e.) that neither praising one's own sect nor blaming other sects should take place on improper occasions, or (that) it should be moderate in every case.

(E) But other sects ought to be honoured in every way.

(F) If one is acting thus,<sup>5</sup> he is promoting his own sect considerably and is benefiting other sects as well.

(G) If one is acting otherwise than thus, he is both hurting his own sect and wronging other sects as well.

(H) For whosoever praises his own sect or blames other sects,—all (this) out of pure devotion to his own sect, (i.e.) with the view of glorifying his own sect,—if he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect very severely.

(I) But concord is meritorious, (i.e.) that they should both hear and obey each other's morals.

(J) For this is the desire of *Dēvañāmpriya*, (viz.) that all sects should be both full of learning and pure in doctrine.

(K) And those who are attached to their respective (sects), ought to be spoken to (as follows).

(L) *Dēvañāmpriya* does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.

(M) And many (officers) are occupied for this purpose, (viz.) the *Mahāmātras* of morality, the *Mahāmātras* controlling women, the inspectors of cowpens, or other classes (of officials).

(N) And this is the fruit of it, (viz.) that both the promotion of one's own sect takes place, and the glorification of morality.

## THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

35 (A) सद्धवा- । भित्त- । वा देवानंपियव पियदस्सिने । त्तास्सिने । कल्लिग्वा विस्सिता । (B) दिव्वहमित्ते । पालवत्तवहसे । ये तस्स कयवुडे । सत्तवहवमित्ते । त्त हत्ते । वहुतावत्तवे । वा मटे (C) ततो यस्स । ककुत्ता लपव । कल्लिग्गेवु । तिने । धम्मवासे

<sup>1</sup> *nihāye* Senart, *nihā* [ya] Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> For *ijhāsi* see above, p. 40, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> For the form *ahamāta* see above, p. 35, n. 9.

<sup>4</sup> *dharmas* Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> For the pronoun *id* see above, p. 13, n. 5.

- 36 धंमन्नामता । धंमानुवधि चा । देवानंपियया । (D) वे अवि अनुवधे । देवानंपियया । विजिनिनु । कलिंग्यानि । (E) अविजितं हि । विजिनमने । एतता । वध वा । मलने वा । अपवहे वा । जनया । वे बाढ । वेदनियमुते । गुलुमुते चा । देवानंपियया । (F) इयं पि चु । ततो । गलुमततले । देवानंपियया
- 37 (G) य तता वधति बाभना व वम वा अने वा पाशंड गिहिषा वा येषु विहिता एष अगभुतिवुषा मातापितिवुषा गलुवुषा मितशंयुतवहायनातिकेषु दाशभटकपि वम्बापटिपति दिवभतिता तेषं तता होति उपघाते वा वधे वा अभिलतानं वा विनिसमने
- 38 (H) येषं वा पि वुविहितानं धिनेहे अविपहिने ए तानं मितशंयुतवहायनातिकेषु वियधनं प्रापुनात तता वे पि तानमेवा उपघाते होति (I) पटिभागे चा एष ववमनुषानं गुलुमते चा देवानंपियया (J) नधि चा वे जनपदे यता नधि इमे निक्कावा आनता योनेषु
- 39 वंछने चा वमने चा नधि चा कुवापि जनपदधि यता नधि मनुषान । एकतलधि पि । पाषडधि । नो नाम पवादे । (K) वे अवतके जने । तदा कलिंगेषु । लधेषु हते चा मटे चा । अपवुडे चा । ततो वते भागे वा । वहवभागे वा । अज गुलुमते वा । देवानंपियया

*B.—South Face of Kalsi Rock.*

- 1 .....  
 2 .....  
 3 ..... नेयु (O) इह .....  
 4 ववधु ..... वयम वमचलियं मदव ति (P) इयं वु मु .....  
 5 देवानंपियेया ये धंमविजये (Q) वे च पुना लधे देवानंपि ..... च  
 6 वधेषु च अतेषु अ वधु पि योजनवतेषु अत अतियोगे नाम योनला पलं चा तेना  
 7 अंतियोगेना चतालि ४ लजाने तुलमये नाम अतियोगे नाम मका ना-  
 8 म अलिक्कपुदले नाम निचं चोडपंडिया अवं तंवपंनिया हेवमेवा (R) हेवमेवा  
 9 हिदा लाजविशवधि योनकंवीजेषु नाभक्काभपंतिषु भोजपितिनियेषु  
 10 अधपालदेषु ववता देवानंपियया धंमानुवधि अनुवतंति (S) यत पि दुता  
 11 देवानंपियसा नो यंति ते पि सुतु देवानंपिनंय धंमवुतं विधनं  
 12 धंमानुसधि धंमं अनुविधियंअ अनुविधियिंसंअ चा (T) ये से लधे  
 13 एतकेना होति सवता विजये पितिलसे से (U) गथा सा होति पिति पिति धंमविजय-



- 14 षि (V) लहुका बु खो सा पिति (W) पालंतिक्खमेवे महफला मंनंति देवेनविभे  
 15 (X) एताये चा छताये इयं धंमल्लिपि लिखिता किति पुता पयोता मे क्खु  
 16 नयं विजय म विजयतविय मनिबु वयक्खि नो विजययि खंति वा ल । इ-  
 17 दंता चा लोचेतु तमेव चा विजयं मनतु वे धंमविजये (Y) वे हिदलोक्खि  
 पललो-  
 18 किये (Z) ववा च क निलति होतु उयामलति (AA) वा हि हिदलोक्खि  
 पललोक्खिवा

- 35 (A) aṭṭha-[va]śhā-<sup>1</sup> bhāhita-<sup>2</sup> śhā [De]vānaṃpiyaśha Piyadashine<sup>3</sup> ; lājine<sup>4</sup> ;  
 Kaligvā vijitā<sup>5</sup> ; (B) diyaḍḍha-mite<sup>6</sup> ; pāna-shaṭ[a]-shaha[ś]e<sup>7</sup> ; ye [ta]pāṇā apavudḍha [i]  
 śa[ta]-[sha]ḥsha-mite<sup>8</sup> ; tata hate<sup>9</sup> ; bahu-tāvatake<sup>10</sup> ; vā mate<sup>11</sup> (C) tatā<sup>12</sup> ; paḍḍha-  
 adhūnā ladheshā<sup>13</sup> ; Kaligveshu<sup>14</sup> ; dīva<sup>15</sup> ; dha-maṭṭha-  
 36 dhamma-k[ā]matā<sup>16</sup> ; dhammānushaṭṭhi chā<sup>17</sup> ; Devānaṃpiyaśhā<sup>18</sup> ; (D) śhā[ś]e<sup>19</sup> ; aṭṭha-  
 anushaye<sup>20</sup> ; Devānaṃpiya[śh]ā<sup>21</sup> ; vijin[i]tu<sup>22</sup> ; Kuligvāni<sup>23</sup> ; (E) av[ā] ; vi-  
 vijinamane<sup>24</sup> ; e tatā<sup>25</sup> ; vadha<sup>26</sup> vā ; malane vā ; apavahe [vā] ; jan[a]śhā<sup>27</sup> ; [śh]e  
 bādha<sup>28</sup> ; vedaniya-mute<sup>29</sup> ; g[u]l[u]-mut[e] chā<sup>30</sup> ; Devānaṃpiyaśhā<sup>31</sup> ; (F) iyadā<sup>32</sup> ;  
 chu<sup>33</sup> ; tato<sup>34</sup> ; galu-matatale<sup>35</sup> ; D[e]vānaṃpiyaśhā<sup>36</sup> ;  
 37 (G) [ya] tatā<sup>37</sup> vashati b[ā]bhanā<sup>38</sup> vā shama<sup>39</sup> vā ane vā pāsāṃḍa gih[i]thā vā  
 yeṣu vihitā [e]śh[a] a[ḷ]gabhu[i]śhushushā<sup>40</sup> ; [ā]tā pīḥaśhā<sup>41</sup> ; [śh]a[ś]e<sup>42</sup> ;  
 mita-shamthuta-shahāya-nātikeshu dāsa-bha[ṭa]kash[i]<sup>43</sup> sha[m]yā-paṭipati dūha-  
 bhatitā tesham tatā hoti [upa]ghāte vā vadhe vā abbiṭṭānānā vā viṭṭikhaṇaṇa<sup>44</sup> ;  
 38 (H) yesham vā pi shuvih[i]t[ā]nam<sup>45</sup> shinche<sup>46</sup> ; vijināṇe<sup>47</sup> ; tāna<sup>48</sup> ; [śh]a[h]āya[nā]tikya<sup>49</sup> ;  
 viyashanaṃ<sup>50</sup> ; pāpunāta<sup>51</sup> ; tatā<sup>52</sup> ; she [p]i t[ā]namov[ā]<sup>53</sup> ;  
 upaghāṭe<sup>54</sup> ; hoti (I) paṭibhāge chā eśh[a] śh[a]va manu[śhā]nā<sup>55</sup> ; g[u]l[u]v[ā]<sup>56</sup> ;  
 chā Devāna[m]piyaśhā<sup>57</sup> (J) n[a]thi chā she jan[a]pade yatā nathi ime nikāya-  
 ānatā<sup>58</sup> ; Y[o]nesh[u]<sup>59</sup> ;  
 39 baṇhamaṇe ch[ā] shamane chā nathi chā kuvāpi jan[a]padashi [ya]tā n[a]thi  
 m[a]nushān[a]<sup>60</sup> ; ekatalash[i] p[ā] ; pāśhaḍashi<sup>61</sup> ; no n[ā]ma pashāde<sup>62</sup> ; (K) she  
 ava[ta]ke<sup>63</sup> ; jane<sup>64</sup> ; t[ā]dā Kal[ā]gveshu<sup>65</sup> ; [ladheshu ha]ṭe ch[ā]<sup>66</sup> ; mat[e] chā<sup>67</sup> ;  
 [apavudḍhe chā i] tato<sup>68</sup> ; shaṭ[e] bhāge vā ; shah[a]śha-bhāge vā ; aja gulu-mate  
 vā ; Devāna[m]piyaśhā<sup>69</sup> ;

<sup>1</sup> bhāhita- Bühler. <sup>2</sup> -m[ā]te Bühler. <sup>3</sup> -māte Bühler. <sup>4</sup> -lavasintake Bühler

<sup>5</sup> tatā Senart and Bühler. <sup>6</sup> Read ladheshu, which is Bühler's reading.

<sup>7</sup> This word may be read also vijinini, as both an i and a u are affixed to the last consonant.

<sup>8</sup> vadham Bühler. <sup>9</sup> Bühler adds i.

<sup>10</sup> Read n. tatā in accordance with the Shākabazgarī version, which reads ye tatva ; savatā Senart and Bühler, who adds i.

<sup>11</sup> baṇhkanā Senart and Bühler.

<sup>12</sup> Read shamaṇā.

<sup>13</sup> ag[a]bh[uta]- Bühler

<sup>14</sup> matā- Bühler.

<sup>15</sup> -shusha Bühler ; read -shushushā.

<sup>16</sup> -śha[ta]kashi Bühler.

<sup>17</sup> [śha]vīkhitānaṃ Bühler.

<sup>18</sup> The syllable mā seems to be entered above the line

<sup>19</sup> viyashane Bühler.

<sup>20</sup> Read pāpunāti, which is Bühler's reading.

<sup>21</sup> tata Bühler.

<sup>22</sup> -meva Bühler.

<sup>23</sup> ānatā Senart and Bühler.

<sup>24</sup> yenesha Bühler.

<sup>25</sup> -śhānaṃ Bühler.

<sup>26</sup> āvatake Bühler.

<sup>27</sup> Bühler omits

<sup>28</sup> cha i Bühler.

<sup>29</sup> tatā Senart and Bühler.

*B.—South Face of Kāṣṭī Rock.*

- 1 .....  
 2 .....  
 3 ..... [ney]u (O) ichha<sup>1</sup> .....  
 4 sha[va-bhu]<sup>2</sup> ..... [shayama shamacha]liya[m] madava ti (P) iya[m] vu<sup>3</sup>  
 mu .....  
 5 Devānaṁpiyesā<sup>4</sup> ye dha[m]ma-vijaye (Q) sh[e] cha punā ladhe Devāna[m]-  
 pi ..... cha<sup>5</sup>  
 6 shaveshu cha ateshu a shashu pi [yo]jana-shateshu<sup>6</sup> at[a] Atiyoge nām[a] Yo[nā-  
 lā] . . . [pa]lām chā tenā  
 7 A[m]tiyogenā chatāli 4 lajāne Tulamaye [nā]m[a] Amteki[ne nā]ma Makā nā-  
 8 ma Alikyashudale nāma nicha[m] Choḍa-Paṁḍiyā<sup>7</sup> avam Tamhapaṁniyā<sup>8</sup>  
 hevamev[ā]<sup>9</sup> (R) hevamevā  
 9 [hi]dā lā[ja]viśavashi<sup>9</sup> Yona-Kaṁbojeshu Nābhak[a]-Nābhapaṁtiyah<sup>10</sup> Bhoja-  
 Pitinikyeshu  
 10 [Adha]-P[ā]lade[sh]u [sha]vatā [D]evā[nā]m[pi]ya[shā] dhammānu[sha]jhi  
 anuvataṁti (S) y[a]ta pi dutā  
 11 Devāna[m]piyaśā<sup>11</sup> no yaṁti t[e] pi sutu Dev[āna]m[pi]nāmya<sup>12</sup> dh[ar]ma-vutaṁ  
 v[i]dh[a]na[m]  
 12 dhammānusa[th]i dha[m]ma[m] anuvidhiyāma<sup>13</sup> [a]nuvidhiyisāma<sup>13</sup> [ch]ā (T) ye  
 se [la]khe  
 13 etakenā hoti savatā vī[ja]ye<sup>14</sup> piti-lase se (U) gadhā hoti piti piti dhamm[a]-  
 vijaya-  
 14 shi (V) lahukā v[u]<sup>15</sup> kho sā piti (W) pālaṁtikyameva maha-phalā maṁna[m]ti  
 Dev[e]nā[m]piyaśā<sup>16</sup>  
 15 (X) etāye chā athāye iya[m] dha[m]ma-lipi likhitā kiti putā papotā<sup>17</sup> me a[śu]  
 16 nava[m] vijay[a] ma vijayataviya<sup>18</sup> manishu shayakashi no<sup>19</sup> vī[ja]yashi khamti<sup>20</sup>  
 chā la i hu-<sup>21</sup>  
 17 daṁḍatā [chā] lochetu tameva chā vijayaṁ manatu ye dhamma-vijaye (Y) she  
 hidalokikyā palalo-  
 18 kiye<sup>22</sup> (Z) shavā cha ka<sup>23</sup> nilati hot[u] uyāma-lati (AA) shā hi hi[da]lokika  
 pa[la]lokikyā

<sup>1</sup> Restore *ichhati*.<sup>2</sup> Restore *-bhutānān*.<sup>3</sup> Read *chu*.<sup>4</sup> Read *\*piyashā*.<sup>5</sup> Restore *\*piyasa hida cha*.<sup>6</sup> There is a fissure in the rock between *yojana* and *shateshu*.<sup>7</sup> Restore *-lājā*<sup>8</sup> *hevameva* Buhler.<sup>9</sup> [Hi]da-lājā Vāsi-Vaji- Buhler.<sup>10</sup> *Nābhaku*- Senart, *Nābhake* Buhler.<sup>11</sup> *\*piya* Senart, *\*piyāmya* Buhler; read *\*piyasa*.<sup>12</sup> Read *\*yaṁti*, which is Buhler's reading.<sup>13</sup> Read *\*saṁti*, which is Buhler's reading.<sup>14</sup> This word is entered above the line.<sup>15</sup> Read *chu*.<sup>16</sup> Read *pālaṁtikyameva mahā-phalān maṁnati Devānaṁpiye*.<sup>17</sup> *pāpotā* Senart and Buhler.<sup>18</sup> *vijayantaviya* Buhler.<sup>19</sup> Read perhaps *yo* (= Prakrit *yeva*), as at Shāhbāzgarhi.<sup>20</sup> There is a fissure in the rock here.<sup>21</sup> Cancel the sign of punctuation and join *lahu*.<sup>22</sup> *ki* . *ye* Buhler.<sup>23</sup> Buhler omits *ka*; read *kam* and see above, p. 31, n. 6.

## TRANSLATION

(A) When king *Dēvañāṃpriya* Priyadarśin had been anointed eight years, (the country of) the *Kalīṅgas* was conquered by (him).

(B) One hundred and fifty thousand in number were the men who were deported thence, one hundred thousand in number were those who were slain there, and many times as many those who died.

(C) After that, now that (the country of) the *Kalīṅgas* has been taken, *Dēvañāṃpriya* (is devoted) to a zealous study of morality, to the love of morality, and to the instruction (of people) in morality.

(D) This is the repentance of *Dēvañāṃpriya* on account of his conquest of (the country of) the *Kalīṅgas*.

(E) For, this is considered<sup>1</sup> very painful and deplorable by *Dēvañāṃpriya*, that, while one is conquering<sup>2</sup> an unconquered (country), slaughter, death, and deportation of people (are taking place) there.

(F) But the following is considered even more deplorable than this by *Dēvañāṃpriya*.

(G) (To) the Brāhmaṇas or Śramaṇas, or other sects or householders,<sup>3</sup> who are living there, (and) among whom the following are practised: obedience to those who receive high pay,<sup>4</sup> obedience to mother and father, obedience to elders, proper courtesy to friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives, to slaves and servants, (and) firm devotion,—to these then happen injury or slaughter or deportation of (their) beloved ones

(H) Or if there are then incurring misfortune<sup>5</sup> the friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives of those whose affection (for the latter) is undiminished, although they are (themselves) well provided for,<sup>6</sup> this (misfortune) as well becomes an injury to those (persons) themselves.<sup>7</sup>

(I) This is shared by all men<sup>8</sup> and<sup>9</sup> is considered deplorable by *Dēvañāṃpriya*.

(J) There is no country where these (two) classes, (viz.) the Brāhmaṇas and the Śramaṇas, do not exist, except among the *Yōnas*; and there is no (place) in any country where men are not indeed attached to some sect.<sup>10</sup>

(K) Therefore even the hundredth part or the thousandth part of all those people

<sup>1</sup> For *mata* = *mata* see above, p. 35, n. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *vijjimanam* is a nominative singular absolute; see my note on the translation of the Dhauḷi separate edict I, S.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the rock-edict XII, A, and the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, Y.

<sup>4</sup> Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 592 f.) took *agabhūti* = *agrayanman*, 'a member of a higher caste' or 'a Brāhmaṇa'; but the various reading in the two Kharoṣṭhi versions, *agrabhūti*, suggests that the second member of the compound is Skt. *bhūti*.

<sup>5</sup> *paṇḍitī* is used in the same way in the Dhauḷi separate edict I, J, and the Jaugaḍa separate edict I, K.

<sup>6</sup> For this meaning of *svikṛita* see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v. *vidahati*.

<sup>7</sup> The correct construction of this section is due to Lüders, who showed that *etānaṃ* must be divided into *etānaṃ*; see SPAW, 1914. 850.

<sup>8</sup> I.e. 'a share of this falls upon all men'; see Thomas in V. A. Smith's *Asoka*, sec. ed., p. 173, n. 1.

<sup>9</sup> The *chā* after *gulu-mata* corresponds to the preceding *chā* after *paṭibhāge*. In the same way the double *nathī chā* in the next section co-ordinates the two sentences.

<sup>10</sup> See above, p. 25, n. 2.

## TRANSLATION

(A) These rescripts on morality have been caused to be written by king *Dēvānāṃ-priya Priyadarśin* either in an abridged (form), or of middle (size), or at full length.

(B) For the whole was not suitable everywhere.

(C) For (my) dominions are wide, and much has been written, and I shall constantly<sup>1</sup> cause still (more) to be written.

(D) And (some) of this has been stated again and again because of the charm of certain topics, (and) in order that men should act accordingly.

(E) But some of this may have been written incompletely, either on account of the locality,<sup>2</sup> or because (my) motive was not liked, or by the fault of the writer.

### BELOW THE FIGURE OF AN ELEPHANT ON THE NORTH FACE OF THE KALSİ ROCK

गजतमे

*gajatame*

## TRANSLATION

The best elephant.<sup>3</sup>

### III. THE SHAHBAZGARHI ROCK

#### FIRST ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

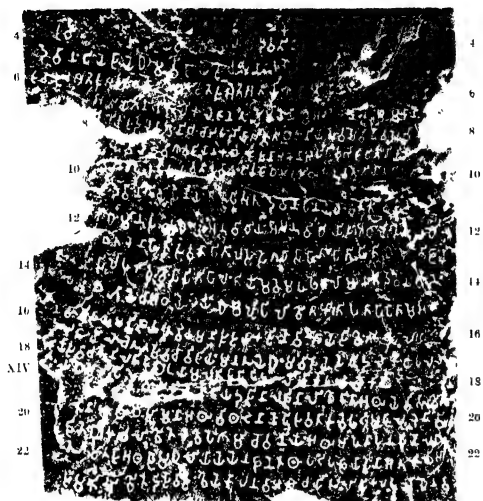
*A.—East Face of Shahbāzgarhī Rock.*

- 1 (A) अथ भ्रमदिपि देवनप्रिअस रजो लिखयितु (B) हिद नो किचि जिवे अरमितु  
प्रनुहोतवे (C) नो पि च समज ऋदव (D) बहुन हि दोष समवस्सि देवअप्रिगे  
प्रिअद्वयि रव दसति
- 2 (E) अस्मि पि च एअतज्ज समये समुमते देवनप्रिअस प्रिअद्वयि रजो (F) पुद  
महनससि देवनप्रिअस प्रिअद्वयि रजो अमुदिपसो बहुनि प्रअअतसहसनि  
अरमितु सुयदवे (G) सो इदमि वद अथ
- 3 भ्रमदिपि लिखित तद चवो बी प्रअ इअंति मअुर दुपि २ कुगो १ सो पि कुगो नो  
भुवं (H) एत पि प्रअ चवी पच न अरमिअंति

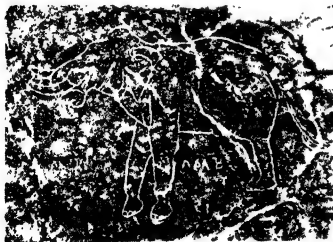
<sup>1</sup> Senart and Bühler consider *mīyapāṇi* a dialectical variant of *mīyāṇam*.

<sup>2</sup> *dit* is used in the sense of *ditte*, unless *ditte* is simply a clerical mistake for the Gīrnār reading *desan*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the similar labels at Gīrnār (below edict XIII) and at Dhauḷi (at the end of edict VI), and see above, p. 27, n. 2.



KALSI ROCK : NORTH FACE



- 1 (A) [aya]<sup>1</sup> dhrama-dipi Devanapriasa raño likhapitu<sup>2</sup> (B) hida no kich[i] jive ara[hbitu p]rayuhotave (C) no pi ch[a] sama[ja] kaṭava (D) ba[hu]ka [hi] dosha sa[maya]spi Devanapriy[e]<sup>3</sup> Priadrasī ray[a da]khati  
 2 (E) [a]sti pi chu ekatia<sup>4</sup> samaye sasū-mate<sup>5</sup> Devanapriasa<sup>6</sup> Priadrasīsa raño (F) pura mahana[sas]i [Devana]pr[i]asa<sup>7</sup> Priadrasīsa raño anudivaso bahuni pra[ṇa]-ṣata-sahasani<sup>8</sup> [arabhi]yis[u] supaṭṭhay[e] (G) s[o i]dani yada aya  
 3 dhrama-dipi likhita tada trayo vo praṇa haṃhaṃt[i] majura duv[i] 2 mrugo 1 so pi mrugo no dhruva[m] (H) eta pi praṇa trayo pacha na arabhiṣaṃti

## TRANSLATION

(A) This rescript on morality has been caused to be written by king Dēvānāṃ-priya.

(B) Here no living being must be killed and sacrificed.

(C) And also no festival meetings must be held.

(D) For king Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin sees much evil in festival meetings.

(E) But there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by king Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin.

(F) Formerly in the kitchen of king Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin many hundred thousands of animals were killed daily for the sake of curry.

(G) But now, when this rescript on morality is written, then only three animals are being killed (daily), (viz.) two—2—peacocks (and) 1 deer, (but) even this deer not regularly.

(H) Even these three animals shall not be killed in future.

## SECOND ROCK-EDICT. SHAHBAZGARHI

- 3 (A) सव्वच विजिते देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रक्षिस् ये च क्षंत यच्च चोह  
 4 पंडिय सत्तियपुणो केरडपुणो तंबपंखि क्षंतियोक्को मम योनरज ये च क्षंजे तस  
 क्षंतियोक्कस समंत रजनो सव्वच देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रक्षिस् रजो दुवि २  
 चिकिसि क्खि मनुषचिकिसि \* पशुचिकिसि च  
 5 (B) औषधनि मनुषोपकनि च पशोपकनि च यच्च यच्च नस्ति सव्वच हरपित च  
 वुत्त च (C) कुप च खनपित प्रतिभोगये पशुमनुषनं  
 3 (A) sav[r]atra vijite [De]va[nam]priyasa Priyadarśisa y[e] cha [a]ṃta yatha [Choda]  
 4 Paṇḍiya Satiyaputro Keraḍaputro<sup>9</sup> Tambapaṇṇi<sup>10</sup> Aṃtiyo[k]o nama Yona-  
 raja ye cha aṃṇe tasa Aṃtiyokasa samaṃta<sup>11</sup> rajano savratra Devanāṃ-  
 priyasa Priyadarśisa raño du[v]i 2 chik[i]sa [kr]i[ta]<sup>12</sup> manuṣa-chikisa . .  
 pa[śu-ch]ikisa [cha]  
 5 (B) [o]sha[dha]ni<sup>13</sup> manuṣopakani cha paśopakani cha yat[r]a yatra nasti savatra  
 harapita<sup>14</sup> cha vuta cha (C) kupa cha khanapita pratibh[o]gaye paśu-manuṣanāṃ

<sup>1</sup> [a]ya[n] Böhler.

<sup>2</sup> Read probably *likhapita*, as at Mānsehrā.

<sup>3</sup> *dosham sama . . sa Devanapriy[o]* Böhler.

<sup>4</sup> *cha ekatie* Böhler.

<sup>5</sup> Read *sadhu-; srestha-mati* Böhler.

<sup>6</sup> *\*priasa* Böhler.

<sup>7</sup> *Devanānpri* Böhler.

<sup>8</sup> *[-sa]kas[r]ani* Böhler.

<sup>9</sup> *Satiyaputra Keralaputra* Böhler.

<sup>10</sup> *\*panini* Böhler.

<sup>11</sup> *kā[r]a* Böhler.

<sup>12</sup> *[o]shu[dh]ani* Böhler.

<sup>13</sup> *har[o]pita* Böhler.

## TRANSLATION

(A) Everywhere in the dominions of *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin*, and (of those) who (are his) borderers, such as the *Chōḍas*, the *Pāṇḍyas*, the *Satiyaputra*, the *Kēra*, *aputra*, *Tāmraparṇi*, the *Yōna* king named *Antiyoka*, and the other kings who are the neighbours of this *Antiyoka*,—everywhere two—2—(kinds of) medical treatment were established by king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin*, (viz.) medical treatment for men and medical treatment for cattle.

(B) Wherever there were no herbs beneficial to men and beneficial to cattle, everywhere they were caused to be imported and planted.

(C) And wells were caused to be dug for the use of cattle and men.

## THIRD ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

- 5 (A) देवनाम्प्रियो प्रियद्रक्षि राज अहति (B) बद्दयवषभिसितेन ..... अणपितं  
(C) सवच मञ्ज  
6 विजिते युत रजुको प्रदेशिक् पंचषु पंचषु ५ वषेषु अनुसंयनं निक्रमतु एतिस वो  
करण इमिस धंमनुश्लिये च अजये पि क्रमये (D) सधु मतपितुषु सुश्रुष  
मिचसंस्तुतजतिकनं ब्रमणश्चमणानं ..... प्रणनं अनरंभो सधु  
7 अपवयत अपभंडत सधु (E) परि पि युतनि गणनसि अणपशंति हेतुतो च  
वंजनतो च  
5 (A) *Dēvanāmpriyo Priyadarśi* raja ahati (B) *badaya-vaśahh'ṣṣṭona*<sup>1</sup> .....  
[a]napi[tain]<sup>2</sup> (C) *savatra ma[a]*<sup>3</sup>  
6 *vijite yuta rajuko pradēśi[ka<sup>4</sup> pañcha]shu pañchashu 5 vaśheshu anasāyānam*  
*nik[r]jamatu etisa vo karaṇa imisa dharmānuśāstiyē [cha]<sup>5</sup> ahāye pi*  
*krammaye<sup>6</sup> (D) sadhu mata-pitushu suśrūsha mitra-samst[ū]ta-rāṭikanam*  
*bramaṇa-[śra]maṇa[nam] ..... [pra]nanam [anaram]bho sadhu<sup>7</sup>*  
7 *apa-vayata apa-bhaṇḍata sadhu (E) pari<sup>8</sup> [pi] yutani [ga]ṇanasi<sup>9</sup> anapeśamti hetuto*  
*cha vamañanato<sup>10</sup> cha*

## TRANSLATION

(A) King *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* speaks<sup>11</sup> (thus).

(B) (When I had been) anointed twelve years, [the following] was ordered [by me].

(C) Everywhere in my dominions the *Yuktas*, the *Rajukas*, (and) the *Prādevuka* shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five—5—years

<sup>1</sup> With Bühler and Johansson (§ 52) I believe that the writer wanted to write *badaya*. On the Wardak vase the symbols for *y* and *ś* are often confused; see Pargiter's remarks in EI, II, 203 f., and ZDMG, 73, 227.

<sup>2</sup> Bühler omitted this word.

<sup>3</sup> *pradēśi[ka]* Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> *kramaye* Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> Read *parishu*.

<sup>6</sup> There is a vacant space between *ga* and *na*.

<sup>7</sup> Bühler wrote *aha ti* in two words. But the barbarous form *ahati* or *hahati* is guaranteed by the edicts V, &c., where it is preceded by *evam*, and where consequently *h* cannot have the meaning 'thus'.

<sup>8</sup> Bühler omitted *man*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *yatha*; *dhramanushch yatha* Bühler.

<sup>10</sup> Bühler omitted the end of this line.

<sup>11</sup> *vañanato* Bühler.

for this very purpose, (viz.) for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business.

(D) 'Meritorious is obedience to mother and father. [Liberality] to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas [is meritorious]. Abstention from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious.'

(E) The councils (of *Mahāmātras*) also shall order the *Yuktas* to register (these rules) both with (the addition of) reasons and according to the letter.

## FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

- 7 (A) अतिक्रतं अंतरं बहुनि वपश्तनि वदितो वो प्रणरंभो विहिस च भुतनं  
जतिन असंपटिपति अमणब्रमणनं असंपटिपति (B) सो अज देवनंप्रियस  
प्रियद्रशिस रजो
- 8 भ्रमचरणेन भेरियोष अहो भ्रमघोष विमननं द्रशनं अस्तिन जोतिकंधनि अजनि  
च दिवनि रुपनि द्रशयितु जनस (C) यदिशं बहुहि वषशतेहि न भुतमुवे  
तदिशे अज वदिते देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस रजो भ्रमनुशस्त्रिय अनरंभो  
प्रणनं अविहिस भुतनं जतिनं संपटिपति ब्रमण-
- 9 ामणन संपटिपति मतपितुषु वुदनं सुश्रुष (D) एत अजं च बहुविधं भ्रमचरणं  
वदितं (E) वदिशति च यो देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस रजो भ्रमचरणं इमं  
(F) पुच पि च कं नतरो च प्रनतिक च देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस रजो  
प्रवदेशंति यो भ्रमचरणं इमं अवकप भ्रमे शिले च
- 10 ेदिति भ्रमं अनुशशिशंति (G) एत हि सेठं क्रमं यं भ्रमनुशशनं (H) भ्रमचरणं  
पि च न भोति अशिलस (I) सो इमिस अणूस वदि अहिनि च सधु  
(J) ए.ये अठये इमं निपिस्सं इमिस अठस वदि युर्जितु हिनि च म लोचेषु  
(K) बद्यवषभिसितेन देवनंप्रियेन प्रियद्रशिनि रज जनं हिद निपेसितं

- 7 (A) atikratam āntaram bahunī vasha-śatani vadhito vo praṇarāmbho vihisa cha  
bhuta[nam] űatana<sup>1</sup> asampatipati śramaṇa-bramaṇana[m] a[sam]paṭipati<sup>2</sup>  
(B) [so aja Devana]ṁbhupriyasa Priyadrasīsa [raṣo]  
8 dhrama-charaṇena bheri-ghosha aho dhrama-ghosha vimanana[m] draśanaṁ  
[a]stina<sup>3</sup> joti-kamdhani āṇani cha divani rupani draśayitu janasa (C) yadiśam  
bahuhi vasha-śatehi na bhuta-pruve tadiśe aja vadhite Devanaṁbhupriyasa  
Priyadrasīsa raṣo dhramaṁmanuśa[sti]ya anarāmbho praṇa[nam] avihisa  
bhutanam űatana[m] sampatipati<sup>4</sup> [bra]maṇa-  
9 śramaṇana<sup>5</sup> sampatipati mata-pitushu vudhana[m] suśrusa (D) e[ta] aṇam cha  
bahavidhāni dhrama-charaṇam vadhitaṁ (E) vadhiśati cha yo Devanaṁbhupriyasa  
Priyadrasīsa raṣo dhrama-charaṇam<sup>6</sup> ima[m] (F) putra pi cha kaṁ<sup>7</sup> nataro

<sup>1</sup> űatanaṁ Böhler.

<sup>4</sup> sa[ṁ]p[ra]ti<sup>2</sup> Böhler.

<sup>7</sup> ku Böhler.

<sup>2</sup> [asam]p[ra]ti<sup>2</sup> Böhler.

<sup>5</sup> śramaṇanaṁ Böhler.

<sup>3</sup> [a]stina Böhler.

<sup>6</sup> -charaṇo Böhler.



- cha pranatika cha Devanāṃpriya[sa] Priyadarśina raño pra[va]h[e]śānti<sup>1</sup>  
 [yo]<sup>2</sup> dhrama-charaṇaṃ ima[m] ava-kapa<sup>3</sup> dhrame file cha  
 10 tīṭhiti<sup>4</sup> dhramaṃ anuśāśiśānti (G) eta h[ī] s[re]ṭhaṃ k[r]jama[m] yaṃ  
 dhrama[n]uśāśana[m] (H) dhrama-charaṇa[m] pi cha na bhoti aśilasa (I) so  
 imisa athrasa vaḍhi ahini cha sadhu (J) etaye aṭhaye ima[m] nipistaṃ<sup>5</sup> imisa  
 aṭhasa vaḍhi yujantu hini cha ma lo[ch]e[sh]u (K) badaya-vashabhisitena<sup>6</sup>  
 Devanāṃpriyena Priyadarśina raña ṇanaṃ hi[da] nipesitaṃ<sup>7</sup>

## TRANSLATION

(A) In times past, for many hundreds of years, there had ever been promoted the killing of animals and the hurting of living beings, discourtesy to relatives, (and) discourtesy to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas.

(B) But now, in consequence of the practice of morality on the part of **king Dēvanāṃpriya Priyadarśin**, the sound of drums has become the sound of morality, showing the people representations of aerial chariots, elephants, masses of light, and other divine figures.

(C) Such as they had not existed before for many hundreds of years, thus there are now promoted, through the instruction in morality on the part of **king Dēvanāṃpriya Priyadarśin**, abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, obedience to mother and father, (and) to the aged.

(D) In this and many other ways is the practice of morality promoted.

(E) And this practice of morality will be ever promoted by **king Dēvanāṃpriya Priyadarśin**.

(F) And also the sons,<sup>8</sup> grandsons, and great-grandsons of **king Dēvanāṃpriya Priyadarśin** will ever promote this practice of morality until the æon (of destruction of the world), (and) will instruct (people) in morality, abiding by morality and by good conduct.

(G) For this is the best work, viz. instruction in morality.

(H) And the practice of morality also is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct.

(I) Therefore promotion and not neglect of this object is meritorious.

(J) For the following purpose has this been written,<sup>9</sup> (viz. in order that) they should devote themselves to the promotion of this practice, and that they should not approve<sup>10</sup> the neglect (of it).

(K) (This) conception (*jāṇa*) was caused to be written here by **king Dēvanāṃpriya Priyadarśin** (when he had been) anointed twelve years.

<sup>1</sup> ra[ṇo vadhe]śānti Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> Bühler omitted *yo*.

<sup>3</sup> -[kapaṇi] Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> *tīṭhiti* Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> *dipista* Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> Read *badaya*-, and cf. above, p. 52, n. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *raña* [*id*]am ... *naṃ* *dispa*[ṇi]tam Bühler. The *da* of *hida* looks like *dan*, as it does frequently at Mānschrā.

<sup>8</sup> For *cha* *kaṃ* see above, p. 31, n. 6. Mānschrā has once *cha* *kaṃ* (XI, 14) and twice *cha* *ka* (IV, 16; XIII, 13).

<sup>9</sup> The participles *nipistaṃ* and *nipesitaṃ* in J and K, which correspond to *lekhit* and *lekhiṭa* at Kāśī, must be derived from *ni-pish*, 'to write', which is used in the inscriptions of the Achemenid kings of Persia, and which is preserved in the modern Persian verb نوشتن. Cf. the Russian *mnem* 'to write'.

<sup>10</sup> See above, p. 8, n. 3.

## FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

- 11 (A) देवनप्रियो प्रियद्रक्षि रय एवं हहति (B) कलसं दुकरं (C) यो अदिकरो कलसस सो दुकरं करोति (D) सो मय बहु कलं किट्टं (E) तं मय पुष च नतरो च परं च तेन ये मे अपच ब्रह्मंति अवकपं तय ये अनुवटिहंति ते सुकिटं कर्षति (F) यो यो अतो . . के पि ह्येवदि सो दुकरं कवति (G) पयं हि सुकरं (H) स अतिक्रतं अतर नो भुतप्रुव प्रममहमच नम (I) सो तोदशववभिसितेन
- 12 मय प्रममहमच कित (J) ते सप्रप्रहियु वपट प्रमधिचनये च प्रमवटिव हिदसुखये च प्रमवुतस योनकंबोयगंधरनं रठिकनं पितिनिकनं ये व पि अपरंत (K) भटमयेषु वमसिभेषु अनयेषु वुडेपु हितसुखये प्रमवुतस अपलिगोथ वपट ते
- 13 (L) वधनवधस पटिविधनये अपलिबोधये मोखये अवि अनुव . . प्रजव कटिभिकरो व महलके व विवपट ते (M) इख वडिरेषु च नगरेषु सप्तेषु ओरोधनेषु अतुन च मे स्पसन च ये व पि अजे जतिक सवच विवपुट (N) ये अयं प्रमनिधिते ति व प्रमधिचने ति व दनसपुते ति व सयत विजिते मय प्रमवुतसि विवपट ते प्रममहमच (O) एतये अठये अवि प्रमदिपि निपिख चिरचितिक भोतु तय च मे प्रज अनुवतु
- 11 (A) *Devanapriyo Priyadrakṣi raya eva[r̥i] hahati*<sup>1</sup> (B) *ka[la]ṇa[r̥i] dukara[r̥i]* (C) *[yo] aḍikaro kalaṇasa so du[k̥a]raṇi karoti* (D) *so maya bahu kalaṇ*<sup>2</sup> *kī[ṭ]raṇi* (E) *taṇ maa*<sup>3</sup> *putra cha nataro cha para[r̥i] cha [tena y]e*<sup>4</sup> *me apacha vṛakṣaṇti*<sup>5</sup> *ava-kapaṇi tatha*<sup>6</sup> *ye an[u]vaṇiṣaṇti*<sup>7</sup> *te s[u]kīṭa[r̥i]*<sup>8</sup> *kashaṇti* (F) *yo chu ato . . kaṇ*<sup>9</sup> *pi hapeṣadi*<sup>10</sup> *so dukaṭaṇi kashati* (G) *papaṇi h[i]* *sukaraṇi* (H) *sa atikratarī atara no*<sup>11</sup> *bhuta-pruva dharaṇma-ma[ha]ma[tra]*<sup>12</sup> *nama* (I) *so todada-vaṣabhisitena*<sup>13</sup>
- 12 *maya dhrama-mahamatra kīṭa*<sup>14</sup> (J) *te savra-praṣaṇi[lesh[u]] vapaṭa dhraṇmadhithanaye*<sup>15</sup> *cha dhrama-vaḍhiya*<sup>16</sup> *hida-sukhaye cha dhrama-yutasa Yona-Kaṇboya-Gaṇḍharanaṇ*<sup>17</sup> *Raṭhikanaraṇ*<sup>18</sup> *Pitīnikanaṇ*<sup>19</sup> *ye*

<sup>1</sup> *aka ti* Bühler.<sup>2</sup> Read *kalaṇaṇi*.<sup>3</sup> *ma[ha]* Bühler.<sup>4</sup> *[yo]* Bühler.<sup>5</sup> *[a]chhaṇti* Bühler. In JA (10), 17, 422 ff. Boyer has shown that the Kharoṣṭhi uses a special form of *chh* in all those cases where it corresponds to Sanskrit *kṣh*. In order to distinguish this sign from the real *chh*, I transcribe it by *kṣh*, but do not want to imply thereby that it was actually pronounced like that.<sup>6</sup> *tathas* Bühler; but what he took for an Anuvāra is probably the horizontal bottom-line which is frequent at Mānsāra.<sup>7</sup> *vatīsaṇi* Bühler.<sup>8</sup> *sukīṭa[r̥i]* Bühler.<sup>9</sup> Restore perhaps *kaṇi*; the other versions read *desaṇi* or *deṣa*.<sup>10</sup> *[hapeṣadi]* Bühler.<sup>11</sup> *so atik[raṇi]saṇi atitaraṇi na* Bühler.<sup>12</sup> *dhrama* Bühler.<sup>13</sup> *[tada]* Bühler.<sup>14</sup> *ka[r̥i]* Bühler.<sup>15</sup> *dhrama* Bühler.<sup>16</sup> *-vaḍhiya* Bühler.<sup>17</sup> The rock has a hole here.<sup>18</sup> *Raṭhikanaraṇ* Bühler. The *ṣ* is expressed by the first of the two different forms noted by Boyer in JA (10), 17, 429, note.

- va pi aparāṃta (K) bhaṭamayeshu bramaṇibheshu anatheshu vuḍheshu [hita]-  
sukhaye [dhrāṃ]ma-yutasa<sup>1</sup> apaliḡ[o]dha<sup>2</sup> vap[a]ta te  
13 (L) badhana-badhasa<sup>3</sup> paṭivīdhanay[e] apaliḡodhaye mo[kshaye] ayi anuba...<sup>4</sup>  
prajava kiṭabḥikaro va mahalake<sup>5</sup> va viyapaṭa<sup>6</sup> [t]e<sup>7</sup> (M) ia bahireshu cha  
nagareshu savreshu orodhaneshu bhratuna<sup>8</sup> cha me spasana<sup>9</sup> cha ye va pi  
arñhe fiatika savatra viyapuṭa (N) y[e] ayaṃ<sup>10</sup> dh[r]ama-niṣite<sup>11</sup> ti va  
dhrama[dhitha]ne ti va dana-s[a]yute ti va savata<sup>12</sup> vijite maa<sup>13</sup> dhrama-  
yu[ta]si<sup>14</sup> viyapaṭa te dhrama-mahamatra (O) etaye aṭhaye [a]yi<sup>15</sup> dhrama-dipi  
nipista<sup>16</sup> ch[r]a-thitika bhoṭ[u] ta[tha]<sup>17</sup> cha [m]e<sup>18</sup> p[r]aja anuvatu

## TRANSLATION

- (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.  
(B) It is difficult to perform virtuous deeds.  
(C) He who starts performing virtuous deeds accomplishes something difficult.  
(D) Now, by me many virtuous deeds have been performed.  
(E) Therefore (among) my sons and grandsons, and (among) my descendants who  
shall come<sup>19</sup> after them until the æon (of destruction of the world), those who will  
conform to this (duty) will perform good deeds.  
(F) But he who will neglect even one (portion) of this (duty) will perform evil deeds.  
(G) For sin is easily committed.  
(H) Now, in times past (officers) called *Mahāmātras* of morality did not exist before.  
(I) But *Mahāmātras* of morality were appointed by me (when I had been)  
anointed thirteen years.  
(J) These are occupied with all sects in establishing morality, in promoting  
morality, and for the welfare and happiness<sup>20</sup> of those who are devoted to morality  
(even) among the Yōnas, Kambōyas, and Gandhāras, among the Rāṭhikas, among  
the Pītīnikas,<sup>21</sup> and whatever (other) western borders (of mine there are).

<sup>1</sup> [dhrā]ma- Bühler.<sup>2</sup> baddhana- Bühler.<sup>3</sup> mahalaka Bühler.<sup>4</sup> bhratunam Bühler.<sup>5</sup> yam iyam Bühler.<sup>6</sup> ma[ha] Bühler.<sup>7</sup> ay[am] Bühler.<sup>8</sup> This and the last four words of the edict were entered above the line.<sup>9</sup> Bühler omitted me.<sup>10</sup> vrakshati is the future of vrakhati which occurs twice at Shāhbāzgarhi (VI, L, and XIII, S).<sup>11</sup> For Prakrit vrakshai=Skt. vracati see Hémachandra, IV, 225.<sup>12</sup> Cf. above, p. 33, n. 4.  
<sup>13</sup> For Rāṭhika and Pītīnika Gīrnār reads Ristika and Pētēnika. As Lathika at Dhauri agrees with Rāṭhika at Shāhbāzgarhi and Mānsrā, Ristika at Gīrnār may be a clerical mistake for Rāstika, just as parikamate for parākamate in X, l. 3, Devīnam<sup>22</sup> for Devānam<sup>23</sup> in XI, l. 1, and dātī for dātā in XIII, l. 9. Conversely, astī is written for asti in IX, l. 7, pitarā for pitari in XI, l. 2, and vivādhyā for vivīdhāya in XII, l. 1. The Sanskrit original of Rāstika would be Rāshtrika. The identifications of this name with Surāshtra (Senart, *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, vol. I, p. 126) or Lāṭa (Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. I (sec. ed.), p. 137, n. 4) are improbable because these two provinces were included in Aśoka's empire; cf. Bühler, ZDMG, 37, 261. Sir R. Bhandarkar (*Early History of the Dehkan*, sec. ed., p. 11 ff.) connects Rāshtrika with Mahārāshtra, the Pāli form of which, Mahārāṭṭha, occurs in the *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvamsa*. Could the Rāshtrikas be identical with the Āraṭtas of the Panjāb (Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. III, p. 76) and with the Ἀρατῆς who are mentioned in the *Pertolus* (§ 47) together with the Ἀραχωσί and Γαυδάπαι?

(K) They are occupied with servants and masters, with Brāhmaṇas and Ibhyas, with the destitute, (and) with the aged, for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality, (and) in freeing (them) from desire (for worldly life).<sup>1</sup>

(L) They are occupied in supporting prisoners (with money), in causing (their) fetters to be taken off, (and) in setting (them) free, (if) one has children, or is bewitched, or aged, respectively.

(M) They are occupied everywhere, here and in all the outlying towns, in the harems of my brothers, of (my) sisters, and (of) whatever other relatives (of mine there are).

(N) These *Mahāmātras* of morality are occupied everywhere in my dominions with those who are devoted to morality, (in order to ascertain) whether one is eager for morality, or established in morality, or furnished with gifts.<sup>2</sup>

(O) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my descendants may conform to it.

## SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

- 14 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय एव अहति (B) अतिक्रतं अंतर न भुतमुवं सर्वं कलं अठक्रमं व पटिवेदन व (C) तं मय एवं किटं (D) सवं कलं अशमनम मे ओरोधनस्मि यभगरस्मि व्रचस्मि विनितस्मि उयनस्मि सवच पटिवेदक अठं जनस पटिवेदेतु मे (E) सवच च जनस अठु करोमि (F) यं पि च किचि मुखतो अणपयमि अहं दपक व अचक व ये व पन महमचन अचयिक अरोपितं भोति तये अठये विवदे निश्रुति व सतं परिषये अनंतरियेन पटिवेदेतवो मे
- 15 (E) सवच च अठं जनस करोमि अहं (F) यं च किचि मुखतो अणपयमि अहं दपकं व अचक व ये व पन महमचनं अचयिकं अरोपितं भोति तये अठये विवदे सतं निजति व परिषये अनंतरियेन पटिवेदेतवो मे सवच सर्वं कलं (G) एव अणपितं मय (H) नस्ति हि मे तोषो उठनसि अठसंतरिणये च (I) कटवमतं हि मे सवलोकहितं (J) तस च मुलं एच उयनं अठसंतरिण च (K) नस्ति हि क्रमतरं
- 6 सवलोकहितेन (L) यं च किचि परक्रममि किति भुतनं अनणियं वचेयं इस्स च ष मुखयमि परच च स्पयं अरधेतु (M) एतये अठये अयि भ्रम निपिस्त चिरषितिक भोतु तथ च मे पुच नतरो परक्रमंतु सवलोकहितये (N) दुकर तु खो हमं अजच अये परक्रमेन
- 14 (A) Devanampriyo Priyadraśi raya eva<sup>3</sup> ahati (B) atikratam āmtara<sup>4</sup> na bhuta-pruvarṇṇ sava[r]ṇṇ<sup>5</sup> kala[r]ṇṇ aṭṭha-kramam<sup>6</sup> va paṭivedana va (C) ta[m] maya eva[r]ṇṇ kiṭa[r]ṇṇ (D) savraṇṇ kalam aśamanasa me orodhanaspi grabhagaraspi vracaspi vinitaspi uyanaspi savatra paṭivedaka<sup>7</sup> aṭṭham janasa paṭivedetu<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *paṭigodha* is a Māgadhā form of *parigodha*, for which see above, p. 10, n. 5.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 34, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *eva*[m] Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> *āmtaram* Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> *savaraṇṇ* Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> *aṭṭha*- Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> *savatra paṭṭa* Bühler.

<sup>8</sup> *paṭ*[r] Bühler.

me (E) savatra cha ja[na]sa aṭh[r]a karomi (F) ya[r̥n] pi cha ki[chi] mukhato  
anapayami a[haṁ] dapa[kn]¹ va śravaka² va ye³ va p[a]na mahamatrana⁴  
a[cha]yika⁵ a[r̥o]pitaṁ bhoti taye aṭhaye viva[de]⁶ nija[ti] va satam⁷  
parishaye anantariyena praṭivedetavo me

- 15 (E)⁸ savatra cha aṭam⁹ janasa karomi a[haṁ] (F) yaṁ cha kichi¹⁰ mukhato  
anapemi aṭam dapaka[r̥n] va śravaka va ye¹¹ va pana mahamatranam  
achay[i]k[am] aropita[r̥n] bhoti t[a]ye aṭhaye [v]ivade sa[r̥n]taṁ nijati¹² va  
parishaye anantariyena pativedetavo¹³ me savatra savam¹⁴ kala[r̥n] (G) eva¹⁵  
anapita[r̥n] maya (H) [na]sti hi me tosho uthanas[i] aṭha-sa[r̥n]tiraṇaye [cha]  
(I) kaṭava-mataṁ¹⁶ hi me sava-loka-hitaṁ¹⁷ (J) ta[sa] cha mulam etra uthanam  
aṭha-santiraṇa cha (K) na[sti] hi k[r̥]amatara[r̥n]  
16 sava-loka-hite[na]¹⁸ (L) yaṁ cha kichi parak[r̥]jamami kiti bhutanam anapiyam  
v[r̥]acheyam ia cha sha sukhayami paratra cha spagraṁ¹⁹ aradhetu (M) etaye  
aṭhaye ayi dhrama²⁰ nipista²¹ chira-titika bhotu tatha cha me putra nataro  
parakramantu sava-lo[ka-hita]²² e (N) [du]kara²³ tu [kh]o imam aṇa[r̥]a²⁴  
agre²⁵ parakramena

## TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) In times past neither the disposal of affairs nor the submission of reports  
at any time did exist before.

(C) But I have made the following (arrangement).

(D) Reporters have to report to me the affairs of the people at any time (and)  
anywhere, while I am eating, in the harem, in the inner apartment, at the cowpen, in  
the palanquin, (and) in the park.

(E) And everywhere I am disposing of the affairs of the people.

(F) And also, if in the council (of *Mahāmātras*) a dispute arises, or an amend-  
ment is moved, in connexion with any donation or proclamation which I am ordering  
verbally, or (in connexion with) an emergent matter which has been delegated to the  
*Mahāmātras*, it must be reported to me immediately, anywhere, (and) at any time.

(G) Thus I have ordered.

(H) For I am never content in exerting myself and in dispatching business.

(I) For I consider it my duty (to promote) the welfare of all men.

(J) And the root of that (consists) in this, (viz.) exertion and the dispatch of  
business.

(K) For no duty is more important than (promoting) the welfare of all men.

(L) And whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that I may discharge

¹ [da]pakaṁ Buhler.

² śravakaṁ Buhler.

³ yaṁ Buhler.

⁴ \*tranam Buhler, who added r[̥].

⁵ There is a fissure between a and cha.

⁶ Buhler added va.

⁷ samtam Buhler.

⁸ E and F (besides the last three words of the latter) were repeated by mistake.

⁹ There is a vacant space between a and ṭam.

¹⁰ There is a fissure between ki and chi.

¹¹ ya Buhler.

¹² Read nijati, which is Buhler's reading.

¹³ papi Buhler.

¹⁴ sav[r̥]am Buhler.

¹⁵ evam Buhler.

¹⁶ There is a hole between ma and tam.

¹⁷ sav[r̥]a- Buhler.

¹⁸ s[r̥]ava- Buhler.

¹⁹ spagraṁ Buhler.

²⁰ Read dhrama-dipi.

²¹ dipista Buhler.

²² [d]ukara[m] Buhler.

²³ anittra Buhler.

²⁴ Read agrena.

the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them<sup>1</sup> happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).

(M) For the following purpose has this [rescript on] morality been written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my sons (and) grandsons may display the same zeal for the welfare of all men.

(N) But it is indeed difficult to accomplish this without great zeal.

## SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI\*

- 1 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियशि रज सवच इच्छति सव-
- 2 प्रपंड वसेयु (B) सवे हि ते समये भवशुधि च इच्छति
- 3 (C) जनो चु उचवुचछंदो उचवुचरगो (D) ते सव व एकदेशं व
- 4 पि कषंति (E) विपुले पि चु दने यस नस्ति समय भव-
- 5 शुधि किद्रजत दिदभतित निचे पढं

- 1 (A) Devanāmpriyo Priyāśi<sup>2</sup> raja savatra ichhati savra-<sup>3</sup>
- 2 [p]rashamḍa vaseyu (B) save<sup>4</sup> hi te sayame<sup>5</sup> bhava-śudhi cha ichhamti
- 3 (C) jano chu uchavucha-chhamḍo uchavucha-rago (D) te savraṁ va eka-deśam va
- 4 pi kashanti (E) vipule pi chu dane yasa nasti sayama bhava-
- 5 śudhi kiṭṭhata diḍḍha-bhatita<sup>6</sup> niche paḍham

## TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvanāmpriya Priyadarśin desires (that) all sects may reside everywhere.

(B) For all these desire self-control and purity of mind.

(C) But men possess various desires (and) various passions.

(D) They will fulfil either the whole or only a portion (of their duties).

(E) But even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control, purity of mind, gratitude, (and) firm devotion, is very mean.

## EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

*A.—East Face of Shāhbāzgarhi Rock (continued).*

- 17 (A) अतिक्रंत अतरं देवनंप्रिय विहरयच नम निक्रमिषु (B) अच सुगय अजनि च एदिशनि अभिरमनि अभुवसु (C) सो देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रज दशवचभिसितो सतं निक्रमि सबोधि (D) तेनद भंमयच (E) अच इयं होति अमणवमणनं दशने दनं बुढनं दशन हिरजप्रदिविधने च जनपदस जनस दशन भमनुशस्ति भमपरिमुछ च ततोपयं (F) एषे भुये रति भोति देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस रजो भगो अंजि

<sup>1</sup> *sha* (*she* at Mānsehrā) corresponds to, and must have the same meaning as, *nāni* at Girnār and *kāni* at Kālat, Dhauri, and Jaugaḍa. Bühler (ZDMG, 43. 149) derived it from Skt. *śhām*, and translated it by '(some) of them'.

<sup>2</sup> This edict is engraved on the left of the east face, at the top of the rock. The lines are therefore numbered separately.

<sup>3</sup> Read *Priyadrati*.

<sup>4</sup> *savva* Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> *sayama* Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> *didha-* Bühler.

- 17 (A) atikratam ataram<sup>1</sup> Devanāmpriya vihara-yatra nama nikramishu (B) atra mrugaya añani cha edisani<sup>2</sup> abhiramani abhuvasu<sup>3</sup> (C) so Devanāmpriyo Priyadrasī raja dasa-vashabhisito satam<sup>4</sup> nikrami Sabodhi<sup>5</sup> (D) tenada<sup>6</sup> dhramma-yatra<sup>7</sup> (E) atra iyañ hoti śramaṇa-bramaṇanam draśane danam vudhana[ni] dasana<sup>8</sup> hiraña-p[ri]ṭṭividhane<sup>9</sup> cha [jana]padasa janasa draśana<sup>10</sup> dhramanuśasti dhrama-pa[ri]ṭṭi[ru]chha<sup>11</sup> cha tatopayañ (F) eshe<sup>12</sup> bhuy[e ra]ti bhoti<sup>13</sup> Devanāmpriyasa Priyadrasīsa raño bhago<sup>14</sup> amñi

## TRANSLATION

- (A) In times past the *Devānāmpriyas* used to set out on so-called pleasure-tours.  
 (B) On these (tours) hunting and other such pleasures were (enjoyed).  
 (C) But when king *Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin* had been anointed ten years, he went out to *Sambōdhi*.  
 (D) Therefore tours of morality (were undertaken) here.<sup>15</sup>  
 (E) On these (tours) the following takes place, (viz.) visiting Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas (and) making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality, as suitable for this (occasion).  
 (F) This second period (of the reign) of king *Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin* becomes a pleasure in a higher degree.

## NINTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

- 18 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय एवं अहति (B) जनो उचवुचं मंगलं करोति अत्रधे अत्रहे विवहे पजुपदने प्रवसे अत्रये अत्रये च एदिशिये जनो व मंगलं करोति (C) अत्र तु स्त्रियक बहु च बहुविधं च पुतिक च निरटियं च मंगलं करोति (D) सो कटवो च व खो मंगल (E) अपफलं तु खो एत (F) इमं तु खो महफल ये ममंगल  
 19 (G) अत्र इम दसभटकस सम्मपटिपति गरुन अपचिति प्रणनं संयमो शमणब्रमणन दन एतं अजं च भ्रममंगलं नम (H) सो वतवो पितुन पि पुचन पि भतन पि स्पमिकेन पि मिचसस्तुतेन अत्र प्रतिवेशियेन इमं सधु इमं कटवो मंगलं यव तस अद्रस निवुटिय निवुटसि व पुन  
 20 इमं कषं (I) ये हि एतके मगले सशधिके तं (J) सिय वो तं अठं निवटेयति सिय पुन नो (K) इअलोक च वो तं (L) इद पुन भ्रममंगलं अकलिकं (M) यदि पुन तं अठं न निवटे इअ अष परच अनतं पुजं प्रसवति (N) हंचे पुन तं ठं निवटेति ततो उभयेस लधं भोति इअ च सो अठो परच च अनतं पुजं प्रसवति तेन भ्रमंगलेन

<sup>1</sup> atikratam ataram Böhler.<sup>2</sup> [k]edisani Böhler.<sup>3</sup> abhuvasu Böhler.<sup>4</sup> sato Böhler.<sup>5</sup> sabodhi[ni] Böhler.<sup>6</sup> tenam[a] Böhler.<sup>7</sup> dhrama- Böhler.<sup>8</sup> draśane Böhler.<sup>9</sup> -paṭṭividha[ne] Böhler.<sup>10</sup> draśanasu Böhler.<sup>11</sup> -pa[ri]ṭṭi[ru]chha Böhler.<sup>12</sup> esh[a] Böhler.<sup>13</sup> hoti Böhler.<sup>14</sup> bhag[is] Böhler.<sup>15</sup> See above, p. 37, n. 5.

- 18 (A) **Devanāmpriyo Priyadarśi** r[a]ya evaṃ ahati (B) jano uchavucham maṅgalam karoti abadhe avahē vivahe pajupadane pravase ataye<sup>1</sup> añāye cha ediśiy[e]<sup>2</sup> jano ba<sup>3</sup> maṅgalam karoti (C) atra tu striyaka bahu cha bahuvīdham cha putika<sup>4</sup> cha niratthiyam<sup>5</sup> cha maṅgalam karo[ti]<sup>6</sup> (D) so kaṭavo cha [va]<sup>7</sup> kho maṅgala (E) apa-phala[m] tu kho eta<sup>8</sup> (F) imam [t]u kho maha-phala ye ma-maṅgala<sup>9</sup>
- 19 (G) [a]tra ima dasa-bhaṭakasa samma-paṭipati<sup>10</sup> garuna apachiti prañanam sa[m]jyamo<sup>11</sup> śamaṇa-bramaṇa<sup>12</sup> dana etaṃ añam cha dhrama-maṅga[la]m nama (H) [s]o vatavo pituna pi putrena pi bhratana<sup>13</sup> pi spamik[e]na pi mitra-sastutena<sup>14</sup> ava prativēsiyena imam sadhu [ima]m<sup>15</sup> kaṭa[vo] maṅgala[m] java tasa aṭhara<sup>16</sup> nivuṭṭiya nivuṭṭaspi va p[u]na<sup>17</sup>
- 20 imam kasham<sup>18</sup> (I) ye hi etake<sup>19</sup> magale saṣayike<sup>20</sup> tam (J) siya vo tam aṭham nivaṭṭeyati siya puna<sup>21</sup> no<sup>22</sup> (K) ialoka cha<sup>23</sup> vo tam<sup>24</sup> (L) ida<sup>25</sup> puna dhrama-maṅgalam akalikaṃ (M) yadi puna tam aṭham na nivaṭṭe<sup>26</sup> ia<sup>27</sup> atha paratra anantam puṇam prasavati (N) hamche puna tam ṭham<sup>28</sup> nivaṭṭeti tato u[bha]y[c]sa<sup>29</sup> ladham bhoti ia<sup>30</sup> cha so aṭho paratra cha anantam puṇam prasavati tena dhrama-maṅgalena<sup>31</sup>

## TRANSLATION

(A) **King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** speaks thus.

(B) Men are practising various ceremonies during illness, at the marriage of a son or a daughter, at the birth of a child,<sup>22</sup> (and) when setting out on a journey on these and other such (occasions) men are practising many ceremonies.

(C) But in such (cases) women are practising many and various offensive<sup>23</sup> and useless ceremonies.

(D) Now, ceremonies should certainly be practised.

(E) But these (ceremonies) bear little fruit indeed.

(F) But the following bears much fruit indeed, viz. the practice of morality.

(G) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas; these and other (virtues) are called the practice of morality.

(H) Therefore a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, (or) a friend or an acquaintance, (or) even a (mere) neighbour ought to say: 'This is meritorious. This practice should be observed until the (desired) object is attained, (thinking): After it is actually attained, I shall observe this again'.

<sup>1</sup> Read *etaye*, which is Bühler's reading.

<sup>2</sup> Read *bahu*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *bahu*.

<sup>4</sup> *putika*[m] Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> Bühler omitted *va*.

<sup>6</sup> *etam* Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> Bühler omitted *va*.

<sup>8</sup> *etam* Bühler.

<sup>9</sup> Read *dhrama*;

<sup>10</sup> *maṅgala*[m] Bühler.

<sup>11</sup> *saṁjyamo* Bühler.

<sup>12</sup> *śamaṇa* Bühler.

<sup>13</sup> *bhratana*, which is Bühler's reading.

<sup>14</sup> *sastutena* Bühler.

<sup>15</sup> There is a vacant space here.

<sup>16</sup> *athasa* Bühler.

<sup>17</sup> *pana* Bühler.

<sup>18</sup> *ka*[ska] Bühler.

<sup>19</sup> *et*[ra]ke Bühler.

<sup>20</sup> *sa*[m]sayike Bühler.

<sup>21</sup> Bühler omitted *no*.

<sup>22</sup> *ialokach*[e] Bühler.

<sup>23</sup> *ia* Bühler.

<sup>24</sup> Read *nivaṭṭeti*, as at Mānśrā.

<sup>25</sup> *[t]*ia Bühler

<sup>26</sup> Read *taṃ aṭham*; Bühler read *[a]thaṃ for taṃ ṭham*.

<sup>27</sup> *ubhaya* Bühler.

<sup>28</sup> *ika* Bühler.

<sup>29</sup> Read *dhrama-maṅgalena*.

<sup>30</sup> For *pajupadane* see above, p. 38, n. 22.

<sup>31</sup> Instead of *putika*, 'foul', all other versions read *kshudra*, 'vulgar'.



- (I) For such ceremonies are of doubtful (effect).  
 (J) One may attain his object (by them), but he may not (do so).  
 (K) And they (bear fruit) in this world only.  
 (L) But that practice of morality is not restricted to time.  
 (M) But if<sup>1</sup> one does not attain (by it) his object in this (world), then endless merit is produced in the other (world).  
 (N) But if one attains (by it) his object (in this world), the gain of both (results) arises from it; (viz.) the (desired) object (is attained) in this (world), and endless merit is produced in the other (world) by that practice of morality.

## TENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

- 21 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रय यशो व किद्रि व नो महठवह मज्जति अज्जच यो पि यशो किद्रि व इच्छति तदत्तये अयतिथ च जने धम्मसुअष सुअुषतु मे ति धम्मवुत्त च अनुविधियतु (B) एतकये देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रय यशो किद्रि व  
 22 इच्छति (C) यं तु किचि परक्रमति देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय तं सर्वं परपिकये व किति सकले अपरिस्रवे सियति (D) एषे तु परिस्रवे यं अपुजं (E) दुकरे तु खो एषे खुद्रकेन वयेन उसटेन व अज्जच अयेन परक्रमेन सर्वं परित्तित्तु (F) अज्ज च उ सटे . . . . .
- 21 (A) *Devanapriye Priyadrasī raya yaśo va kiṭṭi va no mahāṭṭvaha majjati añjajā yō pi yaśo kiṭṭi va icchati tadattave<sup>2</sup> ayatiya cha jane dhama-sūsassa<sup>3</sup> sūsasshatu me ti dhamma-vuttam chā anuvī[dhi]yatu* (B) *etake Devanapriye<sup>4</sup> Priyadrasī raya yaśo<sup>5</sup> kiṭṭi va*  
 22 *icchati* (C) *ya[m]* tu kichi parakramati *Devanāmpriyo Priyadrasī raya* taṭṭi sav[r]aṇa paratṭikaye va kiti sakale aparisave siyati (D) *eshe tu parisave yaṇ apuṇaṃ* (E) *dukare<sup>6</sup> [tu] kho eshe khudrakena vagrena usāṭṭa va añjajā* agrena parakramena sava[m] paritijitu (F) *at[r]a<sup>7</sup> chu usāṭṭe . . . . .*

## TRANSLATION

(A) King *Dēvanāmpriya Priyadarśin* does not think that either glory or fame conveys much advantage, except whatever glory or fame he desires (on account of his aim) that in the present time, and in the future, men may (be induced) by him to practise obedience to morality, and that they may conform to the duties of morality.

(B) On this (account) king *Dēvanāmpriya Priyadarśin* is desiring glory and fame.

(C) But whatever effort king *Dēvanāmpriya Priyadarśin* is making, all that (is) only for the sake of (merit) in the other (world), (and) in order that all (men) may be free of danger.

(D) But the danger is this, viz. demerit.

<sup>1</sup> Instead of 'but if', two other versions read 'even if', which is preferable.

<sup>2</sup> *tadattaye* Bühler; but see his *Ind. Pal.*, § 11, C.

<sup>3</sup> Read -*sūsasshaṇ*.

<sup>4</sup> *Devanāmpriye* Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> Bühler added *va*.

<sup>6</sup> *dukaraṇ* Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> *etam* (which is also possible) Bühler.

(E) But it is indeed difficult for a lowly person or for a high one to accomplish this without great zeal (and without) laying aside every (other aim).

(F) But among these (two) . . . . . a high (person).

## ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

- 23 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय एवं हहति (B) नस्ति एदिशं दनं यदिशं भ्रमदन  
भ्रमसंस्तवे भ्रमसंविभगो भ्रमसंबंध (C) तच्च एतं दसभटकनं संम्मपटिपति  
मतपितुषु सुश्रुष मिचसंस्तुतजतिकनं श्रमणब्रमणन
- 24 दन प्रणन च्चनरंभो (D) एतं वतवो पितुन पि पुचेन पि भतुन पि स्पमिकेन पि  
मिचसंस्तुतन च्चव प्रतिवेशियेन इमं सधु इमं कटवो (E) सो तच्च करतं  
इअल्लोक च्चअरथेति परच्च च्चनतं पुज प्रसवति
- 25 तेन भ्रमदनेन
- 23 (A) Devana[m]priyo Priyadraśi raya evaṃ hahati<sup>1</sup> (B) nasti ed[i]śaṃ danaṃ  
yadiśaṃ dhrama-dana<sup>2</sup> dhrama-saṃstav[er] dh[r]jama-saṃvibhago dh[r]jama-  
saṃba[m]dha<sup>3</sup> (C) tatra etaṃ dāsa-bhāṭakaraṇaṃ saṃmma-paṭipati<sup>4</sup> mata-pitushu  
suśruṣa mi[t]ra-saṃstuta-ñāṭikanam śramaṇa-brāhmaṇa<sup>5</sup>
- 24 dana prāṇa<sup>6</sup> anara[m]bho (D) etaṃ vatavo pituna pi putrena pi bhratuna pi  
[spa]mikena<sup>7</sup> pi mitra-saṃstutana<sup>8</sup> ava prativēsiyena [i]ma[m]<sup>9</sup> sadhu imaṃ  
kaṭavo (E) so tatha karata[m] jaloka<sup>10</sup> cha a[r]kheti paratra cha anataṃ puṇa<sup>11</sup>  
prasavati
- 25 [te]na dhrama-danena

## TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) There is no such gift as the gift of morality, acquaintance through morality the distribution of morality, (and) kinship through morality.

(C) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, obedience to mother and father, liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas, (and) abstention from killing animals.

(D) Concerning this a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, (or) a friend or an acquaintance, (or) even a (mere) neighbour, ought to say: 'This is meritorious. This ought to be done'.

(E) If one is acting thus, he attains (happiness in) this world, and endless merit is produced in the other (world) by that gift of morality.

<sup>1</sup> aka ti Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> -danaṃ Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> -saṃbaṇḍho Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> samma-praṭipati Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> bramaṇaṇaṇi Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> danam prāṇanam Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> [sa]mikena Bühler.

<sup>8</sup> Read -saṃstutena, which is Bühler's reading.

<sup>9</sup> There is a fissure in the rock here.

<sup>10</sup> karaṇam jaloka[m] Bühler.

<sup>11</sup> puṇaṃ Bühler.

## TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

*B.—On a separate boulder.*

- 1 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय सवप्रषंडनि प्रवजितनि यह्यनि च पुजेति दनेन  
विविधये च पुजये (B) नो चु तथा दन व पुज व
- 2 देवनंप्रियो मज्जति यथ किति सलवढि सिय सवप्रषंडनं (C) सलवढि तु बहुविध  
(D) तस तु इयो मूल यं वचगुति
- 3 किति अतप्रषंडपुज व परपषंडगरन व नो सिय अपकरणसि लहुक व सिय तसि  
तसि प्रकरणे (E) पुजेतविय व चु परप्रषं-
- 4 इ तेन तेन अकरोन (F) एवं करतं अतप्रषंडं वढेति परप्रषंडं पि च उपकरोति  
(G) तद् अजप्र करमिनो अतप्रषंड
- 5 क्षणति परप्रषडस च अपकरोति (H) यो हि कचि अतप्रषंडं पुजेति परप्रषंडं  
गरहति सवे अतप्रषडभतिय व किति  
अतप्रषंडं दिपयमि ति सो च पुन तथा करतं सो च पुन तथा करतं वढतरं  
उपहंति अतप्रषंडं (I) सो सयमो वो सधु किति अजमजस धमो
- 7 श्रुणेषु च सुश्रुणेषु च ति (J) एवं हि देवनंप्रियस इह किति सवप्रषंडं बहुश्रुत च  
कलणगम च सियसु (K) ये च तच तच
- 8 प्रसन तेषं वतवो (L) देवनंप्रियो न तथा दनं व पुज व मज्जति यथ किति  
सलवढि सियति सवप्रषंडनं (M) बहुक च एतये अठ . .
- 9 वपट धममहमच इत्थिधियक्षमहमच वचभुमिक अजे च निकये (N) इमं च एतिस  
फलं यं अतप्रषडवढि भोति
- 10 धमस च दिपन

- 1 (A) Devanāṃpriyo Priyadrasī raya savra-praśaṃḍani pravrajita[ni]<sup>1</sup>  
grahathani<sup>2</sup> cha pujeti danena vividhaye cha pujaḥ (B) no chu tatha  
[da]na<sup>3</sup> va puja va
- 2 Devanāṃpriyo mañati yatha kiti sa[la]-vaḍhi siya savra-praśaṃḍanaṃ  
(C) sala-vaḍhi tu bahuvidha (D) tasi tu iyo mula yaṃ vacha-guti
- 3 kiti ata-praśaṃḍa-puja va pa[ra]-paśaṃḍa-garana va no siya [a]pakaraṇasi<sup>4</sup>  
lahuka va siya tasi tasi prakara[n]e (E) pujetaviya va chu para-praśa[m]-
- 4 [da] tena tena akarena (F) e[v]aṃ karataṃ<sup>5</sup> ata-p[r]aśaṃḍaṃ vadheti  
para-praśaṃḍaṃsa<sup>6</sup> pi cha upakaroti (G) tada añatha<sup>7</sup> ka[ra]min[o]<sup>8</sup>  
ata-p[r]aśaṃḍa<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This word was entered above the line; *pravrajita* Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> *graha[tha]ni* Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> *aparakānasi* Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> Read *dasa*, which is Bühler's reading.

<sup>5</sup> *ka[rata] chu* Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> *dana[ni]* Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> *kara[ni]tam* Bühler.

<sup>8</sup> Read *tad-añatha*.

<sup>9</sup> *-praśaṃḍaṃ* Bühler.

- 5 kṣhaṇati para-[pra]śhaḍasa<sup>1</sup> cha apakaroti (H) yo hi kachi<sup>2</sup> ata-prashaḍam pūjeti  
[para]-p[ra]śhaḍa[m]<sup>3</sup> garahati savre ata-prashaḍa-bhatiya va kiti
- 6 ata-prashamḍam dipayami ti so cha puna tatha karamam so cha puna tatha  
karatam<sup>4</sup> ba[dhata]ram upahamti ata-prashaḍam (I) so sayamo vo sadhu kiti  
añamañasa dhramo
- 7 śruṇeyu cha suśrusheyu cha ti (J) evam hi Devanāṃpriyasa ichha kiti savra-  
prashamḍa bahu-śruta ch[a] kal[ana]gama cha siyasu (K) ye cha tatra tatra
- 8 prasana tesha[m] vatavo (L) Devanāṃpriyo<sup>5</sup> na [tatha da]na[m] va p[u]ja va  
mañati ya[tha] kiti sala-vaḍhi siyati savra-prashaḍanam (M) bahuka cha etaye  
a[tha] . .<sup>6</sup>
- 9 vap[a]ta dh[ra]ma-ma[ha]matra i[st]ridhi<sup>7</sup> yaksha-ma[ha]matra [vra]cha-bhumika<sup>8</sup> añe  
cha nikaye (N) imam cha etisa [pha]lam yam ata-pashaḍa-vaḍhi<sup>9</sup> [bh]o[ti]
- 10 dhramasa cha di[pana]

## TRANSLATION

(A) **King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** is honouring all sects : (both) ascetics and householders, with gifts and with honours of various kinds.

(B) But **Dēvānāmpriya** does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.

(C) But the promotion of the essentials (is possible) in many ways.

(D) But its root is this, viz. guarding (one's) speech, (i.e.) that neither praising one's own sect nor blaming other sects should take place on improper occasions, or (that) it should be moderate in every case.

(E) But other sects ought to be duly honoured in every way.

(F) If one is acting thus, he is promoting his own sect and is benefiting other sects as well.

(G) If one is acting otherwise than thus, he is hurting his own sect and wronging other sects.

(H) For whosoever praises his own sect (or) blames other sects,—all (this) out of pure devotion to his own sect, (i.e.) with the view of glorifying his own sect,—if he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect very severely.

(I) Therefore self-control<sup>1</sup> alone is meritorious, (i.e.) that they should both hear and obey each other's morals.

(J) For this is the desire of **Dēvānāmpriya**, (viz.) that all sects should be both full of learning and pure in doctrine.

(K) And those who are attached to their respective (sects), ought to be spoken to (as follows).

(L) **Dēvānāmpriya** does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> -*prashasidasa* Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> *k[ā]chi* Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> -*prash[a]ḍa* Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> Cancel the five preceding words, which were repeated by mistake.

<sup>5</sup> Restore *athaye*.

<sup>6</sup> *vacha*- Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> -*prashaḍa*- Bühler.

<sup>8</sup> Instead of 'self-control' the other versions read 'concord'.

<sup>9</sup> For *siyatī* see above, p. 40, n. 1.

(M) And many (officers) are occupied for this purpose, (viz.) the *Mahāmātras* of morality, the *Mahāmātras* controlling women, the inspectors of cowpens, and other classes (of officials).

(N) And this is the fruit of it, (viz.) that the promotion of one's own sect takes place, and the glorification of morality.

### THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

*C.—West face of Shāhbazgarhi rock.*

- 1 (A) अठवषअभिसितस देवनप्रिअस प्रिअद्रशिस रजो कलिग विजित (B) दिअठमचे प्रणयतसहस्रे ये ततो अपवुढे शतसहस्रमचे तच हते बहुतवतके व मुटे
- 2 (C) ततो पच अधुन लघेषु कलिगेषु तिघे भ्रमशिलन भ्रमकमत भ्रमनुशस्ति च देवनप्रियस (D) सो अस्ति अनुसोचन देवनप्रिअस विजिनिति कलिगनि
- 3 (E) अविजितं हि विजिनमनो यो तच वध व मरणं व अपवहो व जनस तं वढं वेदनियमतं गुरुमतं च देवनप्रियस (F) इदं पि चु ततो गुरुमततरं देवनप्रियस (G) ये तच
- 4 वसति ब्रमण व अमण व अंजे व प्रघंड यह्य व येसु विहित एष अयभुटिसुअधुष मतपितुषु सुअधुष गुरुन सुअधुष मिचसंस्तुतसहय-
- 5 जतिकेषु दसभटकनं सम्मप्रतिपति द्विदभतित तेष तच भोति अपययो व वधो व अभिरतन व निक्कमणं (H) येष व पि सुविहितनं सिहो अविप्रहिनो ए तेष मिचसंस्तुतसहयजतिक वसन
- 6 प्रपुणति तच तं पि तेष वो अपघयो भोति (I) प्रतिभगं च एतं सप्रमनुशनं गुरुमतं च देवनप्रियस (J) नस्ति च एकतरे पि प्रघडस्यि न नम प्रसदो (K) सो यमचो जनो तद कलिगे हतो च मुटो च अपवुढ च ततो
- 7 शतभगे व सहस्रभगं व अज गुरुमतं वो देवनप्रियस (L) यो पि च अपकरेयति अमितवियमते व देवनप्रियस यं शको क्षमनये (M) य पि च अटवि देवनप्रियस विजिते भोति त पि अनुनेति अनुनिजपेति (N) अनुतपे पि च प्रभवे
- 8 देवनप्रियस वुचति तेष किति अवचपेयु न च हंजेयसु (O) उइति हि देवनप्रियो सप्रभुतन अक्षति संयमं समचरियं रभसिये (P) अयि च सुखमुत विजये देवनप्रियस यो भ्रमविजयो (Q) सो च पुन लघो देवनप्रियस इह च सवेषु च अंतेषु
- 9 अ षषु पि योजनशतेषु यच अंतियोको नम योनरज परं च तेन अंतियोकेन चतुरे ४ रजनि तुरमये नम अंतिकिनि नम मक नम अलिकमुदरो नम निच चोडपंड अव तंबपणिय (R) एवमेव हिद रजविषवस्यि योनकवोयेषु नभकनभितिन

- 10 भोजपितिनिकेषु अन्नपलिदेषु सवच देवनंप्रियस भ्रमनुशस्ति अनुवदंति (S) यच पि देवनंप्रियस दुत न वचंति ते पि च्युतु देवनंप्रियस भ्रमवुटं विधनं भ्रमनुशस्ति भ्रमं अनुविधियंति अनुविधियिंशति च (T) यो स लथे एतकेन भोति सवच विजयो सवच पुन
- 11 विजयो प्रितरसो सो (U) लथ भोति प्रिति भ्रमविजयस्सि (V) लहुक तु खो स प्रिति (W) परचिकमेव महफल मेज्जति देवनंप्रियो (X) एतये च अटये अयि भ्रमदिपि निपिस्स किति पुच पपोच मे अमु नवं विजयं म विजेतविज्ज मज्जिषु स्पकस्सि यो विजये छंति च लहुदंडत च रोचेतु तं च यो विज मज्जतु
- 12 यो भ्रमविजयो (Y) सो हिदलोकिको परलोकिको (Z) सवचतिरति भोतु य भ्रमरति (AA) स हि हिदलोकिक्क परलोकिक्क

- 1 (A) [aṭha]-vasha-a[bhisa]jita[sā<sup>1</sup> Devana]pri[a]sa Pri[a]draśisa ra[ṭho] Ka[liga] vi[ji]jita (B) diaḍha-mat[r]e<sup>2</sup> prāṇa-ṣata-[saha]sre y[e] tato apavudhe ṣata-sahasra-matre tatra hate bahu-tavata[ke va]<sup>3</sup> m[uṭe]
- 2 (C) tato [pa]cha<sup>4</sup> a[dhu]na ladh[e]shu [Kaligeshu<sup>5</sup> tivre dhrama-śilana]<sup>6</sup> dhra[ma-ka]mata dhramanuśasti cha Devanapriyasa (D) so [a]sti anusochana<sup>7</sup> Devanap[ri]asa vijinīti Kaliga[ni]<sup>8</sup>
- 3 (E) avijitam [hi vi]jinamano yo<sup>9</sup> tat[r]a vadha<sup>10</sup> va maraṇam va apavaho va janasa tam badham v[e]dani[ya]-ma[tam] guru-mata[m] cha Devanampriyasa (F) idam<sup>11</sup> pi chu [tato] guru-matataram [Devanam]priyasa (G) ye tatra<sup>12</sup>
- 4 vasati<sup>13</sup> braṇaṇa va śrama[ṇa] va a[m]ñe va prashamda gra[ha]tha va yesu vihita esha agrabhuṭi-sūsruṣa mata-pitushu sūsruṣa guruna<sup>14</sup> sūsruṣa mitra-samstuta-sahaya-
- 5 ātikeshu dasa-bhaṭakanam samma-pratipa[ti] dīḍha-bhatita<sup>15</sup> tesha<sup>16</sup> tatra bhoti [a]pag[r]atho va vadho va abhiratana va nikramaṇam (H) yesha va pi suvihitanam<sup>17</sup> [si]ho<sup>18</sup> aviprahino [e te]sha mitra-samstuta-sahaya-ātika vasana
- 6 prapūṇati [ta]tra tam pi tesha vo apagratho<sup>19</sup> bhoti (I) pratibhaṇam cha [e]tam savra-manuśanam<sup>20</sup> guru-matam cha Devanampriya[sā] (J) nasti cha ekatare<sup>21</sup> pi prashaḍsi<sup>22</sup> na nama prasado (K) so yamatro [ja]no tada Kalige [ha]to cha muṭ[o] cha apav[uḍha]<sup>23</sup> cha tato
- 7 ṣata-bhage va sahasra-bhaṇam va [a]ja guru-matam v[o] Devanampriyasa (L) yo pi cha apakareyati kshamitaviya-mate va<sup>24</sup> Devanamp[r]iyasa yam śako kshamanaye (M) ya pi cha aṭavi Devanampriyasa vijite bhoti ta pi anuneti anunijapeti<sup>25</sup> (N) anutape pi cha prabhave

<sup>1</sup> a[sta]- Bühler.<sup>2</sup> [diyaḍha]- Bühler.<sup>3</sup> Bühler omitted va.<sup>4</sup> [pa]chka Bühler.<sup>5</sup> [Kaligeshu] Bühler.<sup>6</sup> [paṇam] Bühler.<sup>7</sup> n[am] Bühler.<sup>8</sup> priyasa vijinīti u Ka[liga[ni] Bühler.<sup>9</sup> man[s] ye] Bühler.<sup>10</sup> vadh[o] Bühler.<sup>11</sup> imam Bühler.<sup>12</sup> tatra h[et] for ye tatra Bühler.<sup>13</sup> vasamti Bühler.<sup>14</sup> gurunam Bühler.<sup>15</sup> diḍha- Bühler.<sup>16</sup> tesham Bühler.<sup>17</sup> samvī Bühler.<sup>18</sup> Read sineho; [ne]ho Bühler.<sup>19</sup> Read apagratho, which is Bühler's reading.<sup>20</sup> savram manu Bühler.<sup>21</sup> ekataraspi Bühler.<sup>22</sup> prashamḍaspi Bühler.<sup>23</sup> apavudh[o] Bühler.<sup>24</sup> vo Bühler.<sup>25</sup> Read nijhapeti, which is Bühler's reading.

- 8 **Devanāṃpriyasa** vuchati tesha kiti avatrapeyu na cha [ha]mñeyasu (O) ichhati hi **D[e]vanāṃpriyo** savra-bhutana akshati sa[m]yamañ sama[cha]riyañ rabhasiye (P) ayi<sup>1</sup> cha mukha-mut[a]<sup>2</sup> vijaye **Devanāṃpriya[sa]** yo dhrama-vijayo (Q) so cha puna ladho **Devanāṃpriyasa** iha cha saveshu<sup>3</sup> cha amteshu
- 9 [a] shashu pi yojana-śa[t]eshu yatra **Am̐tiyoko** nama **Y[o]na-raja** parañ cha tena **Atiyok[e]na**<sup>4</sup> chature 4 rajani **Turamaye** nama **Am̐tikini** nama **Maka** nama **Alikasudaro** nama nicha **Choḍa-Paṃḍa** ava **Ta[m]bapam[pi]ya**<sup>5</sup> (R) [e]vameva [hi]da raja-vishavaspi<sup>6</sup> **Yona-Ka[m]boyesu** **Nabhaka-Nabbhitina**<sup>7</sup>
- 10 **Bhoja-Pitinikeshu** **Am̐dhra-Palideshu**<sup>8</sup> savatra **Devanāṃpriyasa** dhramanuṣṭi anuvatañti (S) yatra pi **Devanāṃpriyasa** duta na vracham̐ti te pi śrutu **Devanāṃpriyasa** dhrama-vuṭaṃ vidh[a]nam<sup>9</sup> dhramanuṣṭi dhramañ [a]nuvidhiyañti anuviddhiyañti cha (T) yo [sa]<sup>10</sup> ladhe etakena bho[t]i<sup>11</sup> savatra vijayo sava[tra]pu[na]
- 11 vijayo priti-raso so (U) ladha bh[oti] priti dhrama-vijayaspi (V) lahuka tu kho sa priti (W) paratri[ka]meva maha-phala meñati **Devana[m]priyo** (X) etaye cha aṭhaye ayi<sup>12</sup> dhrama-dipi nipi[sta]<sup>13</sup> kiti putra papotra me asu navañ vijayañ ma vijetav[i]ja<sup>14</sup> mañishu spa[kaspi] yo vijay[e kshaṃ]ti cha lahu-da[m]data<sup>15</sup> cha rochetu tañ cha yo<sup>16</sup> vija<sup>16</sup> mañā[tu]
- 12 yo dhrama-vijayo (Y) so hidalokiko paralokiko (Z) sava-chati-rati<sup>17</sup> bhotu ya [dh]raṃma-rati<sup>18</sup> (AA) sa hi hidalokika paralokika

## TRANSLATION

(A) When king **Dēvanāṃpriya Priyadarśin** had been anointed eight years, (the country of) the **Kaliṅgas** was conquered by (him).

(B) One hundred and fifty thousand in number were the men who were deported thence, one hundred thousand in number were those who were slain there, and many times as many those who died.

(C) After that, now that (the country of) the **Kaliṅgas** has been taken, **Dēvanāṃpriya** (is devoted) to a zealous study of morality,<sup>19</sup> to the love of morality, and to the instruction (of people) in morality.

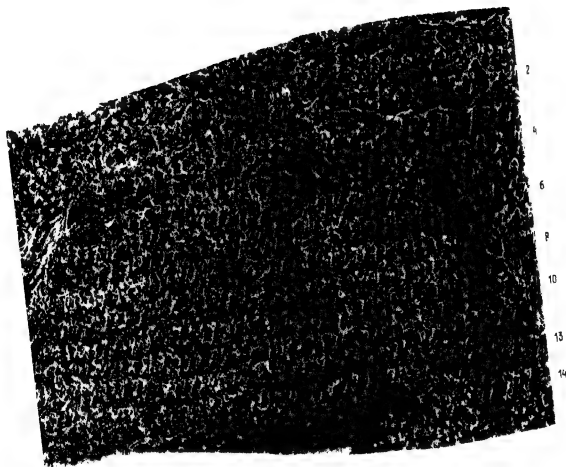
(D) This is the repentance of **Dēvanāṃpriya** on account of his conquest of (the country of) the **Kaliṅgas**.

(E) For, this is considered very painful and deplorable by **Dēvanāṃpriya**, that, while one is conquering an unconquered (country), slaughter, death, and deportation of people (are taking place) there.

(F) But the following is considered even more deplorable than this by **Dēvanāṃpriya**.

<sup>1</sup> *eshe* Bühler.<sup>2</sup> *-mte* Bühler.<sup>3</sup> *sa[m]vra[pe]shu* Bühler.<sup>4</sup> *Am̐tiyokena* Bühler.<sup>5</sup> *paṇiniya* Bühler.<sup>6</sup> *Visha-Vajri* Bühler.<sup>7</sup> *Nabhake Na[bhi]tina* Bühler.<sup>8</sup> *-Pul[de]shu* Bühler.<sup>9</sup> *vidhenañ* Bühler.<sup>10</sup> *[cha]* Bühler.<sup>11</sup> *ayo* Bühler.<sup>12</sup> *[di]pista* Bühler.<sup>13</sup> *\*tavi[ya]m* Bühler.<sup>14</sup> *-dām[da]tām* Bühler.<sup>15</sup> *tañ e[va]* Bühler.<sup>16</sup> Read *vijayañ*, as at Kālsi.<sup>17</sup> *sava cha nirati* Bühler<sup>18</sup> *[s]rama-* Bühler.<sup>19</sup> *dhrama-śilana* (= *Sk. dharmā-śilana*) is the equivalent of *dharmamāyā* at Gīmār; see above, p. 24, n. 14.

THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICTS: SHAHBAZGARHI  
LEFT HALF



SCALE ONE-NINTH



(G) (To) the Brāhmaṇas or Śramaṇas, or other sects or householders, who are living there, (and) among whom the following are practised: obedience to those who receive high pay, obedience to mother and father, obedience to elders, proper courtesy to friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives, to slaves and servants, (and) firm devotion,—to these then happen injury<sup>1</sup> or slaughter or deportation of (their) beloved ones.

(H) Or, if there are then incurring misfortune the friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives of those whose affection (for the latter) is undiminished, although they are (themselves) well provided for, this (misfortune) as well becomes an injury to those (persons) themselves.

(I) This is shared by all men and is considered deplorable by *Dēvānāmpriya*.

(J) And there is no (place where men) are not indeed attached to some sect.<sup>2</sup>

(K) Therefore even the hundredth part or the thousandth part of all those people who were slain, who died, and who were deported at that time in *Kāliṅga*, (would) now be considered very deplorable by *Dēvānāmpriya*.

(L) And *Dēvānāmpriya* thinks that even (to one) who should wrong (him), what can be forgiven is to be forgiven.

(M) And even (the inhabitants of) the forests<sup>3</sup> which are (included) in the dominions of *Dēvānāmpriya*, even those he pacifies (and) converts.<sup>4</sup>

(N) And they are told of the power (to punish them) which *Dēvānāmpriya* (possesses) in spite of (his) repentance,<sup>5</sup> in order that they may be ashamed (of their crimes) and may not be killed.

(O) For *Dēvānāmpriya* desires towards all beings abstention from hurting, self-control, (and) impartiality in (case of) violence.<sup>6</sup>

(P) And this conquest is considered the principal one<sup>7</sup> by *Dēvānāmpriya*, viz. the conquest by morality.

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of *apagratho* is fixed by the various readings *upaghāte* (Kālsi) and *upaghāto* (Girnār). It has to be noted (to which Pischel draws my attention) that some Kōśas give for *grathita* the meaning *hata*, *hinisita*; see Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary, s. v. *granth*.—Bühler, ZDMG, 43, 174.

<sup>2</sup> 'By the fault of the writer' (as the rock-edict XIV, E, expresses it), most of this section is omitted in the Shāhbāzgarhi version.

<sup>3</sup> As remarked by Bühler (ZDMG, 43, 174 f.), the nom. plur. *aṭavi* is used in the sense of *ājavikāh*. Indian rhetoricians call such a figurative expression *lakṣaṇā*. One of the examples given in the *Tarkasaṃgrahadīpikā*, § 59, is *मत्तः क्रोधयति*, 'the tribunes (i. e. the occupants of the tribunes) are shouting.'

<sup>4</sup> Literally, 'induces to meditate'. Cf. *nijhapayisānti* and *nijhapayitā* (or *nijhapayitave*) in the pillar-edict IV, M, *nijhap[er]taṃv[er]ye* in the Jaugaḍa separate edict I, R, and *nijhātī* in the rock-edict VI, F, and in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, JJ to NN; also the second separate edict at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, where Aśoka declares that he wishes to induce his borderers to practise morality.

<sup>5</sup> Bühler (EI, 2, 471) rendered *anutaṭṭe prabhavē* (i. e. *anutaṭṭe prabhavē*) by 'power to torment (them)'. But the meaning which he assigned to *anutaṭṭa* is unusual, and this word is a synonym of *anutaṭṭa* or *anutaṭṭhana* in section D of this edict. Thomas takes *prabhavē* = Skt. *prabhavēt*; see V. A. Smith's *Aśoka*, sec. ed., p. 173, n. 4. But at Shāhbāzgarhi the 3. sing. opt. ends in *-eyati*; cf. my note on the translation of edict XIV, D.

<sup>6</sup> I adopt Lüders' rendering of the last two words of this section; see SPAW, 1914, 851. The Girnār and Kālsi versions replace the locative *rabhasiye* (= Skt. *rābhasiye*) by the accusative *mādava* or *mādava* (= Skt. *mārdavam*, 'kindness').

<sup>7</sup> *mukha-muta* (also at Mānehrā, XIII, l. 9) is the same as *mukhya-muta* in the Lauriyā-Arārāj and Allahabad-Kōśam pillar-edicts, VI, F.

(Q) And this (conquest) has been won repeatedly<sup>1</sup> by **Dēvānāmpriya** both here and among all (his) borderers, even as far as at (the distance of) six hundred *yōjanas*, where the **Yōna** king named **Antiyoka** (is ruling), and beyond this **Antiyoka**, (where) **four—4—kings** (are ruling), (viz. the king) named **Turamaya**, (the king) named **Antikini**, (the king) named **Maka**, (and the king) named **Alikasudara**, (and) towards the south, (where) the **Chōḍas** and **Pāṇḍyas** (are ruling), as far as **Tāmraparṇi**.

(R) Likewise here in the king's territory, among the **Yōnas** and **Kambōyas**, among the **Nabhakas** and **Nabhitis**,<sup>1</sup> among the **Bhōjas** and **Pitinikas**, among the **Andhras** and **Palidas**,<sup>2</sup>—everywhere (people) are conforming to **Dēvānāmpriya's** instruction in morality.

(S) Even those to whom the envoys of **Dēvānāmpriya** do not go, having heard of the duties of morality, the ordinances, (and) the instruction in morality of **Dēvānāmpriya**, are conforming to morality and will conform to (it).

(T) This conquest, which has been won by this everywhere,—a conquest (won) everywhere (and) repeatedly,—causes the feeling of satisfaction.

(U) Satisfaction has been obtained (by me) at the conquest by morality.

(V) But this satisfaction is indeed of little (consequence).

(W) **Dēvānāmpriya** thinks that only the fruits in the other (world) are of great (value).

(X) And for the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz.) in order that the sons (and) great-grandsons (who) may be (born) to me, should not think that a fresh conquest ought to be made, (that), if a conquest does please them,<sup>3</sup> they should take pleasure in mercy and light punishments, and (that) they should regard the conquest by morality as the only (true) conquest.

(Y) This (conquest bears fruit) in this world (and) in the other world.

(Z) And let there be (to them) pleasure in the abandonment of all (other aims), which is pleasure in morality.

(AA) For this (bears fruit) in this world (and) in the other world.

#### FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBÄZGARHI

13 (A) अयि धम्मदिपि देवनंप्रियेन प्रिणिन रज निपेसपित अस्ति वो संखितेन  
अस्ति यो विस्खितेन (B) न हि सवच ससग्गे गटिते (C) महल्लके हि विजिते  
बहु च लिखिते लिखपेसमि चेव (D) अस्ति चु अच पुन पुन लपितं तस  
तस अठस मधुरियये येन जन तथ

14 पटिपजेयति (E) सो सिय व अच किचे असमतं लिखितं देशं व संखय करख  
व अलोचेति दिपिकरम व अपरधेन

<sup>1</sup> The Kālsi version reads *Nābhapaṇṇi* for *Nabhiti*.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 48, n. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, p. 49, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above, p. 18, n. 10. The wording of Kālsi and Mānschrā differs here. Unless the Shāhbāzgarhi reading is merely due to a clerical mistake, it would contain a Prakṛit substantive *chatti* = Skt. *\*tvakti* in the sense of 'power'.

- 13 (A) *ayi*<sup>1</sup> *dhrama-dipi*<sup>2</sup> *Devanāṣṭripriyena Priśī[na]*<sup>3</sup> *rañña nipesapita*<sup>4</sup> *asti vo saṁkshitenā*<sup>5</sup> *asti yo vistrīṭena* (B) *na hi savatra*<sup>6</sup> *sasavre*<sup>7</sup> *gaṇite*<sup>8</sup> (C) *mahalake hi vijite bahu cha likhite likha[p]eśami cheva* (D) *asti chu*<sup>9</sup> *atra puna puna [a]pitaṁ tasa tasa [a]ṭhasa madhuriyaye ye[na] jana tatha*  
 14 *paṭipajeyati*<sup>10</sup> (E) *so siya va atra kiche*<sup>11</sup> *asamataṁ likhitaṁ deśaṁ va saṁkhaya[a]*<sup>12</sup> *karaṇa va alocheti dipikarasa va aparadhena*

## TRANSLATION

(A) These rescripts on morality have been caused to be written<sup>13</sup> by king *Dēvanāṣṭripriya Priyadarśin* either in an abridged (form) or at full length.

(B) For the whole was not suitable everywhere.

(C) For (my) dominions are wide, and much has been written, and I shall cause still (more) to be written.

(D) But (some) of this has been stated again and again because of the charm of certain topics, (and) in order that men should act accordingly.<sup>14</sup>

(E) But some of this may have been written incompletely, either on account of the locality, or because (my) motive was not liked,<sup>15</sup> or by the fault of the writer.

## IV. THE MANSEHRA ROCK

## FIRST ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

*A.—First Inscribed Rock.*

- 1 (A) अयि धर्मदिपि देवनंप्रियेन प्रियद्रशिन् रजिन् लिखपित (B) हिद नो किद्धि  
 जिवे अरभितु प्रजोहि-  
 2 तविये (C) नो पि च समजे कटविये (D) बहुक्क हि दोष समजस देवनंप्रिये  
 प्रियद्रशि रज दक्षति (E) अस्सि पि चु  
 3 एकतिय समज सधुमत देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस् रजिने (F) पुर महनससि  
 देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस् र-  
 4 जिने अन्नुदिवस बहुनि प्रणणतसहसनि अरभिसु सुपण्ये (G) से . . . . . द  
 अयि धर्मदिपि लिखित तद तिनि येव प्रणणि अरभियंति दुवे २ मज्जु-  
 5 र एके खिगे से पि चु खिगे नो ध्रुवं (H) एतनि पि चु तिनि प्रणणि पच नो  
 अरभि . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> *ayo* Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> There is a vacant space between *ma* and *di*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *Priyadarśina*.

<sup>4</sup> *dipapito* Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> *saṁkshitenā* Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> *savatra* Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> Read *savre*; [*so*] *savre* Bühler.

<sup>8</sup> Read *gaṇite*; *gaṇiti* Bühler.

<sup>9</sup> *cha* Bühler.

<sup>10</sup> *prāṭi* Bühler.

<sup>11</sup> Read *kichi*, which is Bühler's reading.

<sup>12</sup> *saṁkhaya* Bühler.

<sup>13</sup> With *nipesapita* cf. *nipesitaṁ* in the Shāhbāzgarhi edict IV, K.

<sup>14</sup> With the optative *paṭipajeyati* (= *yāti* at Dhauri and Jaugaḍa) cf. *apakarayati* (XIII, I 7), *nivapayati* (IX, I 20), and *siyati* (= *kiyāti* or *shiyāti* at Kālsti); see above, p. 40, n. 1.

<sup>15</sup> See above, p. 8, n. 3.

- 1 (A) ayi dhra[ma]-dip[ī] Devana[m]priye[na] <sup>1</sup> Priya[draśina rajina li]khaṇita (B) hi[da] no kichhi <sup>2</sup> ji[ve] ara[bhita] pra[johi]-  
 2 taviye <sup>3</sup> (C) no pi [cha] samaj[e] kaṭaviye <sup>4</sup> (D) bahu[ka] hi [dosha samajasa Devanaṭapriye] Priyadraśi raja [da]kha[ti] (E) asti [pi chu]  
 3 [eka]tiya samaja sa[dhu]-mata Devanapriyasa Priyadraśi[sa] <sup>5</sup> rajine (F) pura maha[nasa]si [Devana]pri[ya]sa Pri[yadra]śisa ra-  
 4 jine anudiva[sa ba]huni prāṇa-śa[ta]-sahas[r]ani [arab]hiṣu supa[thra]ye (G) s[e] . . . . . [da] ayi dhrama-dipi likhi[ta] ta[da] t[ā]ni y[eva] pra[nā]ni [ara]bh[iya]nti du[v]e [2] maju-  
 5 ra [e]k[ke] <sup>6</sup> m[r]ig[e] s[e] p[ī] chu mrig[e] no dhruva[m] (H) [e]tani pi chu [tini] prāṇani pacha no ara[bhi] . . .

## SECOND ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 5 (A) सवच विजितसि देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रक्षिस् रजिने ये च अत अथ  
 6 चोड पंडिय सतियपुच केरलपुच तंबपणि अतियोगे नम योनरज ये च अ . . . . स  
 . . . . . गस समत रजने सवच . . . . . प्रियस प्रियद्रक्षिस् रजिने  
 7 दुवे २ चिकिस कट मनुशचिकिस च पशुचिकिस च (B) ओषढनि मनु . . . . कनि  
 च प . . . . कनि च अच अच नस्ति सवच हरपित च रोपपित च  
 8 (C) एवमेव मुलनि च फलनि च अच अच नस्ति सवच हरपित च रोपपित च  
 (D) मगेषु रुहनि रोपपितनि . . . . . पितनि पटिभोगये पशु-  
 मुनिशनं

- 5 (A) sa[vatra vi]jitasī Devanapriyasa Priyadraśisa rajino ye cha ata <sup>7</sup> atha  
 6 [Choḍa] Pa[mh]i[ya] Sa[ti]ya[p]u[tra] Keralaputra <sup>8</sup> [Taṃ]bapaṇi [A]tiyoga <sup>9</sup>  
 nama Yona-[raja] ye cha [a] . . . . sa . . . . . [gasa] samata <sup>10</sup> ra[jane sa]vratra  
 . . . . . priyasa Priyadraśisa rajino  
 7 [duve 2] chikisa [ka]ṇa manuśa-chik[isa] cha paśu-[chi]kisa cha (B) osha[dha]ni <sup>11</sup>  
 manu . . . ka[ṇi] cha pa . . . [kani] cha atra atra <sup>12</sup> nasti savra[tra] [ha]rapit[ta]  
 cha] ropapita] cha  
 8 (C) e[va]jmeva mulani [cha] phalani [cha] a[tra] a[tra] [na]sti [savra]tra harapita cha  
 ro[pa]pita cha (D) ma[geshu] ruchhani <sup>13</sup> [ropa]pi[tani] <sup>14</sup> . . . . . [pi]tani  
 paṭibhogaye paśu-m[uni]śanaṃ <sup>15</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [De]vana[pri]yena Bühler.<sup>2</sup> kichhi Bühler.<sup>3</sup> pra[yu]khaṭaviye Bühler.<sup>4</sup> sama[ja] kaṭaviya Bühler.<sup>5</sup> [Pri]yadraśi[ne] Bühler.<sup>6</sup> Bühler inserted the figure '1'.<sup>7</sup> aṇita Bühler.<sup>8</sup> puṭr[e] Bühler.<sup>9</sup> . . . tiyo[ke] Bühler.<sup>10</sup> samanta Bühler.<sup>11</sup> osha[dhi]ni Bühler.<sup>12</sup> [ya]tra yatra Bühler.<sup>13</sup> ru[chha] Bühler.<sup>14</sup> The next symbol (read [ku] by Bühler) may be the first letter (u) of udupanani.<sup>15</sup> -m[a]nūṣana Bühler.

## THIRD ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 9 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज एव अह (B) दुवडहववभिसेतेन मे इवं अक्षपयिते  
(C) समप्र विजितसि ..... त रबु .. प्रदेशिके पंचबु पंचबु ५ वषेषु  
10 अनुसंयनं निकमतु एतये व अक्षये इमये धमनुशस्त्रिये यष अजये पि क्रमये  
(D) सधु मतपितुषु सुशुष मिशसंस्तुत-  
11 जतिकं च धमखचमखनं सधु दने प्रखन अजरमे सधु अपवयत अपभडत सधु  
(E) परिष पि च युतनि गखनसि अक्षपयिषति हेतुते च वियंज-  
12 नते च
- 9 (A) Devanapriye Priyadraśi raja eva a[ha] (B) duva[. a]śa-vashabhisetena<sup>1</sup>  
me iyañ<sup>2</sup> [anapayit]e (C) savra[r]ja vijitasi . . . . . ta<sup>3</sup> [ra]ju . . pradeśike  
[pañ]chashu pañ[chashu] 5 vashab[hu]  
10 anusa[m]yana[m] nikramatu<sup>4</sup> etaye va<sup>5</sup> athraye imaye dhramanuśastiye ya[tha]<sup>6</sup>  
aśaye<sup>7</sup> pi krama[ne]<sup>8</sup> (D) [sadhu mata]-pi[tu]shu [s]u[śru]sha mitra]-sa[m]stuta-  
11 śatikanañ cha bra[ma]ṇa-śramaṇa[m]<sup>9</sup> sadhu dane praṇana [anara]bhe sadhu  
apa-[va]yata apa-bha[da]ta sadhu (E) parisha pi cha yutani ga[ṇa]nasi  
[anapa]yisa[ti] he[tute] cha vi[yañja]-  
12 nate cha

## FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 12 (A) अतिक्रतं अतरं बहुनि वषशतनि वधिते वो प्रखरंमे विहिस च भुतनं जतिन  
असपटिपति अमखधमखन असंपटिपति  
13 (B) से अज देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिने रजिने धमचरणेन भेरिषोषे अहो धमषोषे  
विमनद्रशन अक्षिने अगिकंधनि अजनि च दिवनि रूपनि द्रशेति जनस  
14 (C) अदिशे बहुहि वषशतेहि न हुतप्रुवे तदिशे अज वधिते देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिने  
रजिने धमनुशस्त्रिय अजरमे प्रखन अविहिस भुतन जतिन  
15 संपटिपति वमखधमखन संपटिपति मतपितुषु सुशुष बुधन सुशुष (D) एषे अजे  
च बहुविधे धमचरणे वधिते (E) बधयिषति येव देवनप्रिये  
16 प्रियद्रशि रज धमचरण इमं (F) पुष पि च क नतरे च पणतिक देवनप्रियस  
प्रियद्रशिने रजिने पवठयिषति यो धमचरण इमं अक्कपं धमे शिले च

<sup>1</sup> Read *°bhisetena*. <sup>2</sup> *ayan* Bühler. <sup>3</sup> [me] . . ta Bühler. <sup>4</sup> *nikrama[m]tu* Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> *van* Bühler. What he took for an Anusvāra, is the optional horizontal (sometimes curved) bottom-line which he has noted in *ja* (ZDMG, 43, 275), and which the Mānsrā version uses also in *ḍa* (XIII, 70), *ḍha* (VII, 33; XII, 6; XIII, 1), *ta* of *mata* (I, 3; IV, 15; XIII, 4), *tha* (II, 5, V, 20, 26; XII, 4; cf. above, p. 55, n. 6), and *pa* (XII, 5).

<sup>6</sup> *ya . an* Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> *ayaya* Bühler.

<sup>8</sup> *kramane* Bühler.

<sup>9</sup> *-śramaṇaṇa* Bühler.

- 17 चिठितु भ्रमं अनुशशिशंति (G) एषे हि सेठे अं भ्रमनुशसन (H) भ्रमचरखे पि च  
न होति अशिलस (I) से इमस अषूस वध्रि अहिनि च सधु (J) एतये
- 18 अषूये इयं लिखिते एतस अषूस वध्र युजंतु हिन च म अलोचयिसु (K)  
दुवदशवषभिसितेन देवनप्रियेन प्रियद्राशिने रजिन इयं लिखिते
- 12 (A) atikratam̐ ata[rām]<sup>1</sup> bahunī vasha-śa[ta]ni vadhite vo<sup>2</sup> prañaram̐[bh]je vihi[sa]  
cha bhutanam̐ fiatina asapa[t]ipati śrama[na]-bramaṇana<sup>3</sup> asa[m]paṭipati
- 13 (B) se aja [De]vanapriyasa Priyadrasīne rajine dhrama-[cha]ra[ne]na bheri-  
ghoshe aho dhama-ghoshe<sup>4</sup> vimana-draśana asti[ne]<sup>5</sup> agi-kamidhan[i] añā[ni  
cha] di[vani] rupani draśeti janasa
- 14 (C) [a]diśe bahuhi vasha-śa[tehi] na [hu]ta-pr[u]ve tadiśe [a]jja vadhite [De]vana-  
priyasa Priyadrasīne rajine dhramanuśastiya anarabhe prañana<sup>6</sup> avihisa  
bhutana fiatina
- 15 saripaṭipati bamaṇa-śramaṇana<sup>7</sup> sa[m]paṭipati mata-pitushu<sup>8</sup> suśru[sha] vudhrana  
[su]śrusa (D) eshe añ[ce] cha bahuvidhe dhrama-charaṇe vadhrite (E)  
vadhrayiśati yeva Devanapriye
- 16 Priyadrasī raja dhama-[cha]raṇa<sup>9</sup> ima[m]<sup>10</sup> (F) [putra] pi cha ka<sup>11</sup> natara cha  
paṇatika De[va]napriyasa Priyadrasīne<sup>12</sup> rajine pavaḍhayiśanti yo<sup>13</sup> dhrama-  
charaṇa imam̐ [a]va-kapaṇ dhrame śile cha
- 17 [chi]ṭhitu<sup>14</sup> dhra[mam̐] anu[śa]śiśanti (G) eshe hi sreṭhe a[m] dhramanuśaśana  
(H) dhrama-[cha]ra[ne] pi [cha] na hoti aśi[la]sa (I) se imasa athrasa vadhri  
ahi[ni] cha<sup>15</sup> sadhu (J) etaye
- 18 athraye i[yaṇ]<sup>16</sup> li[khi]te e[ta]sa [athra]sa vadhra<sup>17</sup> yu[jam̐]tu hini cha ma  
[alo]chay[i]su<sup>18</sup> (K) duva[da]śa-vashabhisitena Devanapriyena Priya-  
draśīna rajina iya[m] likhapite

## FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 19 (A) देवनप्रियेन प्रियद्राशि रज एवं अह (B) कलखं दुकरं (C) ये अदिकरे कयणस  
से दुकरं करोति (D) तं मय बहु कयणे कटे (E) तं मअ पुच च
- 20 नतरे च पर च तेन ये अपतिये मे अवकपं तथ अनुवटिशति से मुकट कषति  
(F) ये च अच देश पि हपेशति से दुकट कषति
- 21 (G) पपे हि नम सुपदरवे (H) से अतिक्रतं अंतरं न भुतप्रुव भ्रममहमच नम (I)  
से वेडशवषभिसितेन मय भ्रममहमच कट (J) ते सन्नपषडेव
- 22 वपुट भ्रमधिषनये च भ्रमवध्रिय हितमुखये च भ्रमयुतस योनकंबोजगधरन  
रठिकपितिनिकन ये व पि अजे अपरत (K) भटमये-

<sup>1</sup> a[m]ta[rām] Bühler.<sup>4</sup> dhrama-ghoshe Bühler.<sup>7</sup> -śramaṇana[m] Bühler.<sup>10</sup> ima Bühler.<sup>13</sup> Bühler omitted *yo*.<sup>17</sup> anu[lo]chayisu Bühler.<sup>2</sup> vadhite vām Bühler.<sup>5</sup> hastine Bühler.<sup>8</sup> matu- Bühler.<sup>11</sup> ku Bühler.<sup>14</sup> [ti]stisu Bühler.<sup>3</sup> -bramaṇanam Bühler.<sup>6</sup> prañanam Bühler.<sup>9</sup> dhrama- Bühler.<sup>12</sup> Devanapriyasa Priyadrasīne Bühler.<sup>15</sup> i[mam̐] Bühler.<sup>18</sup> Read vadhri.

- 23 बु ब्रमणिभ्येषु अनयेषु वृषेषु हिदसुखये भ्रमयुतअपलिबोधये वियपुट ते (L)  
वधनवधस पटिविधनये अपलिबोधये मोक्षये च इयं
- 24 अनुवध प्रज ति व कद्रभिकर ति व महलके ति व वियप्रट ते (M) हिद बहिरेषु  
च नगरेषु सप्पेषु स्रोरोधनेषु भतन च स्पसुन च
- 25 ये व पि अजे जतिके सवच वियपट (N) ए इयं भ्रमनिशितो तो व भ्रमधिचने  
ति व दनसंयुते ति व सवच विजितसि मस भ्रमयुतसि वपुट ते
- 26 भ्रममहमच (O) एतये अण्ये अयि भ्रमदिपि लिखित चिरठितिक होतु तच च मे  
प्रज अनुवदतु

- 19 (A) De[vanam]priyena<sup>1</sup> Priyadraśi raja eva[m] aha (B) kalāṇa[m] dukara[m]  
(C) ye adikare kayāṇasa se dukarāṇ karoti (D) taṁ maya bahu [ka]yaṇe  
[ka]ṇe (E) [ta]m ma[a] putra [cha]
- 20 natar[e] cha<sup>2</sup> para<sup>3</sup> cha t[e]na ye apatiye me [a]va-[ka]pam tatha anuvaṭṭasati<sup>4</sup> se  
sukata ka[sha]ti (F) ye [chu] atra deśa pi hapeṭati se dukata kashati
- 21 (G) pape hi nama supadarave<sup>5</sup> (H) s[e] atikrata[m] a[m]tara[m] na bhuta-pruva  
dhrama-[ma]hamatra nama (I) se tṛeṣaśa-va[sha]bhisitena maya dhrama-  
mahamatra kata (J) te savra-pa[sha]desha<sup>6</sup>
- 22 vapuṭa dhramadhitha[na]ye cha dhrama-vadhriya hida-sukhaye cha dh[r]ama-yutasa  
Yona-Kaṁboja-Gadharana<sup>7</sup> Raṭhika-Pitinikana<sup>8</sup> ye va pi aṇe aparata (K)  
bha[ta]maye-
- 23 shu bramaṇibhyeshu anatheshu vudhreshu hida-su[khaye]<sup>9</sup> dhrama-yuta-  
apalibodhaye viya[p]uṭa te (L) badhana-badh[a]sa paṭiv[i]dhanaye apalibodhaye  
mokshay[e] cha iyaṁ
- 24 anubadha p[r]aja<sup>10</sup> t[i] va kaṭrabhikara ti va mahalake ti va viyapraṭa te (M)  
hida<sup>11</sup> bahireshu cha nagaresh[u] savreshu [o]rodhaneshu bhatana<sup>12</sup> cha  
spas[u]na [cha]
- 25 ye va pi aṇe ātike savratra viyapraṭa (N) [e] iyaṁ dhrama-niśito to<sup>13</sup> va  
dhramadhithaṇe ti va dana-samyute ti va savratra vijitasi maa dhrama-yutasi  
vaputa [te]
- 26 dhrama-mahamatra (O) etaye athraye ayi dhrama-dipi likhita chira-ṭhitika hotu  
tatha<sup>14</sup> cha me praja anuvaṭatu

<sup>1</sup> Read *°priye*, which is Bühler's reading.

<sup>2</sup> Bühler omitted *cha*.

<sup>3</sup> *param* Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> *tatham anuvaṭṭasati* Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> *supadare v[a]* Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> Read *°deshu*, which is Bühler's reading.

<sup>7</sup> -Ga[m]dharanam Bühler.

<sup>8</sup> *Raṭakra*-Bühler. The second symbol (*ṭhi*) resembles the corresponding one at Shāhbāzgarhi, but the vertical line connecting the right ends of the two horizontal bars is omitted here. The third symbol looks like *kaṁ*; but the apparent Anusvara is the optional bottom-line of the letter. Cf. the *ka* of *chira-ṭhitika*, VI, 31, and above, p. 73, n. 5.

<sup>9</sup> *hidam*-Bühler.

<sup>10</sup> *paja* Bühler; *ja* looks like *ju*.

<sup>11</sup> *hidam* Bühler.

<sup>12</sup> Read *bhatana*.

<sup>13</sup> -*niśiti* ti Bühler; read *ti* for *to*.

<sup>14</sup> *tatham* Bühler.

## SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 26 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रुशि रज एवं अक्ष (B) अतिक्रान्तं अतारं  
 27 न हुतप्रुवे सव कल अक्षकम व पटिवेदन व (C) त मय एवं किटं (D) सव  
 कलं अक्षतस मे ओरोधने यभगरसि वचसि विनितसि उयनसि सवच  
 पटिवेदक अक्ष जनस  
 28 पटिवेदेतु मे (E) सवच च जनस अक्ष करोमि अहं (F) यं पि च किछि मुखतो  
 अक्षपेमि अहं दपकं व अचकं य मे व पुन महमचेहि अचयिके अरोपिते  
 होति  
 29 तये अक्षये विवेदे निजति व संत परिषये अनतल्लियेन पटिवेदेतविचे मे  
 सवच सव कल (G) एवं अक्षपित मय (H) नक्षि हि मे तोषे उठनसि  
 अक्षसंतिरणये च  
 30 (I) कटवियमते हि मे सवलोकहिते (J) तस च पुन एवे मुले उठने अक्षसतिरण  
 च (K) नक्षि हि क्रमतर सवलोकहितेन (L) यं च किछि परक्रममि अक्षं  
 किंति भुतनं  
 31 अक्षणिं येहं इक्ष च पे सुखयमि परच च स्पय अरपेतु ति (M) से एतये अक्षये  
 इयं भ्रमदिपि लिखित चिरदितिक होतु तथ च मे पुच नतरे परक्रमते सव-  
 32 लोकहितये (N) दुकरे च खो अक्षच अयेन परक्रमेन  
 26 (A) *Dovanapriyo*<sup>1</sup> *Priyadrasī* raja [e]va[m] aa<sup>4</sup> (B) *atikratam ataram*<sup>2</sup>  
 27 na<sup>3</sup> *huta-pruve* [sa]vraṇi kala athra-[krama] va [pa]ṭivedana va (C) *ta maya evam*  
*kiṭam* (D) *savra kalam asatasa me orodhane grabhagarasi vrachaspi vinitaspi*  
*uy.naspi savratra pa[ṭi]ve[de]daka* athra janasa  
 28 *paṭivedetu* me (E) *savratra cha janasa athra kar[ṣ]ṇi ahaṁ* (F) *yaṁ pi cha*<sup>5</sup>  
*kichhi*<sup>6</sup> *mukhato*<sup>7</sup> *anapemi ahaṁ dapakaṁ va śravakaṁ va ye*<sup>8</sup> *va puna*  
*mahamatrehi achayike aroṇite*<sup>9</sup> *hoti*  
 29 *taye athraye vivade nijati*<sup>10</sup> *va saṁta paṭiṣa* ye a[na]ṭaliyena *paṭivedetaviye*<sup>11</sup>  
*me savratra savra kala* (G) *evam anapita maya* (H) *nasti hi me toṣe*  
*[uṭhanasi] ath[r]a-sa[m]tirayaye cha*  
 30 (I) *kaṭaviya-mate* hi me *savra-loka-hi[r]te* (J) *[ta]sa chu puna eshe mule uṭhane*  
*athra-satirana cha* (K) *nasti hi kramatara savra-loka-hitena* (L) *ya[m] cha*  
*[kichhi]*<sup>12</sup> *pa[rakra]mami ahaṁ*<sup>13</sup> *k[i]ṭ[i] bh[u]tanam*  
 31 *ananyam*<sup>14</sup> *ye[haṁ] ia cha she*<sup>15</sup> *sukhayami paratra cha spagra*<sup>16</sup> *a[r]adhetu ti*

<sup>1</sup> *Devana[ni]priye* Bühler.<sup>2</sup> *aka* Bühler.<sup>3</sup> *atikraṇtam anitaram* Bühler.<sup>4</sup> *n[o]* Bühler.<sup>5</sup> Bühler omitted *cha*.<sup>6</sup> *kichhi* Bühler.<sup>7</sup> *mukhato* looks almost like *mukhati*, which is Bühler's reading.<sup>8</sup> *yaṁ* Bühler.<sup>9</sup> *aropita* Bühler.<sup>10</sup> Read *nijhati*, which is Bühler's reading.<sup>11</sup> *a[na]ṭaliyena paṭivedetaviye* Bühler.<sup>12</sup> *[kichhi]* Bühler.<sup>13</sup> *ahaṁ* Bühler.<sup>14</sup> *ananyam* Bühler.<sup>15</sup> *sha* Bühler.<sup>16</sup> *spagram* Bühler.



(M) se etaye athraye iyaṁ dhrama-dipi likhita chira-ṭhitika<sup>1</sup> hotu ta[tha<sup>2</sup>  
cha] me pu[tra nata]re para[kra]mate<sup>3</sup> sa[vra]-

32 [lo]ka-hitaye (N) dukare cha<sup>4</sup> kho [a]ṭṭatra a[g]ṛena para[kra]mena

## SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT : MANSEHRA

32 (A) देवनप्रियो प्रियद्रुशि राज सवत्र इक्षति सवपशद वसेयु (B) सव्रे हि ते सवम  
भवशुधि च

33 इक्षति (C) जने च उचवुचछदे उचवुचरगे (D) ते सव एक्केदेशं च पि कषति (E)  
विपुले पि च दने यस नस्ति सयेमे भवशुति क्खित्तत द्दिहभत्ति च

34 निचे वटं

32 (A) Devanapriyo<sup>5</sup> Priyadrasi<sup>6</sup> raja savratra ichhati savra-pashada vaseyu (B)  
savre hi te sa[ya]ma [bha]va-śu[dh]i[ḥ] [cha]

33 [ichham]ṭi (C) jane chu uchavucha-chhade<sup>7</sup> uchavucha-rage (D) te savraṁ eka-deśaṁ  
va pi kashati (E) [v]ipule pi ch[u] dane yasa nasti sayeme<sup>8</sup> bhava-śuti<sup>9</sup>  
kīṇanata dṛiḍha-bhatita<sup>10</sup> cha

34 niche baḍham

## EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT : MANSEHRA

34 (A) क्षतिक्कतं क्षतरं देवनप्रिय विहरयच नम निक्रमिषु (B) इक्ष धिगविय अजनि  
च एदिशनि अभिरमनि हुसु (C) से देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रुशि

35 राज दशवचभिसिते संतं निक्रमि सबोधि (D) तेनद भमयद (E) कष इय होति  
शमखम्मखन द्रशने दने च बुध्न द्रशने च हिजपटिविधने च

36 जनपदस जनस द्रशने भमनुश्लि च भमपरिपुक्ष च ततोपव (F) एधे भुये रति  
होति देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रुशिस

37 रत्तिने भगे क्खे

34 (A) a[ṭṭi]krataṁ ataraṁ<sup>11</sup> Devanapri[ya] vihara-yatra nama nikramishu (B) ia<sup>12</sup>  
mrigaviya añāni cha eḍiṣāni abhiramani husu (C) s[c] Devanap[r]i[ya] (E)  
Pr[ī]yadrasi

35 raja daśa-vashabhisite saṁta[rā] nikrami Sabodhi<sup>13</sup> (D) tenada dhrama-yada<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> -ṭhitikaṁ Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> tathāṁ Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> °maṇite Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> chu Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> °[priye] Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> -chade Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> sayame Bühler.

<sup>8</sup> Read -śudhi.

<sup>9</sup> dṛiḍha- Bühler.

<sup>10</sup> anitarāṁ Bühler.

<sup>11</sup> i[ka] Bühler.

<sup>12</sup> sambodhi Bühler.

<sup>13</sup> tenad[āṁ] dhrama-yadra Bühler. What looks like an Anuvāra or Rēpha, is probably the optional bottom-line of da, which occurs also in V, 23, 24; VIII, 36; IX, 8 (twice); X, 9; XIII, 3, 7, 9, 10, 13. Cf. above, p. 54, n. 7.

- (E) atra iya hoti śamaṇa-bramaṇa<sup>1</sup> dra[śa]ne dane cha vudhrana<sup>2</sup> dra[śa]ne  
[cha hi]ṇa-paṭiv[ī]dhane<sup>3</sup> cha]  
36 janapadasa janasa draśane dhramaṇuṣṭi cha dhrama-[pa]r[i]puch<sup>4</sup> cha tatopaya  
(F) eshe bhuye rati hoti Devanapriyasa Priyadrasīsa  
37 rajine bhage aṇe

## NINTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

*B.—North Face of Second Rock.*

- 1 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि राज एवं अह (B) जने उचवुचं मगलं करोति  
2 अचधसि अचहसि विवहसि प्रजोपदये प्रवसस्सि एतये अजये च एदिशये जने  
3 बहु मंगलं करोति (C) अच तु अचकजनिक बहु च बहुविध च खुद च निरप्पिय  
च मगलं करोति (D) से कटविये चेव खो  
4 मगले (E) अपफले चु खो एपे (F) इयं चु खो महफले ये भ्रममगले (G) अच  
इयं दसभटकसि सम्यपटिपति गुरुन अपचिन्ति  
5 प्रखन सयमे अमणवमणन दने एषे अणे च एदिशे भ्रममगले नम (H) से  
वतविये पितुन पि पुनेन पि भतुन पि स्पमिकेन पि  
6 मिषसंस्तुतेन अच पटिवेशियेन पि इयं सधु इयं कटविये मगले अच तस अपूस  
निवुटिय निवुटसि व पुन इम कषमि ति (I) ए हि इतरे मगले  
7 जशयिके से (J) सिय व तं अण्ं निवटेय सिय पन नो (K) हिदलोकिके चेव से  
(L) इयं पुन भ्रममगले अकलिके (M) हचे पि तं अण्ं नो निवटेति हिद  
अच परच  
8 अनत पुण प्रसवति (N) हचे पुन तं अण्ं निवटेति हिद ततो उभयेसं अरपे होति  
हिद च से अण्ं परच च अनत पुणं प्रसवति तेन भ्रमगलेन

- 1 (A) Devanapriye Priyadrasī raja evaṃ aha (B) jane uchavucha[m ma]gala[m]  
karoti  
2 abadhasi a[va]hasi vi[va]hasi prajopadaye pravasaspi etaye añaye [cha ed]śa[ye  
jane]  
3 bahu maṅga[laṃ ka]ro[ti] (C) atra tu abaka-janika<sup>5</sup> bahu cha bahuvidha cha khuda  
cha nirathriya cha magalaṃ karoti (D) se kaṭaviye ch[eva]<sup>6</sup> kho  
4 magale (E) apa-phale chu [kho e]she (F) iyaṃ chu kho maha-phale ye dhrama-  
magale<sup>7</sup> (G) atra iyaṃ dasa-bhaṭakasi samya-paṭipati guruna a[pachit]i  
5 pra[ṇa]na [sa]yame śramaṇa-bramaṇa [dane] eshe aṇe cha eḍiśe dhrama-magale  
nama (H) se vataviye piṭu[na] pi putrena pi bhratuna<sup>8</sup> pi spamikena pi  
6 mitra-sa[m]stutena [a]va paṭiveśiyena pi iyaṃ sadhu iyaṃ kaṭaviye magale ava taśa  
athrasa nivuṭiya nivuṭasi va puna ima [ka]śhami ti<sup>9</sup> (I) e hi [i]tare<sup>10</sup> maga[le]

<sup>1</sup> *īramaṇa*. Bühler.<sup>4</sup> *baṭka* for *abaka*. Bühler.<sup>7</sup> *bhatuna*. Bühler.<sup>2</sup> *vudhrana*. Bühler.<sup>6</sup> *cha* for [ch]eva. Bühler.<sup>9</sup> *k[e]ś[a]miti*. Bühler.<sup>3</sup> Read *hiraṇa*.<sup>10</sup> *-magale*. Bühler.<sup>8</sup> *[a]trake*. Bühler.

- 7 śa[śa]yike se (J) s[i]ya va taṁ athraṁ nivaṭeṭya s[i]ya pana no (K) hida[ō]kike  
cheva se<sup>1</sup> (L) iyaṁ puna dhrama-magale akalike (M) [ha]che pi taṁ athraṁ  
no<sup>2</sup> nivaṭeti [hi]da a[tha] paratra
- 8 anata puṇa<sup>3</sup> prasavati (N) hache puna ta[r̥n] athraṁ<sup>4</sup> nivaṭ[e]i hida tato  
ubhayesaṁ [ara]dhe<sup>5</sup> hoti hida cha se athre paratra cha anata<sup>6</sup> punaṁ  
prasavati tena dhramagalena<sup>7</sup>

## TENTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 9 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज यशो व किटि व नो महध्वहं मजति अणच यं पि  
यशो व किटि व इद्धति तदत्तये अयतिथ च जने ध्रमसुधुष सधुषतु मे ति
- 10 ध्रमवुतं च अनुविधियतु ति (B) एतकये देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज यशो व किटि  
व इद्धति (C) . . . किछि परक्रमति देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज तं सत्रं  
परचिकये व किटि
- 11 सकले अपपरिसवे सियति ति (D) एषे चु परिसवे ए अपुणे (E) दुकरे चु खो  
एषे खुदकेन व वयेन उसटेन व अणच अयेन परक्रमेन सत्रं परितिजितु (F)  
अच तु खो उसटेनेव दुकरे
- 9 (A) [Devana]priye Priyadraśi raja yaśo va kiṭi va no<sup>8</sup> mahathravaham maṇati  
anatra yaṁ pi ya[śo va] kiṭi va ichhati tadattave<sup>10</sup> ayatiya cha jane  
[dhra]ma-suśruṣa suśrushatu<sup>11</sup> me ti
- 10 dhrama-[vutaṁ cha]<sup>12</sup> anuvīdhiyatu ti (B) etakaye Devanapriye Priya[dra]śi  
raja yaśo va kiṭi va i[chha]ti (C) . . . [k]ichhi<sup>13</sup> parak[r]ama[ti] Devanapriye  
Priyadraśi raja taṁ savraṁ para[r]ikay[e va k]i[ti]
- 11 sa[kale apa]-pa[r]iṣav[e] siyati ti (D) eṣhe chu<sup>14</sup> pa[r]iṣave e apu[ne]<sup>15</sup> (E) dukare<sup>16</sup>  
chu kho eṣhe khudakena<sup>17</sup> [va va]gr[e]na [u]ṣaṭena va ana[tra]<sup>18</sup> a[gre]na  
para[krame]na sav[rat̥n] parit̥i[ji]tu (F) atra<sup>19</sup> tu [kho] ṣaṭeneva du[kare]<sup>20</sup>

## ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 12 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज एवं अह (B) नस्ति एदिशे दने अदिशे ध्रमदने  
ध्रमसंघवे ध्रमसंविभग ध्रमसंबंधे (C) तच एषे दसभटकसि सम्यपटिपति  
मतपितुषु सुधुष

<sup>1</sup> i[ha]ch[a]loki[cha] vase Bühler.<sup>2</sup> na Bühler.<sup>3</sup> an[an]tani puṇaṁ Bühler<sup>4</sup> [a] . ra Bühler.<sup>5</sup> tato looks almost like tati.<sup>6</sup> ubhayasa [va ta]dhe Bühler.<sup>7</sup> ana[m]ta[m] Bühler.<sup>8</sup> Read dhrama-magalena. The same mistake is found in the Shāhbāzgarhi version.<sup>9</sup> n[a] Bühler.<sup>10</sup> tadattaye Bühler; but see above, p. 62, n. 2.<sup>11</sup> The syllable *bru* is engraved in a deep round hole which must have existed already at the time of the inscription.<sup>12</sup> Bühler omitted *cha*.<sup>13</sup> [e tu] kichhi Bühler.<sup>14</sup> tu Bühler.<sup>15</sup> [apu]śa[m] Bühler.<sup>16</sup> dukaram Bühler.<sup>17</sup> khudrakna Bühler.<sup>18</sup> a[śa]tra Bühler.<sup>19</sup> e . . Bühler.<sup>20</sup> ṣaṭena va duka[ra] Bühler.

- 13 मिषसंस्तुतजितिकन क्षमखममखन दने प्रखन अनरभे (D) एवे वतविये पितुन  
पि पुजेन पि भतुन पि स्पमिकेन पि मिषसंस्तुतेन अत्र पटिवेशियेन
- 14 इयं सधु इयं कटविये (E) से तथ करतं हिदलोके च कं अरपे होति परच च  
अनंतं पुणं प्रसवति तेन भ्रमदनेन
- 12 (A) Devanapri[y]e Priyadraśi raja evaṁ aha (B) nasti ediśe dane [a]diśe  
dhrama-dane dhrama-saṁtha[v]e dhrama-saṁvibhaga<sup>1</sup> dhrama-sa[m]ba[m]dh[e]  
(C) tatra eshe dasa-bhaṭa[ka]si samya-paṭipati<sup>2</sup> mata-[pitu]shu su[śru]sha  
13 mitra-sa[m]stuta]-ātikana śramaṇa-bramaṇana dan[e] praṇana [ana]rabhe<sup>3</sup> (D)  
[e]she vataviye pituna pi putrena pi bhratuna<sup>4</sup> pi spamik[e]na pi mitra-  
sa[m]stut[us]t[e]na ava paṭiveśiyena  
14 iyaṁ sa[dhu] iyaṁ kaṭaviye<sup>5</sup> (E) se tatha karata[m] hi[dalo]ke<sup>6</sup> [cha] kaṁ<sup>7</sup> aradhe  
ho[ti]<sup>8</sup> pa[ra]tra cha ana[m]taṁ puṇaṁ p[ra]śavati te[na] dhra[m]a-danena

## TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

C.—South Face of Second Rock.

- 1 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि राज समपषडनि प्रवजितनि गेहपनि च पुजेति दनेन  
विविधये च पुजये (B) नो चु तथ दन व पुज व
- 2 देवनप्रिये मज्जति अथ किति सलवढि सिय समपषडन ति (C) सलवुढि तु  
बहुविध (D) तस चु इयं मुले अं वचगुति
- 3 किति अतप्रषडपुज व परपषडगरह व नो सिय अपकरणसि लहुक्क व सिय तसि  
तसि पकरणसि (E) पुजेतविय व चु परपषड तेन तेन
- 4 अकरेन (F) एवं करतं अतपषड वढं वढयति परपषडस पि च उपकरोति (G)  
तदंजय करतं अतपषड च क्खति परपषडस पि च
- 5 अपकरोति (H) ये हि केळि अतपषड पुजेति परपषड व गरहति सवे अत-  
पषडभतिय व किति अतपषड दिपयम ति . . . पुन तथ करतं
- 6 वढतरं उपहंति अतपषड (I) से समवये वो सधु किति अणमणस भ्रमं खुखेयु  
च सुसुषेयु च ति (J) एवं हि देवनप्रियस इळ किति समपषड बहुश्रुत च
- 7 कयणगम च हुवेयु ति (K) ए च तथ तथ प्रसन तेहि वतविये (L) देवनप्रिये नो  
तथ दनं व पुज व मज्जति अथ किति सलवढि सिय समपषडन
- 8 (M) बहुक्क च एतये अणये वपुट भ्रममहमच इत्तिज्जमहमच मचभुमिक अजे च  
निकये (N) इयं च एतिस फले
- 9 यं अतपषडवढि च भोति भ्रमस च दिपन

<sup>1</sup> °bhage Bühler.<sup>2</sup> anarambhe Bühler.<sup>3</sup> karantam hida . . . ka Bühler.<sup>4</sup> -[bha]ka . . . sa sa[m]ya]-saṁpaṭipati Bühler.<sup>5</sup> bhātuma Bühler.<sup>6</sup> [kuṭ] Bühler in foot-note 10.<sup>7</sup> kṛataviye Bühler.<sup>8</sup> aradhe . . . i Bühler.

- 1 (A) **Devanapriye Priyadraśi** raja savra-pashaḍani [p]rava[ji]tani gehathani<sup>1</sup> cha  
pujeti danena vividhaye cha pujaye\* (B) no chu tatha dana va puja va
- 2 [De]vana[m]priye mañati atha kiti sala-vaḍhi siya savra-pashadana ti (C) sala-  
vrudhi t[u] bahuvidha (D) tasa chu iyañ mule añ vacha-guti
- 3 kiti ata-prashaḍa-puja va para-pashaḍa-garaha va no siya apakarañasi lahuka va  
siya tasi tasi pakarañasi (E) pujetaviya va chu para-p[r]ashaḍa tena tena
- 4 akarena (F) evañ karatañ atva-pashaḍa<sup>2</sup> baḍham vaḍhayati para-pashaḍasa pi cha  
upakaroti (G) tad-amñatha<sup>3</sup> karatañ ata-pashaḍa<sup>4</sup> cha chhañati para-pashaḍasa  
pi cha
- 5 apakaroti (H) ye hi kechhi<sup>5</sup> atva-pashaḍa pujeti para-pashaḍa va garahati savre  
atva-pashaḍa-bhatiya va kiti atva-pashaḍa dipayama ti . . . . . puna tatha  
karatañ
- 6 baḍhatarañ<sup>6</sup> upahañti<sup>7</sup> atva-pasha[da] (I) se samavaye vo<sup>8</sup> sadhu ki[t]i añañasa  
dhramañ śruñ[e]y[u] cha suśrushe[yu] cha ti (J) evañ hi **Devanapriyasa**<sup>9</sup>  
ichha kiti savra-pashaḍa bahu-śruta cha
- 7 kayañagama cha [hu]veyu<sup>11</sup> ti (K) e cha tatra tatra prasana tēhi vataviye (L)  
**Devanapriye** no tatha danañ va puja[m] va mañati atha kiti sala-vaḍhi siya  
savra-pashaḍa[na]
- 8 (M) [ba]huka cha etaye athraye vapuṭa dhrama-mahamatra istrijaḥśa-mahamatra<sup>12</sup>  
vracha-bh[u]mika añe cha nikay[c]<sup>13</sup> (N) iyañ cha etisa phale
- 9 yañ atva-pashaḍa-vaḍhi cha bh[o]t[i] dhramasa cha [di]pana

## THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT : MANSEHRA

*D.—Third Inscribed Rock.*

- 1 (A) अतवषभिसितस देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिने रजिने कलिग विजित (B) दियदमषे  
प्रणशतस . . . . .
- 2 मटे (C) ततो पच अपुन लघेषु कलिगेषु तिप्ते भ्रमवये . . . . .  
भ्रमनुशस्ति च देवनप्रि . . . . . (D) . . . . .
- 3 मरखे व अपवहे व जनस से बढ वेदनियमते गुरुमते च देवनप्रियस (F) इयं पि  
चु ततो . . . . .
- 4 येसु विहित एष अयभुटिसुश्रुष मतपितुषु सुश्रुष गुस्तुश्रुष मिचसंसु . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> -prashadani pravrajitani gahathani Bühler.<sup>2</sup> pujaya Bühler.<sup>3</sup> Here, and in five other places of the same edict, Bühler read *atma-* for *atva-*. The second syllable of this word is identical in shape with the *va* of *tadatvaye* in edict X, l. 9. I therefore read *atva-*, following Konow (S<sup>P</sup>AW, 1916, 804, n. 7), who quotes in support Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 277.<sup>4</sup> *tadañatham* Bühler. The wavy line at the bottom of *da* need not be an Anusvāra, but may be a portion of *da* itself; see above, p. 77, n. 13.<sup>5</sup> *atma-* Bühler.<sup>6</sup> *kechi* Bühler.<sup>7</sup> *badhamatarañ* Bühler.<sup>8</sup> *amñti* looks like *amñti*; *ha[na]ti* Bühler.<sup>9</sup> *v[a]* Bühler.<sup>10</sup> *Devana[m]priyasa* Bühler.<sup>11</sup> *haveyu* Bühler.<sup>12</sup> Read *istrijaḥśa*.<sup>13</sup> *nikaya* Bühler.

- 5 वषे व अभिरतनं व विनिक्रमणि (H) येधं व पि सुविहितनं सिनेहे अविपहिने ए तनं मिषसं .....
- 6 (I) ..... एष सवमनुशनं गुरुमते च देवनंप्रियस (J) नस्ति च से जनपदे यष नस्ति इमे निकष अजज योनेषु ब्रमणे च अमखे ..... पि जनपदसि यष .....
- 7 न नम प्रसदे (K) से यवतके जने तद कलिगेषु हते च ..... अपवुढे च ततो शतभगे व सहस्रभगे व अज गुरुमते व देवनप्रियस (L) ..... यक ..... मितवि .....
- 8 (M) .. पि च अटवि देवनप्रियस विजितसि होति त पि अनुनयति अनुनिष्पयति (N) अनुतये पि च प्रभवे देवनप्रियस वुचति तेष कि ..... (O) .. छ ..... वनप्रिय .....
- 9 (P) ..... मुखसुते विजये देवनप्रियस ये ध्रमविजये (Q) से च पुन लधे देवनप्रियस हिद च सवेषु च अंतेषु अ वषु पि योजनशतेषु ..... तियोगे नम योनरज .....
- 10 अंते .... नम मक नम अलिकसुदरे नम निच चोडपंडिय अ तंवपणिय (R) एवमेव हिद रजविषवसि योनकंबोजेषु नभकनभपंतिषु भोजपितिनिकेषु अथप .....
- 11 (S) यष पि द्रुत देवनप्रियस न यंति ते पि श्रुतु देवनप्रियस ध्रमवुत विधनं ध्रमनुशस्ति ध्रमं अनुविधियंति अनुविधियिंशंति च (T) ये से लधे एतकेन होति सवष विजये .....
- 12 (W) परचिकमेव महफल मणति देवनप्रिये (X) एतये च अणूये इयं ध्रमदिपि लिखित किति पुच प्रपोच मे असु नवं वि ..... तवियं मणिषु सय .....
- 13 (Y) .. हिदलोके परलोकिके (Z) सव च क निरति होतु य ध्रमरति (AA) स हि इसलोकिक परलोकिक

1 (A) [aṭha]-vashabhisita[sa] De[va]na[priyasa] Priyadrasine rajine [Ka]liga [v]i[jita] (B) [di]ya[dha]-mat[r]e prana-[ṣata-sa] .....

2 [ma]ṭe (C) [tato] pacha<sup>1</sup> adhuna la[dhe]shu Kaligeshu ti[vr]e dhrama[va]ye ..... [dhra]manu[ṣa]sti [cha De]vana[pri] ..... (D) .....

3 [maraṇe va apavahe va janasa] se [badhaṁ] vedaniya-mate guru-mate [cha Devanapriyasa] (F) [i]yaṁ [pi] chu tato .....

4 [ye]su [vihi]ta esha [a]grabhu[ti]-suśrusha mata-pi[tu]sh[u] su[śru]sha guru-suśrusha mi[r]a-sa[m]stu .....

<sup>1</sup> *pachha* Bühler. In this edict I am noting only verbal differences from Bühler's text, but not the numerous passages which he omitted because he was unable to make them out from the materials at his disposal.

- 6 [va]dh[e] va abh[iratanam] va vin[k]raman<sup>1</sup> (H) yesha[m] va pi s[u]vib[itanam]<sup>2</sup> si[ne]he avipahin[e<sup>3</sup> e] ta[nam] mitra-[sam] . . . . .
- 6 (I) . . . . . [esha] savra-manuśanam<sup>4</sup> guru-mate cha Devanampriyasa (J) nasti cha se janapade yatra nasti ime ni[ka]ya a[śa]jtra Yoneshu [bramaṇe<sup>5</sup> cha] śra[maṇe] . . . . . pi [janapada]si ya[t]ra . . . . .
- 7 na<sup>6</sup> nama prasade (K) se yavatake jane tada Kaligesh[u] hate<sup>7</sup> cha . . . . . apavudhe cha ta[to]<sup>8</sup> śata-bhage va sahasra-bhage va<sup>9</sup> aja guru-mate va Devanapriya[sā] (L) . . . . . pa[ka] . . . . . [mi]tavi . . . . .
- 8 (M) . . [pi cha] aṭavi Devanapriyasa<sup>10</sup> vijitasi hoti [ta] pi a[nuna]ya[ti a]nu[nijha]paya[ti]<sup>11</sup> (N) [anu]tape pi cha prabhava Devanapriyasa<sup>12</sup> vuchati [te]sha<sup>13</sup> [ki] . . . . . (O) . . chha . . . . . vanapri[y . .]<sup>14</sup> . . . . .
- 9 (P) . . . . . [mukha]-mute v[i]jaye D[e]vanapriyasa<sup>15</sup> ye dhrama-vijaye (Q) se cha [puna] la[dh]e [Deva]napri[ya]sa<sup>16</sup> hida cha sa[vr]eshu cha amiteshu a shashu pi y[o]ja[na-śa][e]shu . . . . . tiyo[ge<sup>17</sup> nama Yo]na-[raja] . . . . .
- 10 Aht[e] . . . . . [nama Ma]ka na[ma] Alikasudare nama nicha<sup>18</sup> Choda-Pamdiya a Tamhapa[m]piya<sup>19</sup> (B) evameva [hida] raja-vishava[si]<sup>20</sup> Y[o]na-Kam[bojeshu] Nabhaka-[Na]bhapa[m]tishu<sup>21</sup> [Bh]o[Ja-Pi]tini[ke]shu Adha-[Pa]<sup>22</sup> . . . . .
- 11 (S) [yatra pi du]ta [De]vanapriyasa na<sup>23</sup> yamti te pi śrutu Devanapriyasa<sup>24</sup> dhrama-vuta<sup>25</sup> vidhana[m] dhramanuśasti dhra[m]ma[m] anuviddhiyamti [a]nuvidhiy[i]śamti<sup>26</sup> cha] (T) [ye se] ladhe e[ta]ke[na ho]ti savra[tra]<sup>27</sup> v[i]jaye] . . . . .
- 12 (W) paratrikameva maha-phala [ma]ṇati De va[n]apri[ye] (X) e[ta]ye cha<sup>28</sup> [a]thray[e] iyaṁ dhramma-dipi<sup>29</sup> li[khi]ta kiti putra prap[o]tra me a[su] nava[m]<sup>30</sup> v[i] . . . . . [tavi]yaṁ man[ishu saya] . . . . .
- 13 (Y) . . hidaloke paralokike (Z) sava<sup>31</sup> cha [ka]<sup>32</sup> nirati hotu ya dhrama-rati<sup>33</sup> (AA) sa hi [i]jalok[i]ka<sup>34</sup> paralok[i]ka]

## FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 13 (A) इयं भ्रमदिपि देवनप्रियेन प्रिय . . . . . जिन लिखपित . . . . .
- 14 लिखिते लिखपेशमि चैव नि . . (D) अलि च्चु अच पुन पुन लपिते तस तस अचूस मधुरियये येन जने तथ पटिपजेयति (E) से सिय अच किद्धि . . . . . ति लिखित . . . . . व संखय . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> *maṇe* Bühler.<sup>2</sup> *savram manu* Bühler.<sup>3</sup> *hate* looks like *amte*.<sup>4</sup> *Devanampri* Bühler.<sup>5</sup> *[tesham]* Bühler.<sup>6</sup> . . . . . *yok* . Bühler.<sup>7</sup> *Visha-Va[ra]* Bühler.<sup>8</sup> *no* Bühler.<sup>9</sup> Bühler omitted this word.<sup>10</sup> *nava* Bühler.<sup>11</sup> *[s]rama* Bühler.<sup>12</sup> *sanvī* Bühler.<sup>13</sup> *yenesha [bramaṇa]* Bühler.<sup>14</sup> *[tata]* Bühler.<sup>15</sup> *[paye ti]* Bühler.<sup>16</sup> *vanampri[ye]* Bühler.<sup>17</sup> *[ni]cham cha* Bühler.<sup>18</sup> *[Nabha]ke [Na]bha* Bühler.<sup>19</sup> *-vutam* Bühler.<sup>20</sup> Bühler omitted *cha*.<sup>21</sup> *savra* Bühler.<sup>22</sup> *[hida]lo* Bühler.<sup>23</sup> *aviprahi[ne]* Bühler.<sup>24</sup> *no* Bühler.<sup>25</sup> Bühler omitted *va*.<sup>26</sup> *Deva[nam]pri* Bühler.<sup>27</sup> *[De]vanampri* Bühler.<sup>28</sup> *pamniya* Bühler.<sup>29</sup> *Amidha* Bühler.<sup>30</sup> *[sanvī]* Bühler.<sup>31</sup> *dhrama* Bühler.<sup>32</sup> Bühler omitted *ka*.

- 13 (A) [i]yañ dhrama-dipi Do[va]napriyena Pri[ya] <sup>1</sup> . . . . . [jina likhapita]  
 . . . . .  
 14 [likhite likha]l[e[śa]mi che[va] ni . . <sup>2</sup> (D) [asti chu a]tra puna puna la[pite] tasa  
 ta[sa] a[thra]śa [madhu]riyaye [ye]na jaue ta[tha] paṭipaj[e]ya[ti] (E) se [si]ya  
 atra ki[chhi] . . . . . [ti] likhi[t .] . . . . va [saṁkha]ya . . . . .

## V. THE DHAULI ROCK

## FIRST ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) . . . . . सि यवतसि देवानंपिय . . . . . ना लाजिना  
 लिखा . . . . . ीवं आलभितु पजोह . . . . .  
 2 (C) नो पि च समाजे . . . . . समाज द . . . . . (E) . . . .  
 पि चु . . . . . तिया समाजा साधुमता देव . . . . .  
 3 पियदसिने लाजिने (F) . . . . . मह पिय . . . . . नि  
 पानसत . . . . . आलभियसु सुपठाये  
 4 (G) से अज अदा इयं धंमलिपी लिता ति . . . . . आलभिय . . . . .  
 तिनि पानानि पछा नो आलंभियसंति  
 1 (A) . . . . . [si ' pava]tasi [D]e[v]ā[na]m̐piy . . . . . [nā lājina l]i[khā]  
 . . . . . [i]vañ ālabhitu pajo[h] . . . . .  
 2 (C) [no pi cha sam]a[je] . . . . . [samā]ja . . . . . (E) . . . . [pi  
 chu] . . . . . [ti]yā [sam]a[jā] s[ā]khu-matā Dev . . . . .  
 3 [Piyadasino lā]j[ine] (F) . . . . . [mah] . . . . . Piy[a] . . . . . [n]i  
 [p]āna-[sa]ta . . . . . [ā]labhiyisu sūpaṭhāy[e]  
 4 (G) se a[ja] adā [iyañ dha]m̐[ma]-līpi likhitā tīm . . . . . [āla]bh[iy] . . . . .  
 [ti]m̐ni pānāni pachhā n[o] ā[am̐]bhiyisa[m̐]i[i] <sup>4</sup>

## SECOND ROCK-EDICT DHAULI

- 1 (A) सवत विजितसि देवानंपियस पियदसिने ल . . . . . अथा  
 . . . . . तियोके नाम योनलाजा  
 2 ए वा पि तस अंतियोक्स सामंता लाजाने सवत देवानंपियेन पियदसिना  
 . . . . . सा च पमुचिकिसा च (B) . . . . धानि

<sup>1</sup> Of this edict Bühler has read only the two words [Devanāṁpriyena Priyadrasina]; see ZDMG, 44. 704.

<sup>2</sup> The actual reading was perhaps *nikaṁ*, which would correspond to *nikyani* at Kālsī.

<sup>3</sup> The name of the hill on which the Dhauli record was engraved is lost. It cannot have been *Khepīngala* as believed (and traced on his plate IX) by Cunningham, because this was the original name of the Jaugaḍa rock; see the Jaugaḍa edict I, A.

<sup>4</sup> *ālābhi*° Smart, *ālābhi*° Bühler.



- 3 आनि मुनिसोपगानि पसुओपगानि च अतत नचि सवत हालापिता च लोपापिता  
च (C) मूल ..... वत हालापिता च
- 4 लोपापिता च (D) मगेसु उदुपानानि खानापितानि लुखानि च लोपापितानि  
पटिभोगाये ..... नं

- 1 (A) [sa]vata [v]i[ji]kasi [D]e[v]ānaṁpiyaṣa Piyadaṣi[ne l] . . . . . [athā]  
..... [t]iyoke nāma Yo[na]-lājā
- 2 [r] vā [p]i [ta]ṣa Aṁtiyo[ka]ṣa sāmaṁtā lājāne savat[a D]evā[naṁp]i[yo]na  
P[i]yadaṣi[nā] . . . . . [s]ā cha p[asu-ch]i[k]i[s]ā[ā] cha (B) . . . . . dhaṇi
- 3 ān[i m]u[nisopagā]ṇi pasu-opagān[i] cha atata na[thi savata hā]lāpitā[ā] cha [lo]pāp[i]ta  
[cha] (C) mā[l] . . . . . v[a]t[ā] hālāpitā [cha]
- 4 lo[p]āpitā cha (D) ma[g]e[su] udu[pānāni] khānāpitāni lukhāni cha kopā[p]itāni  
p[a]tibhogāye . . . . . [na]m

## THIRD ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) दुवादसवसाभिसितेन मे इयं  
आनापयि .. (C) ..... त विजितसि मे युता लघुके .....
- 2 पंचसु पंचसु वसेसु अनुसयानं निखमायू अथा अनाये पि कमने हेवं इमाये  
धंमानुसयिये (D) साधु मातापितिसु सुसूसा म .....
- 3 नातिसु च बंभनसमनेहि साधु दाने जीवेसु अनालंभे साधु अपविद्यता अपभंडता  
साधु (E) पलिसा पि च ..... नसि युतानि आनपयिसति हेतुते च  
विचंज .....

- 1 (A) Devānaṁpiye Piyadaṣi lājā hevaṁ āhā (B) duvādasa-vasābhisitena me  
iy[a]m ānāp[ay]i . . . . . (C) . . . . . [ta v]i[ji]t[a]kī m[re] yut[ā] la[ji]u[k]e . . . . .
- 2 paṁchasu paṁchasu vasesu anusayānaṁ nikhamāvū athā aṁnaye pi [ka]m[ma]ne  
hevaṁ imā[y]e [dhaṁ]mānus[ath]i[y]e (D) [v]ādha[u] mā[ā] p[i]j[i]su su[s]as[ā  
m] . . . . .
- 3 nātisu cha bāmbhana-samanehi sādhu dāne jīvesu anālaṁbhe sādhu apa-vi[y]a[t]ā<sup>2</sup>  
apa-bh[āri]datā sādhu (E) p[a]lisā pi cha . . . . . [nas]i y[u]t[ā]ni ā[na]p[ay]is[a]ti  
[he]tute ch[a] vi[ra]mja . . . . .

## FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) अतिकंतं अंतलं बहूनि वससतानि वदिते व पानालंभे विहिसा च भृतानं  
नातिसु असंपटिपति समनबाभनेसु असंपटिपति
- 2 (B) से अज देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने धंमचलनेन भेलिघोसं अहो  
धंमघोसं विमानदसनं हथीनि अगिकंधानि अंनानि च दिवियानि

<sup>1</sup> ānāpa . i Buhler.<sup>2</sup> apaviyati Senart and Buhler.

- 3 लूपानि दसयितु मुनिसानं (C) आदिसे बहुहि वससतेहि नो हुतपुलुवे तादिसे  
अज वडिते देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने धंमानुसपिया  
4 अनालंभे पानानं अविहिंसा भूतानं नातिसु संपटिपति समनवाभनेसु संपटिपति  
मातिपितुसुसूसा वुडसुसूसा (D) एस अने च बहुविधे  
5 धंमचलने वडिते (E) वडयिसति चेव देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा धंमचलनं इमं  
(F) पुता पि चु नति पनति ' ' च देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने  
6 पवडयिसंति येव धंमचलनं इमं आक्कपं धंमसि सीलसि च चिटितु धंमं  
अनुसासिसंति (G) एस हि सेठे कंमे या धंमानुसासना (H) धंमचलने  
पि चु  
7 नो होति असीलस (I) से इमस अठस वढी अहीनि च साधू (J) एताये अठये  
इयं लिखिते इमस अठस वढी युजंतू हीनि च मा अलोचयिसू  
8 (K) दुवादस वसानि अभिसितस देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने यं इध लिखिते

- 1 (A) atikaṃṭaṃ aṃṭalaṃ bahūni vasa-satāni vaḍhite va pāṇā[la]mbhe vihiṣā cha  
bhūtānaṃ nātisu asaṃpaṭipati samana-bābha[ne]su asaṃpaṭipati  
2 (B) se aja Devānaṃpiyaṣa Piyadasine lājine dhamma-chalanena bheli-ghosaṃ  
a[h]o dhamma-gho[sa]ṃ vimāna-dasaṇaṃ hathini [a]ḍḍi-kamdhāni aṃṇāni cha  
[di]vi[ya]ni  
3 lūpāni[ ] dasayitu munisānaṃ (C) ād[i]se ba[h]ūhi vasa-sa[t]hi no hūta-puluve tādisē  
aja va[dhite] De[ ]vānaṃpiyaṣa Piy[a]dasine lājine[ ] dham[m]ānus[a]thi[ya]  
4 an[ā]mbhe pāṇānaṃ avihisā bhūtānaṃ nātisu saṃpaṭipati[ ] sama[ ]na-ba[h]bhanesu  
saṃpaṭipati m[a]ḍḍi-pitu-susūsa vu[dha]-susūsa (D) esa aṃne cha ba[h]juvidhe  
5 dh[a]mma-chalane vaḍhite (E) vaḍhayis[a]ti cheva Devānaṃpiyaṣa Piyada[s]i l[ā]jā  
dhamma-chalanaṃ imaṃ (F) putā pi chu<sup>1</sup> nati [panati] . . .<sup>2</sup> [cha] Devānaṃ-  
piyaṣa Piyadasine lājine  
6 pavaḍhayisaṃti yeva dhamma-chalanaṃ imaṃ ā-k[a]paṃ dhammasi [s]ilasi ch[a]  
ch[i]ṭṭi[ ]tu [dhammaṃ a]ṇus[ā]sisaṃ[t]i (G) esa h[i] se[the] kam[me] yā  
dhammānusāsaṇā (H) dhamma-chalane pi chu  
7 no hoti asilasa (I) se imasa aṭṭasa v[a]ḍḍhi<sup>3</sup> ahini ch[a] sād[hū]<sup>4</sup> (J) et[ā]ye [aṭṭā]y-  
iyaṃ likhite imasa aṭṭasa vadhi yujantū hini cha mā alochayisū<sup>5</sup>  
8 (K) dūvādasas vasaṇi abhisitasa Devānaṃpi[ya]ṣa Piyadasine lājine yaṃ<sup>6</sup> [idha]  
likhite

## FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) कयाने दुक्ले (C) . . . . .  
कयानस से दुक्लं कलेति (D) से मे बहुके कयाने करे (E) तं ये मे पुता व

<sup>1</sup> -*barubhanesu* Bühler.<sup>2</sup> The Kālsi version reads *paṇḍitika*.<sup>3</sup> *yaṣu* Senart and Bühler.<sup>4</sup> *cha* Senart and Bühler.<sup>5</sup> *vaḍḍhi* Bühler.<sup>6</sup> *sādhu* Senart and Bühler.<sup>7</sup> Read perhaps *iyani*.

- 2 नती व . . . च तेन ये अपतिये मे आवकपं तथा अनुवत्तिंसंति से सुकटं कळति  
(F) ए हेत देसं पि हापयिसति से दुकटं कळति (G) पापे हि नाम
- 3 सुपदालये (H) से अतिवंतं अंतलं नो हूतपुलुवा धंममहामाता नाम (I) से  
तेदसवसाभिसितेन मे धंममहामाता नाम कटा (J) ते सवपासडेसु
- 4 वियापटा धंमाधिधानाये धंमवदिये हितसुखाये च धंमयुतस योनकंबोचगंधालेसु  
लटिकपित्तनिकेसु ए वा पि अंने आपलंता (K) भटिमयेसु
- 5 बाभनिभियेसु अनाथेसु महालकेसु च हितसुखाये धंमयुताये अपलिबोधाये  
वियापटा से (L) बंधनबधस पटिविधानाये अपलिबोधाये मोखाये च
- 6 इयं अनुबंध पजा ति व कटाभीकाले ति व महालके ति व वियापटा से (M)  
हिद च बाहिलेसु च नगलेसु सवेसु सवेसु ओलीधनेसु मे ए वा पि भातीनं  
मे भगिनीनं व
- 7 अंनेसु वा नातिसु सवत वियापटा (N) ए इयं धंमनिसिते ति व धंमाधिधाने ति  
व दानसयुते व सवपुठवियं धंमयुतसि वियापटा इमे धंममहामाता (O)  
इमाये अठाये
- 8 इयं धंमलिपी लिखिता चिलडित्तिका होतु तथा च मे पजा अनुवततु

- 1 (A) [Dev]ānaṃpiye Piyadasī lāḥā h[eva]rā āhā (B) kayāne dukale (C) . . . . .  
k[a]y[ā]n[a]s'a s[e] dukalāra kal[e]ti (D) se me b[ah]jūke kayāne kaṭe (E) taṃ ye  
me [p]u[ā] va
- 2 n[a]t[i] va . . . . . m cha t[ē]na ye apatiye me āva-kapaṃ tathā anuvatisaṃti s[e]  
sukaṭaṃ kachh[ā]m[ti] (F) e heta d[esa]rā pi hāpayisaṭ[i] se dukataṃ kachhati (G)  
pā[p]e hi [nāma]
- 3 supadālaye (H) s[e] at[ika]m[ta]m aṃtalaṃ no hūta-puluvā dhamma-mahāmātā nāma  
(I) se tedasa-va[sā]bhisaṭeṇa me dhamma-mahāmātā nāma kaṭā (J) te  
sava-pāsaṃḍe[su]
- 4 v[i]y[ā]pāṭā dhammādhithān[ā]ye dhamma-[va]k[hi]ye hita-sukhāye [cha] dhamma-  
yuta[sā] Yona-Kaṃbocha-Gaṇdhālesu Laṭhika-[P]itenikesu e vā pi aṃne  
āpalaṃtā \* (K) bhāṭi[mayesu]
- 5 bābha[n]bhī[yes]u anāthesu ma[hā]lakeṣu cha h[i]t[ā]sukhāye dhamma-yutāye  
a[p]alibodhāye viyā[p]ā se \* (L) baṇḍhana-[ba]dha[sā] p[a]t[iv]idhānā[ye]  
apalib[o]dhāye mokhāye cha
- 6 iya[rā] anubamdh[a] p[ā]jā \* [t]i [va ka]ṭābhikā[le] ti va mahālake ti va viyāpāṭā  
se (M) hida cha bāhilesu cha nāgalesu savesu s[a]vesu olodhanes[u me] e vā pi  
bhāṭi[rā]nā \* me bhaginīnā va

<sup>1</sup> *naṭ[is]* Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> *āpalaṃtā* Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> Here, and at the end of section L, Franke (VOJ, 9, 349 f.) joins *vīyāpāṭāse* into one word, and takes it as an equivalent of the Vedic nominative plural in *-āsaḥ*. In the pillar-edict VII, Y (twice) and CC, *vīyāpāṭāse* actually occurs. But, as pointed out by Michelson (AJP, 32, 442 f.), the case may after all be different at Dhauḷi, because the other versions have *te* in the place of *se*.

<sup>4</sup> *p[ā]jā* Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> *bhāṭinān* Bühler.

- 7 amnesu vā [nāt]i[su sava]k[a] v[i]yāpaṭā (N) e iyaṃ dhamm[a-n]isite ti va dhammādhithāne ti va dāna-sayute va sava-puthaviyaṃ dha[m]ma-yutasi viyāpaṭā ime dhamma-mahām[a]tā (O) [i]m[ā]ye aṭhāye  
8 iyaṃ dhamma-lip[i] l[i]k[h]i[tā] chila-ṭhitik[ā] hoṭu t[āthā] cha me pa[jā] anu[va]tatu

## SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) अतिष्कांतं अंतलं नो हृतपुलुवे सवं कालं अठकमे व पटिवेदना व (C) से ममया कटे (D) सवं कालं . . . मानस मे  
2 अति ओलोधनसि गभागालसि वचसि विनीतसि उयानसि च सवत पटिवेदका जनस अठ पटिवेदयंतु मे ति (E) सवत च जनस अठ कलामि हवं  
3 (F) अं पि च किद्धि सुखते आनपयामि दापकं वा सावकं वा ए वा महामातेहि अतियायिके आलोपिते होति तसि अठसि विवादे व निवृत्ती वा संतं पलिसाया  
4 आनंतलियं पटिवेदतविये मे ति सवत सवं कालं (G) हेवं मे अनुसवे (H) नधि हि मे तोसे उठानसि अठसंतीलनाय च (I) कटवियमते हि मे सवलोकहिते  
5 (J) तस च पन इयं मूले उठाने च अठसंतीलना च (K) नधि हि कंमत . . सवलोकहितेन (L) अं च किद्धि पलकमामि हवं किंति भूतानं आननियं येहं ति  
6 हिद च कानि सुखयामि पलत च स्वगं आलाधयंतु ति (M) एतावे अठाये इयं धंमलिपी लिखिता चित्ठित्तिका होतु तथा च पुता पपोता मे पलकमंतु  
7 सवलोकहिताये (N) दुकले चु इयं अनंत अगेन पलकमेन  
1 (A) Dev[ānaṃpi]ye Pi[yada]si lājā [he]vaṃ [ā]hā (B) atikaṃ[taṃ] a[n]ta[la]ṃ no [h]i[ta]-puluve s[a]vaṃ kālaṃ aṭṭa-ka[m]me va [pa]ṭiveda[n]ā va (C) se mamaya kaṭe (D) sa[va]j[h]i [kāla]m . . . [māna]sa<sup>1</sup> me  
2 ante olodh[a]nasi ga[bhā]k[ā]si v[ā]chasi [v]inīta[si] u[y]ān[asi] cha sa[vata] paṭivedakā janasa aṭṭaṃ [pa]ṭived[a]yaṃtu m[e] ti (E) sava[ta] ch[a] j[a]nasa aṭṭaṃ kālaṃ h[ā]kaṃ  
3 (F) aṃ pi cha ki[m]chi mukh[a]ṭe ānapaya[m]i dāpakaṃ v[ā] sāv[a]kaṃ vā e vā mahāma[āte]hi atiyāyike ālopiṭe hoti tasi aṭṭasi vi[va]de va [n]ivṛtī vā saṃtaṃ palisāyā<sup>2</sup>  
4 āna[m]taliyaṃ paṭi[ve]detav[i]y[e] me ti savata savaṃ kālaṃ (G) heva[m] me anusathe (H) nat[h]i hi m[e] [to]s[e] u[ṭṭhā]na[si] aṭṭa-saṃtilanāya cha (I) kaṭaviya-m[at]e hi me sava-loka-hite

<sup>1</sup> [mā]nasa Bühler.<sup>2</sup> palisāya Bühler.

- 5 (J) tasa cha pana iyaṃ mūle [u]thān[e cha a]tha-saṃtū[a]n[ā] cha (K) nathi hi kaṃmata . . [sa]va-lo[ka]-hitena (L) [aṃ] ch[a kichhī] p[a]lakamāmi hakaṃ kiṃti bhūtānaṃ ā[na]niyaṃ yeha[r̥] ti
- 6 [h]i[dā] cha [k]ān[i] sukhayāmi pa[a]ta cha svaḡ[aṃ ā]ādhayaṃtū ti (M) ei[ā]y[e aṭhāye i]yaṃ dhamma-lipī likhitā ch[i]a-th[i]tikā hotu ta[th]ā cha putā papotā me palakama[r̥]tū<sup>1</sup>
- 7 [sava-loka]-hitāye (N) dukale chu iyaṃ aṃnat[a] a[g]en[a pa]lakamena

## SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा सवत इहति सवपासंडा वसेवू ति (B) सवे हि ते सयमं भावसुधी च इहति (C) मुनिसा च
- 2 उचावुचइंदा उचावुचलगा (D) ते सवं वा एकदेसं च इहति (E) विपुले पि चा दाने अस नयि सयमे भावसुधी च नीचे नादं
- 1 (A) [D]evānaṃ[p]iye Piy[a]dasi lājā savata ichhat[i sava-p]āsaṃ[dā va]sevū ti (B) save h[i] t[e sa]yamaṃ [bh]āv[a]-sudhī cha ichhamti (C) mun[i]sā ch[a]
- 2 [u]ch[ā]v[u]cha-[chha]m[d]ā uchāvucha-lāgā (D) te savaṃ vā ek[a]-de[sam va kachham]ti (E) vipul[e] pi chā<sup>2</sup> dāne asa n[athi sa]yame [bh]āva-sudhī cha niche bāḍham

## EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) अतिकंतं अंतलं लाजाने विहालयातं नाम निखमिसु (B) . . त मिगविद्या अनानि च एदिसानि अभिलामानि हुवंति नं (C) से देवानंपिये
- 2 पियदसी लाजा दसवसाभिसिते निखमि संबोधि (D) तेनता धंमयाता (E) ततेस होति समनवाभनानं दसने च दाने च वुढानं दसने च
- 3 हिलनपटिविधाने च जानपदस जनस दसने च धंमानुसथी च . . . . . पुद्धा च तदोपया (F) एसा भुये अभिलामे होति देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने भागे अने
- 1 (A) [atika]m[ta]m aṃt[ala]m lāj[ā]n[c] v[i]h[ā]la-yātaṃ nāma [n][kha]m[i]s[u] (B) . . [ta miga]viy[ā] a[m]nāni ch[a] edisāni a[bh]i[ā]māni huvaṃti naṃ (C) se Devānaṃpiye
- 2 P[i]y[a]dasi lājā d[sa]-vsa[ābhisi]t[ā] [n]ikhami Saṃbodh[i]<sup>3</sup> (D) [t]e[na]ta dha[r̥ma-yātā] (E) [ta]esa [ho]ti samana-bābhanānaṃ d[sa]s[ā]n[c] ch[a] d[ānc] cha v[u]dhānaṃ dasane cha

<sup>1</sup> \*mātu Senart, \*maṃtu Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> cha Bühler; the reading chu is also possible, but less probable, because the Jaugada version has chā.

<sup>3</sup> sambodhi Bühler.

- 3 h[ɪ]lamna-p[a]tividhā[ne<sup>1</sup> cha jāna]padasa janasa [dasa]ne cha dhāmmānu[sath]i  
[cha] . . . . . [p]u[chh]ā cha [ta]d[o]payā (F) e[sā bhuy]e<sup>2</sup> abhilaṃe hoti  
Devānāmpiyasa Piyada[s]ine lājine bhāge [am]ne

## NINTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) अथि जने उचावुचं मंगलं  
कलेति आवाध . . . . . वीवाह . . . . . जुपदाये पवाससि  
2 एताये अनाये च हेदिसाये जने बहुकं मंगलं क . . . . . (C) . . . . . चु इषी बहुकं  
च बहुविधं च खुदं च निलठियं च मंगलं कलेति  
3 (D) से कटविये चेव खो मंगले (E) अपफले चु खो एस हेदिसे मंग . . . . . (F) . . . . . यं  
चु खो महाफले ए धंममंगले (G) तत्तेस दासभटकसि संम्यापटिपति  
4 गुलूनं अप . . . . . मे समनबाभनानं दाने एस अने च . . . . .  
धंममंगले नाम (H) से वतविये पितिना पि पुत्तेन पि भातिना पि  
5 सुवामिकेन पि . . . . . ले आव तस अटस निफतिया (I) अथि च हेवं  
वुते दाने साधू ति (J) से नथि . . . . . अनुगहे वा  
6 आदिसे धंमदाने धंमानुगहे . . . . . मि . . . . . तिकेन सहायेन  
पि वियोवदित . . . . . ि तसि पकलनसि इयं . . . . .  
7 . . . . . लाधयितवे (L) . . . . . टव . . . . . स्वगस

## आलधी

- 1 (A) Devānāmpīye Piyadasi lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) [athi ja]ne uchāvuchaṃ maṅgalaṃ  
ka[le]ti [ab]jadha<sup>1</sup> . . . . . [v]i[vaha] . . . . . [ju]padāye<sup>4</sup> pavās[a]si  
2 etāye ampiye ch[a] hedisāye j[a]n[ce] bahukaṃ maṅgalaṃ k[a] . . . . . (C) . . . .  
[chu]<sup>5</sup> ithi l[ā]huka[ṃ] cha [ba]hu[v]idh[am] ch[a kh]ud[am] e<sup>6</sup> cha nilaṭṭhiyaṃ cha  
maṅgalaṃ kaleti  
3 (D) se kaṭ[ā]viye ch[va kh]o m[a]ṅgale (E) [a]pa-phale chu kho esa h[ce]disē  
maṇi[ga] . . . . . (F) . . . . . [ya]n[ce] kho mah[ā]-ph[a]le c [dha]ṃma-maṅgale (G)  
[ta]t[ce]sa d[ā]sa-bhaṭakas[si] sammyā-paṭipat[i]  
4 [gulu]naṃ a[pa] . . . . . [me] samana-bābhan[ā]nam dāne esa amne ch[a]  
 . . . . . [dha]ṃma-maṅga[le] nama (H) [se]<sup>8</sup> vata[viye] piṭṭinā pi pute[na]  
pi bhatinā pi  
5 suvāmi[ke]na pi . . . . . [I]e [ā]va tasa āha[sā] niphatiy[ā] (I) [a]thi [cha]  
heva[ṃ] v[ut]e dāne s[ā]dh[ū] ti (J) [se] [na]thi . . . . . [anu]ga[h]e v[ā]  
6 [ā]j[se] dha[ṃma]-dāne dham[mā]nugahe<sup>10</sup> . . . . . (K) . . . . . [m]i . . . . . [t]i[k]ena  
sahāye[na] pi viyovadita<sup>11</sup> . . . . . i [tasi] pakalana[si] [iya]n . . . . .  
7 . . . . . [I]ādhayitave (L) . . . . . ta[v] . . . . . [svagasa] āl[adh]i

<sup>1</sup> *kilamna*- Senart and Bühler: -*pati*<sup>o</sup> looks like -*peti*<sup>o</sup>, and may be meant for -*prati*<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> *esa bhūye* Bühler. For the nom. sing. masc. *esā* see above, p. 15, n. 7.

<sup>3</sup> *ābāhe* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> *[ju]padāye* Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> *[eta]* *tu* Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> *khuda[kaṃ]* Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> *[cha]* Bühler.

<sup>8</sup> *ta* Senart, *[ta]* Bühler.

<sup>10</sup> *dhāmmānu*<sup>o</sup> Senart and Bühler.

<sup>11</sup> Restore *viyovaditavve*.

## TENTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा यसो वा किटी वा न ..... हं मंनते  
 ..... णि यसो वा किटी वा इद्धति तदत्ताये आ ..... जने
- 2 ..... सुसं सुसुसु मे धंम ..... मे (B) एतकाये यसो वा किटी  
 वा इ ..... णि पलक्कमति देवानंपिये पालत्तिकाये ..
- 3 किंति सकले अपपलिसवे हुवेया ति (D) पलिस ..... (E) दुक्कले  
 ..... त अग्गेन ..... न सबं च पलित्तिजितु
- 4 खुदकेन वा उसटेन वा (F) उसटेन चु दुक्कलतले
- 1 (A) [Devānaṃ]piye Piyad[ā]ṃ lājā yaso v[ā] [k]iṭṭi vā n ..... [ha]ṃ  
 maṇṇ[ate] ..... i [yaso] vā k[iṭṭi] [v]ā ichhati tadatvāye [ā] .....  
 [ja]ne
- 2 ..... [sūsa]ṃ [susū]ṃ [at]u [m]e dhamma ..... [me] (B) etakāye [yaso vā  
 kiṭṭi v]ā i ..... i [pa]ḷakama[t]i Devānaṃpiye pāl[at]ikā[y]e ..
- 3 kiṃti saka[le] apa-pa[li]sava [hu]ṃ[eyā] t[ti] (D) pa[l]i[sa] ..... (E) [du]ka[le]  
 ..... t[a] aṇa] ..... [na sa]vaṃ cha palit[i]ṃ[ti]
- 4 khudakena v[ā] usaṭena vā (F) u[saṭena] chu [dukkalatale]

## FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) इयं धम्मलिपी देवानंपियेन पियदसिना लाजिना लिखा .....  
 अथि मङ्गिमेन ..... हि सवे सवत्त घटिते
- 2 (C) महंते हि विजये बहुके च लिखिते लिखियिस ..... (D) अथि  
 ..... वुत्ते तस ..... याये
- 3 किंति च जने तथा पटिपजेया ति (E) ए पि चु हेत अस्समति लिखिते स ..... सं  
 ..... लोचयितु ..... कला ..... ति
- 1 (A) iyaṃ dhamma-lipī De[v]ānaṃpiyena Piyada[sin]ā lāj[inā] likhā .....  
 athi ma[ṅ]gimena] ..... [h]i save sav[a]ta ghaṭite
- 2 (C) mahānte hi vijaye bahu[k]e cha likhite likhiyis<sup>1</sup> ..... (D) [a]thi  
 ..... [vu]ṭṭe ta[sa] ..... [y]ajj[e]
- 3 [k]iṃti cha j[a]ne tathā paṭipajeyā ti<sup>2</sup> (E) e pi chu heta asaṃati likhit[e] s<sup>3</sup> .....  
 saṃ .. [lochay]itu ..... k[a][ā] ..... [t]i

## AT THE END OF THE SIXTH DHAULI ROCK-EDICT

सेतो

seto

<sup>1</sup> Restore *likhiyissāmi*.<sup>2</sup> Or *paṭipajeyāti* may be one word, as suggested above, p. 71, n. 14.<sup>3</sup> *saṃ* Senart and Bühler.

## TRANSLATION

The white one.<sup>1</sup>

## FIRST SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपियस वचनेन तोसलियं महामात नगलवियोहालका
- 2 वतविय (B) अं किछि दखामि हकं तं इछामि किंति कमन पटिपादयेहं
- 3 दुवालते च आलभेहं (C) एस च मे मोख्यमत दुवाल एतसि अटसि अं तुफेसु
- 4 अनुसधि (D) तुफे हि बहूसु पानसहसेसुं आयत पनयं गछेम सु मुनिसानं (E) सवे
- 5 मुनिसे पजा ममा (F) अथा पजाये इछामि हकं किंति सवेन हितमुखेन  
हिदलोकिक्-
- 6 पाललोकिकेन यूजेवू ति तथा ..... मुनिसेसु पि इछामि हकं (G) नो च  
पापुनाय आवग-
- 7 मुके इयं अटे (H) केळ व एकपुलिसे ..... नाति एतं से पि देसं नो सवं (I)  
देखत हि तुफे एतं
- 8 सुविहिता पि (J) नितियं एकपुलिसे पि अथि ये बंधनं वा पलिकिलेसं वा  
पापुनाति (K) तत होति
- 9 अकस्मा तेन बधनंतिक अंने च ..... हु जने दविये दुखीयति (L) तत  
इछितविये
- 10 तुफेहि किंति मभं पटिपादयेमा ति (M) इमेहि चु जातेहि नो संपटिपजति  
इसाय आमुलोपेन
- 11 निटूलियेन तूलनाय अनावूतिय आलसियेन किलमथेन (N) से इछितविये  
किंति एते
- 12 जाता नो हुवेवु ममा ति (O) एतस च सवस मूले अनामुलोपे अतूलना च  
(P) नितियं ए किलंते सिया
- 13 न ते उगळ संचलितविये तु वटितविये एतविये वा (Q) हेवंमेव ए दखेय तुफाक  
तेन वतविये
- 14 आनने देखत हेवं च हेवं च देवानंपियस अनुसधि (R) से महाफले ए तस  
संपटिपाद
- 15 महाअपाये असंपटिपति (S) विपटिपादयमीने हि एतं नथि स्वगस आलधि नो  
लाजालधि

<sup>1</sup> As stated by Bühler (ZDMG, 39, 490), this word refers to the figure of an elephant representing the Buddha, which is carved at the top of the Dhauri rock. Cf. the similar labels at Gurnār and Kālsī, above, pp. 24 f. and 50.



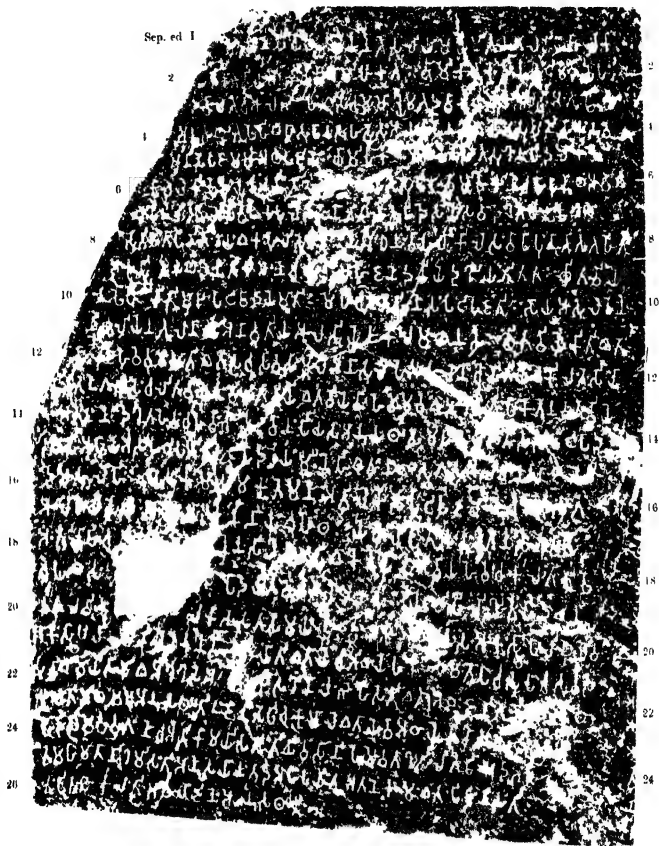
- 16 (T) दुआहले हि इमस कंस मे जुते मनोअतिलेके (U) संपटिपज्जमिने चु  
एतं स्वर्गं
- 17 आलाधयिस्स मम च आननियं एहं (V) इयं च लिपि तिसनखतेन सोतविद्या
- 18 (W) अंतला पि च तित्तेन खनसि खनसि एकेन पि सोतविद्य (X) हेवं च  
कलंतं तुपे
- 19 चपथ संपटिपादयितवे (Y) एताये अठाये इयं लिपि लिखित हिद एन
- 20 नगलविद्योहालका सस्वतं समयं यूजेवू ति ..... नस अक्खमा पलिवोधे व
- 21 अक्खमा पलिकिलेसे व नो सिया ति (Z) एताये च अठाये हकं ..... मते  
पंचसु पंचसु वसे-
- 22 सु निखामयिस्सामि ए अखखसे अचडे सखिनालंभे होसति एतं अठं जानितु  
..... तथा
- 23 कलंति अथ मम अनुसयी ति (AA) उज्जेनिते पि चु कुमाले एताये व अठाये  
निखामयिस् ..... .
- 24 हेदिसमेव वगं नो च अतिकामयिस्सति तिंनि वसानि (BB) हेमेव तस्ससिल्लाते  
पि (CC) अदा अ ..... .
- 25 ते महामाता निखमिस्संति अनुसयानं तदा अहापयितु अतने कंसं एतं पि  
जानिस्संति
- 26 तं पि तथा कलंति अथ लाजिने अनुसयी ति

- 1 (A) [Devāna]xb[pi]y[asa vacha]nena Tosaliyañ ma[ha]mata [naga]la-  
[v]i[yo]hā.k[a]
- 2 [va]taviya (B) [aṁ kichhi dakhā]mi hakaṁ taṁ ichhāmi k[i]m[t]i kam[ma-  
pa]t[ṭi]pāday)cham<sup>1</sup>
- 3 duvālate cha ālabhehaṁ (C) esa cha me mokhya-mata duvā[la] etasi aṭha[si] aṁ  
tupl[esu]
- 4 anusathi (D) tuphe hi bahūsu pāna-sahasasum<sup>2</sup> āyata<sup>3</sup> p[a]na[yaṁ ga]chh[e]ma  
su munisānaṁ (E) save
- 5 munise pajā mamā (F) ath[a] pajāye ichhāmi h[ka]m kimti sa[ve]na hi[ta]-sukhena  
hīdalo[kika]-
- 6 pālalokike[na]<sup>4</sup> y[ūjev]ū [t]i [tathā . . . muni]sesu<sup>5</sup> pi [i]chhāmi [ha]ka[m] (G) no  
cha pāpunatha āv[a]-ga-
- 7 [m]u[k]e<sup>6</sup> [iyaṁ aṭhe] (H) [k]e[chha] v[a] eka-pul[ise] . . . nati<sup>7</sup> e[ta]m se pi  
desaṁ no savanā (I) de[kha][a hi t]u[phe] etaṁ
- 8 suvi[hi]tā pi (J) [n]itiyaṁ<sup>8</sup> eka-pulise [pi athi] y[e] bamdhananā vā p[a]likilesaṁ va  
pāpunāti (K) tata hoti

<sup>1</sup> *pativeda*<sup>9</sup> Senart and Bühler.<sup>2</sup> *āyatā* Senart and Bühler.<sup>3</sup> *Restore sava-munisessu.*<sup>7</sup> Read *pāpunāti*, as at Jaugaḍa.<sup>5</sup> *sesu* Senart and Bühler.<sup>6</sup> *lokikāye* Senart and Bühler.<sup>8</sup> *āvā-gamake* Senart and Bühler.<sup>9</sup> *niti iyaṁ* Senart and Bühler.

- 9 akasmā tena badhana[m]tik[a]<sup>1</sup> amñe cha . . . . . hu jane da[v]īye dukhiyati (L)  
tata ichhitaviye
- 10 tuphehi kiñti m[a]jham paṭipādayemā ti (M) imeh[i] chu [jāteh]i no saṃpaṭipajati  
isāya āsulopena
- 11 ni[tū]liyenā<sup>2</sup> tūlanā[ya] anāvūtiya ālasiyena k[i]lamathena (N) se ichhitaviye  
kitim<sup>3</sup> ete
- 12 [jātā no] huvevu ma[m]ā ti (O) etasa cha sava[sa] mūle anāsulope a[tū][a]nā cha  
(P) nit[ī]ya[m]e e kilamte siyā
- 13 [na] te uga[chha]<sup>4</sup> sañchalitaviy[e] tu va[ṭ]ita[v]iy[e] etaviye vā (Q) hevañmeva e  
da[kheya]<sup>5</sup> t[ū]phāk[a] tena vataviye
- 14 ānamñe<sup>6</sup> dekhata hevañ cha hev[a]ñ cha [D]evānaṃpiyasa anusathi (R) se  
mah[ā-pha]le [e] t[ā]sa [saṃpa]ṭipāda
- 15 mahā-apāye asaṃpaṭipati (S) [vi]paṭ[i]pādayamine hi<sup>7</sup> etañ nathi svagasa [ā][a]dhi  
no lāj[a]l[dh]i
- 16 (T) duā[ha]le hi [i]ma[sa] kañm[asa] m[e] kute mañ[o]-atileke<sup>8</sup> (U) sa[m]paṭi  
pajam[i]n[e] chu [etañ] svaga[m]
- 17 ālādha[yi]sa[tha] mama cha<sup>9</sup> ānaniyañ ehattha (V) iyañ cha [i]p[i]<sup>10</sup> t[i]sa-  
na[kha]tena so[ta]viy[ā]<sup>11</sup>
- 18 (W) amta[i]ā [p]i cha [t]i[s]e[na]<sup>12</sup> kha[nasi] kha[nas]i ekena pi sotaviya (X) hevañ  
cha kalāmtañ tuphe
- 19 chaghatha saṃpa[ṭi]pād[a]y[i]tave (Y) [e]t[ā]ye aṭhāye<sup>13</sup> iya[m] [i]p[i] likhit[ā]  
h[ī]da ena
- 20 nagala-vi[ṭ]o[hā]lakā sas[v]atañ samayañ yūjevū<sup>14</sup> t[i] . . . . . [na]sa<sup>15</sup> akasmā  
[pa]libodhe va
- 21 [a]k[ā]smā paliki[i]e[s]e va no siyā ti (Z) etāye cha aṭhāye haka[m] . . . . . mate<sup>16</sup>  
p[a]mchasa pañchasa [va]se-
- 22 su [n]i[khā]may[i]sāmi e akhakhase a[chañ]i[e] s[a]khinālañbhe hosati etañ  
aṭhañ jāñitu . . . . . [ta]thā
- 23 kala[m]ti atha mama anusathi ti (AA) Ujenito pi chu kumāle etāye v[ā] aṭhāye  
[ni]khāma[ya]sa . . . . .
- 24 hedisameva<sup>17</sup> vagañ no cha atikāmayisati timni vasāni (BB) hemeva T[a]kha[s]lāte  
pi (CC) [a]dā a . . . . .
- 25 te mahāmātā nikhamisanti anusayānañ tadā ahāpayitu atane kañmañ etañ pi  
jāñisanti
- 26 tañ pi ta[th]ā kalānti a[tha] lājine anusathi ti

<sup>1</sup> *bañdha*<sup>o</sup> Senart and Bühler.<sup>8</sup> *nithūli*<sup>o</sup> Senart and Bühler.<sup>2</sup> Read *kiñti*, which is Senart's reading; *kiti* Bühler.<sup>3</sup> Read *ugachhe*.<sup>5</sup> *dakhiye* Senart and Bühler.<sup>6</sup> *ainanā ne* Senart and Bühler.<sup>7</sup> Lüders (SPAW, 1913, 1013, n. 1) has shown that *hi* must be a separate word on the analogy of section U, below, and of the Jaugaḍa separate edict I, T. Senart and Bühler read *minaki*.<sup>8</sup> *mana-* Senart, *mane-* Bühler.<sup>9</sup> *ē . . . .* for *mama cha* Senart, *[ta]* . . . . Bühler.<sup>10</sup> *lipi* Bühler.<sup>11</sup> *viyañ* Senart, *viya* Bühler.<sup>12</sup> *[ti]s* Bühler.<sup>13</sup> *aṭhāye* Senart and Bühler.<sup>14</sup> *yūjevū* Senart and Bühler.<sup>15</sup> Restore *ena javasa*; *nagala-jannsa* Senart and Bühler, which is visible (evidently owing to retouching) on Burgess' plate, but not on my materials.<sup>16</sup> Read *mahāmātān*; *dhañmate* Senart and Bühler.<sup>17</sup> *hedisameva* Senart and Bühler.



## TRANSLATION

(A) At the word of *Dēvānāthpriya*, the *Mahāmātras* at *Tōsalī*,<sup>1</sup> (who are) the judicial officers of the city,<sup>2</sup> have to be told (thus).

(B) Whatever I recognize (to be right), that I strive to carry out by deeds, and to accomplish by (various) means.<sup>3</sup>

(C) And this is considered by me the principal means for this object, viz. (to give) instruction to you.

(D) For you are occupied with many thousands of men,<sup>4</sup> with the object of gaining the affection of men.<sup>5</sup>

(E) All men are my children.

(F) As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, the same I desire also on behalf of [all] men.<sup>6</sup>

(G) And you do not learn<sup>7</sup> how far this (my) object reaches.<sup>8</sup>

(H) Some single person<sup>9</sup> only learns this, (and) even he (only) a portion,<sup>11</sup> (but) not the whole.

(I) Now you must pay attention to this, although you are well provided for.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Two copper-plate inscriptions from the Cuttack district, Orissa, mention the two districts of Northern and Southern Tōsalī; see EI, 9, 286, and 15, 1. Prinsep (JASB, 7, 449) identified Tōsalī with the *Τωσαλει μητρόπολις* of Ptolemy; but the latter is stated to have been situated beyond the Ganges. See Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, 2 (sec. ed.) 252, n. 2; Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 673. Kern, JRAS, 1886, 384 f.; IA, 13, 382.

<sup>2</sup> With *nagala-vijyohākā* cf. *paura-vyāvahārika* in the *Kautilya*, p. 20, l. 11; see SPAW, 1914, 855.

<sup>3</sup> The correct translation of this section is due to Senart; see Franke, GN, 1893, 537, and of a quite similar construction in the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription, E.

<sup>4</sup> Here, and in the pillar-edicts (IV, C; VII, M, N), the participle *ayata* (= Skt. *ayatto*) seems to be used in the sense of *vyāpṛta*. Cf the rock-edict V, J to N, and the pillar-edict VII, Y to AA.

<sup>5</sup> Previous translators took *simunīsānaṁ* to be one word: 'of good men'. As, however, in the two next sections the king is concerned with 'all men', Lüders is no doubt right in explaining *su* = Skt. *svit*; see SPAW, 1914, 856, and cf. *su* in the Dhauli separate edict II, F.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita*, II, 35: स्थायः प्रजाभ्यो हि यथा तथैव सर्वप्रजाभ्यः शिवमाशङ्गन्. 'as for his own children, even so (king Śuddhōdana) desired welfare for all (his) subjects.'

<sup>7</sup> Bühler rendered *pāpunātha* by 'understand', and Lüders (SPAW, 1914, 857) more closely by 'learn'. The verb has the same meaning three times in the second separate edict. In section J of the first edict it means 'to suffer'; see my note on the Jaugada separate edict I, K.

<sup>8</sup> Bühler translated *āva-gamuke iyaṁ aṣṭe* by '(all) that the sense (of that word) implies', and Lüders by 'how far this matter reaches', i.e. 'how far this matter is attended to'. Cf. *ava ste pi cha me āvanti* in the Delhi-Tōpā pillar-edict IV, l. 15.

<sup>9</sup> This seems to refer to the judge who happens to decide an individual case. Senart compared *eka-puṭis* (= *eka-muniś* at Jaugada) with the Buddhist term *puṭhujāna* (see Lüders, s.v. *puṭhujāna*), and Bühler rendered it by 'a private person'; see ZDMG, 41, 15. The expression *eka-puṭis* or *eka-muniś*, 'a single person', occurs again in section J (= K at Jaugada), where it is opposed to 'many other people' in section K (= L at Jaugada). In section W 'a single (person)' is contrasted with the whole body of officers in section V; see also the second separate edict, N and O.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. the rock-edict V, F, and VII, D.

<sup>11</sup> See above, p. 47, n. 6.

(J) It happens in the administration (of justice)<sup>1</sup> that a single person suffers either imprisonment or harsh treatment.<sup>2</sup>

(K) In this case (an order) cancelling the imprisonment<sup>3</sup> is (obtained) by him<sup>4</sup> accidentally, while [many] other people continue to suffer.

(L) In this case you must strive to deal (with all of them) impartially.

(M) But one fails to act (thus) on account of the following dispositions:<sup>5</sup> envy, a. 3er,<sup>6</sup> cruelty, hurry, want of practice,<sup>7</sup> laziness, (and) fatigue.

(N) (You) must strive for this, that these dispositions may not arise to you.

(O) And the root of all this is the absence of anger and the avoidance of hurry.

(P) He who is fatigued in the administration (of justice), will not rise; but one ought to move, to walk, and to advance.

(Q) He who will pay attention to this, must tell you:<sup>8</sup> 'See that (you) discharge the debt (which you owe to the king);<sup>9</sup> such and such is the instruction of *Dēvānāmpriya*.'

(R) The observance of this produces great fruit, (but its) non-observance (becomes) a great evil.<sup>10</sup>

(S) For if one fails to observe this,<sup>11</sup> there will be neither attainment of heaven nor satisfaction of the king.<sup>12</sup>

(T) For how (could) my mind be pleased if one badly fulfils this duty?<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As recognized by Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 859), *nīti* is here = *daṇḍa-nīti*. I connect the locative *nītyām* with *asti*; at Jaugada it is replaced by *bahuka*, 'frequently'.

<sup>2</sup> Bühler translated *palikulesa* by 'trouble'. Senart and Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 841, n. 1, and 857) render it by 'torture'. But in the *Kautilya* the technical term for 'torture' is *karma*, and *parikṛiṣṭayataḥ*, which occurs on p. 223, l. 16, cannot have the same meaning as *karma kṛayataḥ* in the next preceding line.

<sup>3</sup> The correct explanation of *ba[m\*]dhanāntika* and *daviye* is due to Lüders; see SPAW, 1914. 861 f.

<sup>4</sup> As stated by Bühler (ZDMG, 41. 16), one would expect *tasa* for *tena*. He proposed to supply *prāptam*.

<sup>5</sup> As Senart remarks, this unusual meaning of *jātāni* is justified by etymology; see IA, 19. 89.

<sup>6</sup> For *āśulopa*, 'anger' (literally: 'quick infatuation'), see Bühler, ZDMG, 48. 60 f.

<sup>7</sup> With Bühler (ZDMG, 41. 16) I take *āvṛti* (Dhauḷi) or *āvṛti* (Jaugada) = Skt. *āvṛitti*, 'repetition'. In the pillar-edict IV, L, *āvṛti* corresponds to Skt. *āyukti*, 'an order'.

<sup>8</sup> Hitherto the construction and bearing of this sentence have been misunderstood. The relative *e* corresponds to the demonstrative *tena*, and the subject is probably one of the controlling officers who are mentioned at the end of the edict.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. below, section U. Previous translators failed to make out the actual meaning of this sentence because they read *anmanāne*, which they divided into *anman* *ne* = Skt. *ājñām naḥ* (Senart and Bühler) or *anyat + naḥ* (Lüders).

<sup>10</sup> Both at Dhauḷi and at Jaugada, the predicate is a masculine or neuter, although the subject is a feminine. Cf. above, p. 49, n. 1.

<sup>11</sup> As *vīpaṭipādāyamine* corresponds to *vīpaṭipātayamitaṃ* at Jaugada, it must be a nominative singular absolute. The same applies to *sampatipajamine* in section U, below, to *anuvakhamāne* in the Delhi-Toprā pillar-edict VII, P, and to *viḥinamane* in the Kālsī edict XIII, E. Cf. below, p. 97, n. 3, and Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 1011 ff.

<sup>12</sup> For *āladhi* (= *\*ārādhi*) see above, p. 19, n. 16.

<sup>13</sup> In the translation of this difficult passage I follow Franke, GN, 1895. 537 f., but explain *duśhalo* as a nominative absolute, because in the Māgadhā dialect the locative would end in *-asi*.

(U) But if (you) observe this, you will attain heaven, and you will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me.<sup>1</sup>

(V) And this edict must be listened to (by all) on (every day of) the constellation Tishya.<sup>2</sup>

(W) And it may be listened to even by a single (person) also on frequent (other) occasions between (the days of) Tishya.

(X) And if (you) act thus,<sup>3</sup> you will be able<sup>4</sup> to fulfil (this duty).

(Y) For the following purpose has this rescript been written here, (viz.) in order that the judicial officers of the city may strive at all times<sup>5</sup> (for this), [that] neither undeserved fettering<sup>6</sup> nor undeserved harsh treatment are happening to [men].

(Z) And for the following purpose I shall send out every five years<sup>7</sup> [a *Mahāmātra*] who will be neither harsh<sup>8</sup> nor fierce, (but) of gentle actions, (viz. in order to ascertain) whether (the judicial officers),<sup>9</sup> paying attention to this object, . . . . are acting thus, as my instruction (implies).

(AA) But from Ujjayini also the prince (governor) will send out for the same purpose . . . . a person of the same description,<sup>10</sup> and he will not allow (more than) three years to pass (without such a deputation).

(BB) In the same way (an officer will be deputed) from Takshasilā also.

(CC) When . . . . these *Mahāmātras* will set out on tour, then, without neglecting their own duties, they will ascertain this as well, (viz.) whether (the judicial officers) are carrying out this also thus, as the instruction of the king (implies).

## SECOND SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपियस वचनेन तोसलिय कुमाले महामाता च वतविय (B) अं किद्धि दसामि हकं तं इ . . . . .
- 2 दुवालते च आलभेहं (C) एस च मे मोख्यमत दुवाला एतसि अठसि अं तुफेसु . . . . . मम

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Dhauli separate edict II, L.

<sup>2</sup> i. e. three times per year; see the Dhauli separate edict II, N.

<sup>3</sup> The forms *kalanītam* (here and in II, L and P), *patayāntam* (Jaugada separate edict I, S and T), *sanītam* (II, Q, and pillar-edict IV, I), *nāsāntam* (pillar-edict IV, M), and *pajāntam* (Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, PP) are nominatives singular absolute. Cf. above, p. 35, n. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Franke (VOJ, 9. 340 ff.) has shown that *chaghati* is the future of *chak*, a variant of the root *iak*. Cf. *chakiye* in the Dhauli separate edict II, l. 5, in the Sahasrām rock-inscription, l. 3, and in the Bairāt rock-inscription, l. 5; also *chakiye*, *ibid.*, l. 6.

<sup>5</sup> In the translation of *sasvatam samayam* I follow Kern (JRAS, 1880. 391) and Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 864).

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 33, n. 8.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Dhammapada, verse 408:

akakkasam viññāpanim giram sachcham udiraye |

yāya nābhīsa ke kañchi tam aham brūmi brāhmaṇam ||

<sup>8</sup> The context shows that these are meant here, and that the *Mahāmātras* were directed by the king to control them; see SPAW, 1914. 865 f.

<sup>10</sup> See above, p. 40, n. 2.

- 3 (B) अथ पजाये इहामि हकं किंति सवेन हितमुखेन हिदलोकिकपाललोकिकाये युजेवू ति हेवं . . . . .
- 4 (F) सिया अतानं अविजितानं किछेदे सु लाज अफेसु . . (G) . . . . . मव इह मम अतेसु . . ि पापुनेवु ते इति देवानंपिय . . . . . अनुविगिन ममाये
- 5 हुवेवू ति अस्वसेवु च सुखंमेव लहेवु ममते नो दुखं हेवं . . . . . पुनेवू इति खमिसति ने देवानंपिये अफाका ति ए चकिये खमितवे मम निमितं व च धमं चलेवू
- 6 हिदलोक पललोकं च आलाधयेवू (H) एतसि अठसि हकं अनुसासामि तुफे अनने एतकेन हकं अनुसासितु छंदं च वेदितु आ हि धिति पटिजा च ममा
- 7 अजला (I) से हेवं कटु कंमे चलितविये अस्वास . . . . . ि च तानि एन पापुनेवू इति अथ पिता तथ देवानंपिये अफाक अथा च अतानं हेवं देवानंपिये अनुकंपति अफे
- 8 अथा च पजा हेवं मये देवानंपियस (J) से हकं अनुसासितु छंदं च वेदितु तुफाक देसावुतिके होसामि एताये अठाये (K) पटिबला हि तुफे अस्वासनाये हितमुखाये च तेस
- 9 हिदलोकिकपाललोकिकाये (L) हेवं च कलंतं तुफे स्वगं आलाधयिसथ मम च आननियं एहय (M) एताये च अठाये इयं लिपि लिखिता हिद एन महामाता स्वसतं सम
- 10 शुजिसंति अस्वासनाये धमचलनाये च तेस अतानं (N) इयं च लिपि अनुचातुंमासं तिसेन नखतेन सोतविया (O) कामं चु खणसि खनसि अंतला पि तिसेन एकेन पि
- 11 सोतविय (P) हेवं कलंतं तुफे चघथ संपटिपादयितवे

- 1 (A) Devānarāpiyas[s] vachanena Tosaliyam kumāle mahāmātā cha vataviya (B) am kichhī dakhām[i] h[akam tam i] . . . . .
- 2 duvālate cha ālabheham (C) esa cha me mokhya-mata duvālā etasi āthasi am tuphe[s]u . . . . . mama
- 3 (E) ath[a] pajāye ichhāmi haka[m ki[m]ti savena h[ita-sukhe]na hidalokika-pālalokikāye<sup>1</sup> yujevū ti h[e]v[am] . . . . .
- 4 (F) siyā aṁtāna[m avijitāna[m ki-chha[m]de] su lāja [aphesu] . . (G) . . . . . m[a]va<sup>2</sup> ichha mama amtesu . . . i<sup>3</sup> [p]ā[p]unevu te iti Devānarāp[iy] . . . . . [anu]v[i]g[ina] mamāye
- 5 huvevū ti asvasevu cha sukhameva lahevu mama[e] no dukha[m] h[e]va[m]

<sup>1</sup> Read -pālalokikena, as in the first separate edict, F.

<sup>2</sup> *may* Bühler; read perhaps *hevameva*.

<sup>3</sup> Restore *kiṁti*.

- ... un[c]vū<sup>1</sup> iti khamisati<sup>2</sup> ne Devānāmpriya [aph]akā<sup>3</sup> ti e chakiye khamitave mama nimitā [va]<sup>4</sup> cha dhammā chalevū
- 6 hidaloka palaloka[m] cha ālādhayevū (H) etasi aṭhasi haka[m] anusāsāmi tuphe ana[n]e [c]takena haka[m] anusāsitu cchamdam cha veditu ā [hi] dhi[tj] paṭimā cha mamā
- 7 [a]jalā (I) s[e] heva[m] kaṭu kaṁme chal[i]t[a]v[i]ye asv[āsa] . . . . i<sup>5</sup> [cha] tāni ena pāpunevū iti aṭha pitā tatha Devānāmpriya [e] aphāka aṭhā cha atāna<sup>6</sup> heva[m] Devānāmpriya [a]nukampati aphe
- 8 aṭhā cha pajā<sup>7</sup> heva[m] may[c] D[e]vānāmpriyasa (J) se haka[m] anusāsitu [chha]mda[m] ch[a] veditu tu]phāk[a] desāvutike hosāmi etāye aṭhāye<sup>8</sup> (K) paṭibalā hi tupa[c] asvāsānāye hita-sukhāye cha [tesa]
- 9 hidalokika-pālalo[kij]kāye (L) heva[m] cha kalamāta[m] tuphe svagam ālādha[yi]satha mama ch[a] ānaniya[m] ehatha (M) etāye cha aṭhāye iya[m] lipi likhita hida e[na ma]hāmātā svasata[r]sa[ma]<sup>9</sup>
- 10 yujisanti as[vā]s[a]nāye dhamma-chala[n]āye cha tes[a] amānaṭa (N) iya[m] cha lipi [anu]chātumāsāna tisena nakhatena sotaviyā (O) kāmāna chu<sup>10</sup> [kha]ṇas[i]<sup>11</sup> khanasi amāla pi tisena ekena [p]i
- 11 [so]taviya (P) heva[m] kala[m]ta[m] [t]upahe chaghattha saṁpaṭipādayitave

## TRANSLATION

(A) At the word of Devānāmpriya, the prince (governor) and the Mahāmātras at Tōsall have to be told (thus).

(B) Whatever I recognize (to be right), that . . . . . and to accomplish by (various) means.

(C) And this is considered by me the principal means for this object, viz. . . . . to you.

(D) . . . . . my . . . . .

(E) As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, thus . . . . .

(F) It might occur<sup>12</sup> to (my) unconquered borderers<sup>13</sup> (to ask): 'What does the king desire<sup>14</sup> with reference to us?'

(G) [This] alone is my wish with reference to the borderers, that they may learn that Devānāmpriya . . . . . that they may not be afraid of me, but may have

<sup>1</sup> Restore pāpunevū.

<sup>2</sup> aphāka Senart and Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> The syllable nam is entered above the line.

<sup>4</sup> aṭhāye Senart and Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> cha Senart and Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> The syllable sa is entered above the line.

<sup>7</sup> Senart and Bühler omit va.

<sup>8</sup> Restore asvāsāniyāni.

<sup>9</sup> pajā Bühler.

<sup>10</sup> Read sasvatana samayana.

<sup>11</sup> The syllable si is entered above the line.

<sup>12</sup> Lüders showed that sīyā is not the last word of section E, as previous translators thought, but opens section F, and is used in the same way as kuthā in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, D and J. He also pointed out the correct construction of sections F and G, which had been curiously misunderstood; see SPAW, 1914. 866 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. the Kālsī rock-edict II, A; V, J; XIII, Q.

<sup>14</sup> Kern (JRAS, 1880, 381) explained su by Skt. svit. Cf. gachhema su in the Dhauli separate edict I, D, and kinasu in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, F, G, H.



confidence (in me); that they may obtain only happiness from me,<sup>1</sup> not misery; that they may [learn] this, that **Dēvanāmpriya** will forgive them<sup>2</sup> what can be forgiven;<sup>3</sup> that they may (be induced) by me (to) practise morality; (and) that they may attain (happiness in) this world and (in) the other world.

(B) For the following purpose I am instructing you, (viz. that) I may discharge the debt (which I owe to them)<sup>4</sup> by this, that I instruct (you) and inform (you) of (my) will, i. e. my unshakable<sup>5</sup> resolution and vow.

(I) Therefore, acting thus, (you) must fulfil (your) duty and must inspire confidence to them,<sup>6</sup> in order that they may learn that **Dēvanāmpriya** is to them like a father, that **Dēvanāmpriya** loves them like himself, and that they are to **Dēvanāmpriya** like (his own) children.

(J) Therefore, having instructed (you), and having informed you of (my) will, I shall have (i. e. entertain) officers in (all) provinces<sup>7</sup> for this object.

(K) For you are able to inspire confidence to those (borderers) and (to secure their) welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world.

(L) And if (you) act thus, you will attain heaven, and will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me.

(M) And for the following purpose has this rescript been written here, (viz.) in order that the *Mahāmātras* may strive at all times to inspire confidence to those borderers (of mine) and (to induce them) to practise morality.

(N) And this rescript must be listened to (by all) every four months<sup>8</sup> on (the day of) the constellation Tishya.<sup>9</sup>

(O) But if desired, it may be listened to even by a single (person)<sup>10</sup> also on frequent (other) occasions between (the days of) Tishya.

(P) If (you) act thus, you will be able to carry out (my orders).

<sup>1</sup> Here and at Jaugada, Senart and Buhler wrongly read *mama te* (in two words) instead of *mamale*, which, as Kern recognized, corresponds to the Prākṛit ablative *mamatto*. See JRAS, 1880, 380, 382, 383, SPAW, 1914, 868, Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 415 f.

<sup>2</sup> As Buhler (ASSI, I, 128, n. 24) remarked, either *ne* or *aphākā* is superfluous.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the Shāhbāzgarhi rock-edict XIII, L. For *chakiye* see above, p. 97, n. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the rock-edict VI, L.

<sup>5</sup> *ajala* corresponds to *achala* at Jaugada, as *loga* (Jaugada separate edict II, ll 7 and 13) to *loka*, *libi* (Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, QQ and SS) to *lipi*, *hida* (Kālsi, V, J and K) to *huta*, and *dose* (Kālsi, VI, H) to *tose*.

<sup>6</sup> The neuter *tāni* is improperly used for the masculine *te*, which is the reading of the Jaugada version.

<sup>7</sup> Kern (JRAS, 1880, 384) translated: 'I will entrust the country to your care.' For the difficult term *desavutika* (Dhauili) or [*saka*]*la-desā-āy[ut]ika* (Jaugada) see Buhler (ZDMG, 41, 28), who took *āyuti* = Skt. *āyuktin*, 'an official'. Cf. *āvuti* = Skt. *āyukta*, 'an order', in the pillar-edict IV, L. The provincial officers who are here referred to, are perhaps identical with the *Mahāmātras* whom Aśoka ordered to be deputed on inspection duty from Pāṭaliputṭa, 1<sup>st</sup> jayini, and Takshaśilā; see the four last sections of the Dhauili separate edict I.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *chātumāsī* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict V, ll, 11, 16, 18.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the Dhauili separate edict I, V.

<sup>10</sup> See above, p. 95, n. 9.

## VI. THE JAUGADA ROCK

## FIRST ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) इयं धंमलिपी खेपिंगलसि पवतसि देवानंपियेन पियदसिना लाजिना लिखापिता (B) हिद नो किछि जीवं आलभितु पजोहितविये  
 2 (C) नो पि च समाजे कटविये (D) बहुकं हि दोसं समाजस द्रक्षति देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा (E) अथि पि चु एकतिया समाजा साधुमता देवानंपियस  
 3 पियदसिने लाजिने (F) पुलुवं महानससि देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने अनुदिवसं बहूनि पानसतसहसानि आलभियिसु सुपठाये  
 4 (G) से अज अदा इयं धंमलिपी लिखिता तिंनि येव पानानि आलंभियंति दुवे मज्जूला एके मिगे से पि चु मिगे नो धुवं (H) एतानि पि चु तिंनि पानानि  
 5 पछा नो आलभियसंति
- 1 (A) iyaṃ dhamma-lipī **Khepiṅgalasi**<sup>1</sup> pavatasi Devānaṃpiyaṇa Piyadasinā lājinaṃ likhāpitā (B) hida no kichhi jāvaṃ ālabhi[t]u pajohitaviye  
 2 (C) no pi cha samāje kaṭaviye (D) bahukaṃ hi dosaṃ samājasa<sup>2</sup> drakhati<sup>3</sup> Devānaṃpiye Piyadasī lājā (E) athi pi chu ekatiyā samājā sādhu-matā Devānaṃpiyasa  
 3 Piyadasine<sup>4</sup> lājine (F) puluvaṃ mahā[nasa]si Devānaṃpiyasa Piyadasine lājine anudivasanā bahūni pāna-sata-sah[a]sāni ālabhiyisu sūpa[th]āye  
 4 (G) se aja adā iyaṃ dhamma-lipī likhita tinnī yeva pānāni āla[m]bhīyaṃti<sup>5</sup> duve majjūla eke mige se pi chu mige no dhuvaṃ (H) etāni pi chu tinnī pānāni  
 5 pachhā no āla[bh]īyisaṃti

## TRANSLATION

- (A) This rescript on morality has been caused to be written on the **Khēpiṅgala**<sup>1</sup> mountain by king **Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin**.  
 (B) Here no living being must be killed and sacrificed.  
 (C) And also no festival meeting must be held.  
 (D) For king **Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin** sees much evil in festival meetings.  
 (E) But there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by king **Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin**.

<sup>1</sup> *Khapiṅgalasi* Bühler, but the *e* of *khe* is perfectly distinct.

<sup>2</sup> *samājasi* Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> A horizontal stroke, which may be meant for *r*, seems to be attached both at the top and at the bottom of *da*; *drakhati* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> *Piyadasine* Senart and Bühler. The curve at the bottom of *da* is probably intended for *r*.

<sup>5</sup> *ālabhiyaṃti* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> The etymological meaning of this name is: '(which appears) brown in the air'; see Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 92.

(F) Formerly in the kitchen of king *Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin* many hundred thousands of animals were killed daily for the sake of curry.

(G) But now, when this rescript on morality is written, only three animals are being killed (daily), (viz.) two peacocks (and) one deer, but even this deer not regularly.

(H) But even these three animals shall not be killed in future.

## SECOND ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) सवत विजितसि देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने ए वा पि अंता अथा  
चोडा पंडिया सतिषपुते .....<sup>1</sup> अंतियोके नाम
- 2 योनलाजा ए वा पि तस अंतियोक्स सामंता लाजाने सवत देवानंपियेन  
पियदसिना लाजि ..... चिकिसा च
- 3 पसुचिकिसा च (B) ओसपानि आनि मुनिसोपगानि पसुओपगानि च अतत  
नषि सवत ..... च अतत नषि
- 4 सवच हालापिता च लोपापिता च (D) मगेसु उदुपानानि खानापितानि  
लुखानि च .....

- 1 (A) savata vijitasi Devānāmpiyasa Piyadasine lājine e vā pi aṁtā athā Choḍā  
Paṇḍiyā Satiyaṣuṭṭhe ..... I Antiyoke nāma
- 2 Yona-lājā [e] vā pi tasa Antiyokasa sāmanta lājāne savata Devānāmpiyena  
Piyadasinā lāji ..... [ch]ikisā cha
- 3 pasu-chikisā cha (B) osadhāni āni munisopagāni pasu-opagāni cha atata nathi  
sava[ta] ..... cha atata nathi
- 4 s[a]vatra<sup>1</sup> hālāpitā cha lopāpitā cha (D) magesu udupānāni khānāpitāni lukhāni  
cha .....

## TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) Everywhere in the dominions of king *Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin*, and also (of those) who (are his) borderers, such as the *Chōḍas*, the *Pāṇḍyas*, the *Satiyaṣputa*, ..... the *Yona* king named *Antiyoka*, and also the kings who are the neighbours of this *Antiyoka*,—everywhere [two (kinds of) medical treatment were established] by king *Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin*, (viz.) medical treatment [for men] and medical treatment for cattle.

(B) Wherever there were no herbs that are beneficial to men and beneficial to cattle, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.<sup>2</sup>

(C) Wherever there were no roots and [fruits], everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(D) On the roads wells were caused to be dug, and trees were caused to be planted for the use of [cattle and men].

<sup>1</sup> *sāvata* Senart, *savatva* Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> The last words of this section are missing at Jaugada, but are preserved at Dhauri. Henceforth I shall use straight brackets in the translation only if words are lost in both of these versions of the rock-edicts.

## THIRD ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा ह्वं आहा (B) दुवादसवसाभिसितेन मे इव  
आ ..... च पादेसिके च
- 2 पंचसु पंचसु वसेसु अनुसयानं निखमावू अया अनाये पि कंमने .....  
सा मितसंयुतेस ..
- 3 नातिसु च बंभनसमनेहि साधु दाने जीवेसु अनालंभे साधु .....  
यि .....
- 4 हेतुते च वियंजनते च
- 1 (A) Devā[n]āmpīye Piyaḍasī lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) duvādasa-vasābhisitena me  
iyaṃ [ā] ..... cha pād[ē]sike cha
- 2 pañchasu pañchasu vasesu anusayānaṃ nikhamāvū athā aṇṇāye pi kaṃma[n]e  
.....[s]ā mita-saṃthute[s] ..
- 3 nātisu ch[a] bāmbhana-samanahe sādhu dāne jīvesu [a]ṇālambhe sādhu .....  
[y]i .....
- 4 hetute cha viyaṃjanate cha

## TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) King *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus.

(B) (When I had been) anointed twelve years, the following was ordered by me

(C) [Everywhere] in my dominions the *Yuktas*, the *Lajuka*, and the *Prāḍṣika* shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years, just as for other business, even so for the following instruction in morality.

(D) 'Meritorious is obedience to mother and father, to friends and acquaintances, and to relatives. Liberality to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas is meritorious. Abstention from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious.'

(E) And the council (of *Mahāmātras*) also shall order the *Yuktas* to register (these rules) both with (the addition of) reasons and according to the letter.

## FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) अतिकंतं अंतलं बहुनि वससतानि वदिते च पानालंभे .....
- 2 (B) से अज देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने धंमचलनेन भेल .....
- 3 दिवियाणि लूपानि दसयितु मुनिसानं (C) आदिसे बहुहि वससते .....
- 4 धंमानुसधिया अनालंभे पानानं अविहिसा भूतानं नातिसु संप .....
- 5 (D) एस अने च बहुविधे धंमचलने वदिते (E) वदयि .....
- 6 पियदसिने लाजिने पवदयिसंति येव धंमचल .....
- 7 (E) धंमचलने पि चु नो होति .....
- 8 हीनि च मा अलोचयि .....

- 1 (A) a[t]ikaṃtaṃ aṃtaṃ bahūni vasa-satāni vaḍhite va pānālaṃbhe . . . . .
- 2 (B) se aja **Devānāmpriyasa Priyadasine lājine** dhamma-chalanena bhe[ī] . . . . .
- 3 divi[y]āni lūpāni drasayitu<sup>1</sup> munisānaṃ (C) ādisse bahūhi vasa-sate . . . . .
- 4 dhammānusathiyā anālaṃbhe pānānaṃ avihisā bhūtānaṃ nātisu [saṃpa] . . . . .
- 5 (D) esa aṃne cha bahuvidhe dhamma-chalane vaḍhite (E) va[ḍhay]i . . . . .
- 6 **Priyadasine lājine** pavaḍhayi[sa]ṃ[t]i [y]e[va] dhamma-cha[la] . . . . .
- 7 (H) dhamma-chalane pi chu no ho[t]i . . . . .
- 8 [hi]ni cha mā aloch[ay]i . . . . .

## TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) In times past, for many hundreds of years, there had ever been promoted the killing of animals and the hurting of living beings, discourtesy to relatives, (and) discourtesy to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas.

(B) But now, in consequence of the practice of morality on the part of **king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin**, the sound of drums has become the sound of morality, showing the people representations of aerial chariots, elephants, masses of fire, and other divine figures.

(C) Such as they had not existed before for many hundreds of years, thus there are now promoted, through the instruction in morality on the part of **king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin**, abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas, obedience to mother and father, (and) obedience to the aged.

(D) In this and many other ways is the practice of morality promoted.

(E) And **king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin** will ever promote this practice of morality.

(F) But also the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of **king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin** will ever promote this practice of morality until the æon (of destruction of the world), (and) will instruct (people) in morality, abiding by morality and by good conduct.

(G) For this is the best work, viz. instruction in morality.

(H) But the practice of morality also is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct.

(I) Therefore promotion and not neglect of this object is meritorious.

(J) For the following purpose has this been written, (viz. in order that) they should devote themselves to the promotion of this practice, and that they should not approve<sup>2</sup> the neglect (of it).

(K) This has been written here by **king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin** (when he had been) **anointed twelve years**.

<sup>1</sup> *dasayitu* Senart, *dasayitu* Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 31, n. 7.

## FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियद् .....  
 2 नती व पलं च ते .....  
 3 सुपदालये (H) से छा .....  
 4 पंमापिबाना .....  
 5 .. भनिभि .....  
 6 मोक्षाये .....  
 7 ए वा .....  
 8 .....

- 1 (A) Devā[na]m̐piye Piya[da] .....  
 2 nat[i]<sup>1</sup> va palam̐ cha te .....  
 3 s[u]padālaye (H) se [a] .....  
 4 [dha]m̐[m]a[dh]i[th]ānā<sup>2</sup> .....  
 5 .. bhanibhi .....  
 6 mokhāye .....  
 7 e [v]ā .....  
 8 .....

## TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

- (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.  
 (B) It is difficult to perform virtuous deeds.  
 (C) He [who starts performing] victorious deeds accomplishes something difficult.  
 (D) Now, by me many virtuous deeds have been performed.  
 (E) Therefore (among) my sons and grandsons, and (among) my descendants (who shall come) after them until the æon (of the destruction of the world), those who will conform to this (duty) will perform good deeds.  
 (F) He who will neglect even a portion of this (duty) will perform evil deeds.  
 (G) For sin indeed steps fast.<sup>3</sup>  
 (H) Now in times past, (officers) called *Mahāmātras* of morality did not exist before.  
 (I) But (the officers) called *Mahāmātras* of morality were appointed by me (when I had been) **anointed thirteen years**.  
 (J) These are occupied with all sects in establishing morality, in promoting morality, and for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality (even) among the *Yōnas*, *Kambōchas*, and *Gandhāras*, among the *Laṭhikas* and *Pitōnikas*, and whatever other western borderers (of mine there are).  
 (K) They are occupied with servants and masters, with Brāhmaṇas and Ibhyas,

<sup>1</sup> *namti* Senart, *nati* Bühler.<sup>2</sup> \**phānā* Bühler.<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 33, n. 3.

with the destitute, and with the aged, for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality,<sup>1</sup> (and) in releasing (them) from the fetters (of worldly life).<sup>2</sup>

(L) They are occupied in supporting prisoners (with money), in causing (their) fetters to be taken off, and in setting (them) free, if (one has) children, or is bewitched, or aged, respectively.

(M) They are occupied everywhere, both here and in all the outlying towns, in all the harems of myself, of my brothers, and of (my) sisters, and with (my) other relatives.

(N) These *Mahāmātras* of morality are occupied on the whole earth with those who are devoted to morality, (in order to ascertain) whether one is eager for morality, or established in morality, or furnished with gifts.

(O) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my descendants may conform to it.

#### SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) . . . . नंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) अतिकंतं अंतलं नो हूतपुलुवे  
सवं कालं अठकमे पटिवेदना व (C) से ममया कटे (D) सवं कालं
- 2 . . . . . स मे अंते ओलोधनसि गभागालसि वचसि विनीतसि उयानसि च  
सवत पटिवेदका जनस अठं प्रटिवेदयंतु मे ति (E) सवत च जनस
- 3 . . . . . कं (F) अं पि च किंछि सुखे अन्नपयामि दापकं वा सावकं  
वा ए वा महामातेहि अतियायिके आलोपिते होति तसि अठसि  
विवादे व
- 4 . . . . . लिसायं आनंतलियं पटिवेदेतविये मे ति सवत सवं कालं (G)  
हेव मे अनुमये (H) नपि हि मे तोसे उठानसि अठसंतीलनाय च
- 5 (I) . . . . . मे सवलोकहिते (J) तस च पन इयं मूले उठाने च  
अठसंतीलना च (K) नपि हि कंमतला सवलोकहितेन (L) अं च किंछि  
पलकमामि हकं
- 6 . . . . . नियं येहं ति हिद च कानि सुखयामि पलत च स्वगं आलाधयंतु  
ति (M) एताये अठाये इयं धंमलिपी लिखिता चलिदित्तिका होतु
- 7 . . . . . ता मे पलकमंतु सवलोकहिताये (N) दुक्ले चु इयं अनंत अगेन  
पलकमेन

- 1 (A) . . . . [na]m̐piye Piyadasi lājā hevam āhā (B) atikaṃtaṃ aṃtalaṃ no hūta-  
puluve savam̐ kālāṃ aṭha-kame[ṣ] paṭivedanā va (C) se mamayā kaṭe (D)  
savam̐ kālāṃ
- 2 . . . . . [sa]m̐e aṃte olodhanasi gabhāgālasī vachasi vinītaṣ[i] uyānasi cha savata  
paṭivedakā janasa aṭham̐ praṭivedayaṃtu <sup>3</sup> me ti (E) savata cha janasa

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 33, n. 7.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 33, n. 8.

<sup>3</sup> The *r* is expressed by a horizontal stroke before *pa*, which therefore looks like *pe*; *paṭi* Senart and Bühler.

- 3 .....[ka]ṛṇ (F) aṇ pi cha kiṇchhi mukhate ānapayāmi dāpakam vā sāvakam  
vā e v[ā] mah[ā]mātehi a[tṛ]ṇ[yā]yike [ā]lopite hoti tasi aṭhasi vivāde va
- 4 ..... liṣā[am]¹ a)naṇ[ta]liyaṇ paṭivedetaviye me ti savata savam  
kālaṇ (G) hevaṇ me anusathe (H) nathi hi me tose uṭhānasi aṭha-  
saṇtilaṇ[ā]y[a] cha
- 5 (I) ..... me sava-loka-hite (J) tasa cha pana iyaṇ mūle uṭhāne cha aṭha-  
saṇtilanā cha (K) nathi hi k[am]matalā sava-loka-hiten[a] (L) aṇ cha kichhi  
p[a]lakamāmi hakaṇ
- 6 ..... [ṇ]iyaṇ yehaṇ ti hida cha kāni su[kha]yāmi palata cha svagaṇ  
ālādhayaṇtu ti (M) etāye aṭhāye i[ya]ṇ dhamma-lipi likhitā chila-ṭhitikā  
hotu²
- 7 ..... [t]ā³ me [pa]lakamaṇtu sava-loka-hitāye (N) dukale chu i[ya]ṇ aṇnata  
agena palakameṇa

## TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) In times past neither the disposal of affairs nor the submission of reports at all times did exist before.

(C) But I have made (the following arrangement).

(D) Reporters have to report to me the affairs of the people at any time (and) anywhere, while I am [eating], within⁴ the harem, in the inner apartment, at the cowpen, in the palanquin, and in the park.

(E) And everywhere I am disposing of the affairs of the people.

(F) And also, if in the council (of *Mahāmātras*) a dispute arises, or an amendment is moved, in connexion with any donation or proclamation which I am ordering verbally, or (in connexion with) an emergent matter which has been delegated to the *Mahāmātras*, it must be reported to me immediately, anywhere, (and) at any time.

(G) Thus I have ordered.

(H) For I am never satisfied in exerting myself and in dispatching business.

(I) For I consider it my duty (to promote) the welfare of all men.

(J) But the root of that (is) this, (viz.) exertion and the dispatch of business.

(K) For no duty is more important than (promoting) the welfare of all men.

(L) And whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that I may discharge the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).

(M) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my sons (and) great-grandsons may display the same zeal for the welfare of all men.

(N) But it is difficult to accomplish this without great zeal.

¹ *śāya* Senart and Bühler.

² *hotu* Bühler.

³ On plate 68 of ASSI, vol. I, a portion of the syllable *po* is visible before *tā*.

⁴ The preposition *ante*, 'within', is used with the locative, just as *anto* in Pāli; see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, p. 39 b.



## SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) ..... दसी लाजा सवत इहति सवपासंदा वसे .. ति (B) सवे हि  
ते समं भावयुधी च इहति (C) मुनिसा च उचावुचकदा उचावुचलागा  
2 (D) ..... सं व क्वंति (E) विपुले पि चा दाने ..... धी  
च नीचे वाहं
- 1 (A) ..... da[st]<sup>1</sup> lājā savata ichhati sava-p[ā]samdā va[s]e .. [t]i (B) [sav]e  
hi te sa[yama]n bhāva-[su]dhi cha ichhamti (C) munisā cha uchāvucha-chhamdā  
uchāvuch[a]-lāgā  
2 (D) ..... [sa]m<sup>2</sup> va kachhamti (E) [v]i[pu]le [p]i chā<sup>3</sup> [d]a[ne] .....  
[dhi] cha niche [h]ācham

## TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

- (A) King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin desires (that) all sects may reside everywhere.  
(B) For all these desire self-control and purity of mind.  
(C) And men possess various desires (and) various passions.  
(D) They will fulfil either the whole or (only) a portion (of their duties).  
(E) And even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control and purity of mind, is very mean.

## EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 ..... विया अनानि च एदि ..... मानि हुवंति नं (C) से  
देवानंपिये  
2 पिय ..... दस ..... ता (E) ततेस होति स .....  
च दाने च वुढानं दसने च  
3 हिलनपटिविधाने च ..... धंमपलिपुद्दा ..... िलामे  
होति देवानंपियस  
4 पियदसिने लाजिने भागे स ..  
1 '..... [v]i[y]ā [a]māni cha e[d]i ... [m]āni huvaṃti naṃ (C) se  
Devānāmpiyas  
2 [Piya] ..... [dasa]<sup>4</sup> ..... [tā] (E) [ta]tesa hoti [sa] ..... cha  
dāne<sup>5</sup> cha vuḍhānaṃ dasane cha  
3 hilaṃna-paṭiv[i]dh[ā]ne [cha] ..... [dha]mma-p[ā]lī[pucch]ā<sup>7</sup> .....  
ilāme hoti De[v]ānāmpiyasa  
4 Piyadasine lājine bhāge [a]...

<sup>1</sup> On plate 68 of ASSI, vol. I, the two syllables [Piya] are visible before dasi.

<sup>2</sup> The same plate reads [va] eka-dasaṃ.

<sup>3</sup> cha Senart and Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> At the beginning of this line, plate 68 of ASSI, vol. I, reads [a\*][ti]kaṃtaraṃ amitaṃ lājā.

<sup>5</sup> The same plate reads Piyadasi [l]ājā dasa.

<sup>6</sup> cha looks almost like chu, and dāne like dāno.

<sup>7</sup> pali Senart and Bühler.

# EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

## TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) In times past, kings used to set out on so-called pleasure-tours.

(B) On these (tours) hunting and other such pleasures were (enjoyed).<sup>1</sup>

(C) But when king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* had been anointed ten years, he went out to *Sambōdhi*.

(D) Therefore tours of morality (were undertaken) here.

(E) On these (tours) the following takes place, (viz.) visiting Śramanas and Brāhmanas and making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality, as suitable for this (occasion).

(F) This second period (of the reign) of king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* becomes a pleasure in a higher degree.

## NINTH ROCK-EDICT JAUGADA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा ..... पञ्चपदाये पवाससि गताये  
अनाये च
- 2 हेदिसाये जने बहुक ..... च मंगलं कलेति (D) से कटविये चेव  
खो मंगले
- 3 (E) अपफले चु खो एस हेदिसे म ..... (F) इयं चु ..... समटकसि  
सम्यापटिपति गुलूनं अपचिति पानेसु सयमे
- 4 समनबाभनानं दाने एस अने ..... पितिना पि पुतन पि भातिना  
पि सुवामिकेन पि इयं साधु इयं कटविये
- 5 ..... से दाने अनुगहे वा आदिसे धमदाने धमानुगहं च (L) सं चु  
खो मितेन
- 6 ..... यं साधू इमेन सकिये स्वगे आलाधयितवे (L) किं हि इमेन  
कटवियतला
- 7 .....

- 1 (A) *Devān[am]piye Piyadasi lā[jā]* ..... [*pañcupadāye pavāsasi gata*  
*amnāye cha*]
- 2 *hedisāye jane [ba]hu[kā]m* ..... [*cha ma[m]gala[m] k[a]leti (D) se kaṭav-*  
*cheva kho maṅgale*]
- 3 (E) *apa-[pha]le chu [kh]o e[sa] he[d]ise ma* ..... (F) *i[ya]m [chu]*<sup>2</sup> .....  
[*sa-bha*]akasi samyā-paṭipati gulūnam apachiti pānesu say[a]m
- 4 *saman[a]-bābha[n]ā[nam] d[ā]n[e] [esa a]m[n]e* ..... [*pi*]tinā pi putena p-  
bhātinā pi suvāmike[na] pi iyaṁ sādhu iyaṁ kaṭaviye

<sup>1</sup> With *avāsanti nam* cf. *ekāhi na* in the Kārlē and Nāsik inscriptions (EI, 7. 64. text l. 4. 8. 65, text l. 14; 71, text l. 4; 73, text l. 11). In the Jaina Prākṛit, *nam* is used as an enclitic particle, and in Saurasēni, according to the grammarians, in the sense of *namu*. Pischel (*Grammatik*, § 150) derives it from Skt. *nāman*.

<sup>2</sup> These two words are invisible on plate 68 of ASSI, vol. I.

- 5 .....[s]e dāne anugah[e] vā ādi[s]e dharīma-dāne dhammānugahe cha (K)  
 se chu kho mītena  
 6 ..... yaṃ sād[h]ū] imena sakiye svage ālādhayitave (L) kiṃ hi imena  
 kaṭaviyatalā  
 7 .....

## TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) Men are practising various ceremonies during illness ..... at the marriage of a daughter, at the birth of a child,<sup>1</sup> (and) when setting out on a journey; on these and other such (occasions) men [are practising] many ceremonies.

(C) But ..... women are practising many and various vulgar and useless ceremonies.

(D) Now ceremonies should certainly be practised.

(E) But such ceremonies as these bear little fruit indeed.

(F) But the following bears much fruit indeed, viz. the practice of morality.

(G) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Śramaṇas and Brāhmanas; these and other [such] (virtues) are called the practice of morality.

(H) Therefore a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master ought to say:—‘This is meritorious. This [practice] should be observed until the (desired) object is attained.’

(I) And it has been said thus:—‘Gifts are meritorious.’

(J) But there is no [such] gift or benefit as the gift of morality and the benefit of morality.

(K) Therefore a friend ..... [a relative], and a companion should indeed admonish (another) on such and such an occasion:—‘This ..... this is meritorious. By this (practice) it is possible to attain heaven.’

(L) For what is more desirable than this, [viz.] the attainment of heaven?

## TENTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) ..... यस्मि वा किटी या इहति तदत्ताये आयातिये च जने धम्मसूसं  
 सुसूसत्तु मे  
 2 ..... ति देवानंपिये पालतिकाये वा किंति सकले अपपालिसवे  
 हुवेया ति  
 3 (D) ..... लितिजित्तु खुदकेन वा उसटेन वा (F) उसटेन चु दुकलतले  
 1 (A) ..... [ya]so vā ki[t]i vā ichh[a]ti tadatvāye ā[ya]tiye cha jane dhamma-  
 susūsaraṃ susūsatu me  
 2 ..... [t]i Dēvānāmpiye pālatikāye vā ki[ni]ti [śa]kale apa-palisave  
 [h]uveyā ti  
 3 (D) ..... [l]itijit[u] khudakena [v]ā u[śa]ṭṭena vā (F) uṣaṭṭena chu dukalatala

<sup>1</sup> For *pajjapādāye* see above, p. 38, n. 22.

## TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) King *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* does not think that either glory or fame [conveys much advantage, except whatever] glory or fame he desires (on account of his aim that) at the present time, and in the future, men may (be induced) by him to practise obedience to morality . . . . . morality.

(B) On this (account) [he is desiring] glory and fame.

(C) [Whatever] effort *Dēvānāmpriya* is making, (is) only for the sake of (merit) in the other (world), (and) in order that all (men) may run little danger.

(D) The danger . . . . .

(E) . . . . . difficult to accomplish either for a lowly (person) or for a high one [without] great [zeal] and (without) laying aside every (other aim).

(F) But it is more difficult to accomplish for a high (person).

## FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

1 (A) . . . . . मङ्गिमेन अयि विषटेन (B) नो हि सवे सवत घटिते (C)  
महंते हि विजये

2 . . . . . स माधुलियाये किंति च जने तथा पटिपजेया ति (E) ए पि  
चु हेत

3 . . . . .

1 (A) . . . . . [ma]ṅgime[na] ath[i] vithaṭeṇa (B) [no] hi save savata ghaṭite  
(C) mahante hi vijaye

2 . . . . . [sa] mādhuliyāye kiṁti[ī] cha jane tathā paṭipajeyā ti (E) e pi chu heta  
3 . . . . .

## TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) These rescripts on morality [have been caused] to be written by king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* . . . . . or of middle (size), or at full length.

(B) For the whole was not suitable everywhere.

(C) For (my) dominions are wide, and much has been written, [and I] shall cause [still] (more) to be written.

(D) . . . . . has been stated . . . . . because of the charm of [certain topics], and in order that men should act accordingly.

(E) But whatever of this is written incompletely . . . . .

## FIRST SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

1 (A) देवानंपिये हेवं आहा (B) समापायं महामाता नगलवियोहालक हेवं  
वतविया (C) अं किद्धि दखामि हकं तं इहामि किंति कं कमन पटिपातयेहं

2 दुवालते च आलभेहं (D) एस च मे मोखियमत दुवालं अं तुफेसु अनुसधि (E)  
फे हि बहसु पानसहसेसु आयत पनयं गद्धेम सु मुनिसानं (F) सवमुना मे

- 3 पञ्जा (G) अथ पञ्जाये इक्षामि किंति मे सवेन हितमुत्तेन यूजेयू ति हिदलोणिक-  
पाललोकिकेन हेनेव मे इक्ष सबमुनिसेसु (H) नो चु तुफे एतं पापुनाथ  
आवगमुके
- 4 इयं अठे (I) केवा एकमुनिसे पापुनाति से पि देसं नो सवं (J) दक्षथ हि तुफे पि  
सुविता पि (K) बहुक अठि ये एति एकमुनिसे बंधनं पलिक्किलेसं पि  
पापुनाति (L) तत होति अक्-
- 5 स्मा ति तेन बधनंतिक अन्ये च वगे बहुके वेदयति (M) तत तुफेहि इक्षितये  
किंति भम्हं पटिपातयेम (N) इमेहि जातेहि नो पटिपजति इसाय आसुलोपेन  
निदूलियेन
- 6 तुलाय अनावुतिय आलस्येन किलमथेन (O) हेवं इक्षितविये किंति मे एतानि  
जातानि नो हेयू ति (P) सवस चु इयं मूले अनासुलोपे अतुलना च  
(Q) नितियं एवं किलंते सिय . . . .
- 7 संबलितु उपाया संबलितथ्ये तु वटितविय पि एतविये पि नीतियं (R) एवे  
दक्षेया आननेन शिभपेतविये हेवं हेवं च देवानंपियस अनुसधि ति (S) एतं  
संपटिपातयं-
- 8 तं महाफले होति असंपटिपति महापाये होति (T) विपटिपातयंतं नो  
स्वगआलपि नो लाजाधि (U) दुआहले एतस कंसस स मे कुम्मे मनो-  
अतिलेके (V) एतं संपटिपजमीने मम
- 9 च आननेयं एसथ स्वगं च आलापयिसथा (W) इयं चा लिपी अनुतिसं  
सोतविया (X) अला पि खनेन सोतविया एककेन पि (Y) . . . . .  
मीने चघथ . . . . .
- 10 तवे (Z) एताये च अठाये इयं लिखिता लिपी एन महामाता नगलक सस्वतं  
समयं एतं युजेयु ति एन मुनिसानं अ . . . . . ने पलिकि  
. . . . . ये
- 11 पंचसु पंचसु वसेसु अनुसयानं निखामयिसामि महामातं अचंडं अफलुसं  
त . . . . . पि कुमाले वि . . . . . त . . . . . मयि . . . . .  
लाते . . . . .
- 12 . . . . . वचनिक अद अनुसयानं निखमिसंति अतने कंमं . . . . .  
यितु तं पि तथा कलंति अथा . . . . .
- 1 (A) Dev[ā]naṁpiye he[va]n [ā]hā (B) Sam[ā]pāyaṁ mahāmātā . [na]gala-  
vīyohālaka he[va]n va[tav[i]y[ā]] (C) am kichhi dakhāmi ha[ka]m [taṁ] ichhām[i  
k]imti[i kaṁ<sup>1</sup> kamana<sup>2</sup> pa]tipātayeḥam

<sup>1</sup> Senart and Bühler omit *kaṁ*. Cf. the Jaṇḍa separate edict II, end of line 1, and see above, p. 35, n. 12.

<sup>2</sup> [*kaṁ*]mana Bühler.

- 2 *duvālate cha ālabheham* (D) *es[a] cha me mokhiya-mata duvāla[m] a[m]* *tuphesu anusathi* (E) *phe hi bahūsu pāna-sahasasu* (Ā) *ya[ta] p[a]na[ya[m]] gachhema* (au) *m[u]n[i]s[ā]na[m]* (F) *sava-mu[n]a me*<sup>1</sup>
- 3 *pajā* (G) *atha pa[jā]ye icchā[m]i ki[m]t[i] me savena hita-sukhena y[ā]jeyū ti hi[dal]o[g]ik[a]-pālalokikena* (he) *meva me ichha sava-munis[e]su* (H) *uo chu*<sup>2</sup> *tu[phe e]ta[m] [p]ā[p]unātha āva-gamu[k]e*<sup>3</sup>
- 4 *[i]ya[m] aṭh[e]* (I) *kechā eka-[muni]s[e]*<sup>4</sup> *pā[p]unāti*<sup>5</sup> *se pi dca[m] no savam* (J) *dakhatha hi* [tuphe] *pi*<sup>6</sup> *suviṭā* [p]i (K) *bahuka aṭhi*<sup>7</sup> *ye eti eka-munise ba[m]dhanam pali[kile]sa[m] [p]i*<sup>8</sup> *pāpunāti* (L) *tata* [ho]t[i] *aka*-
- 5 *sm[ā] ti*<sup>9</sup> *ten[a] badhana[m]ti*<sup>10</sup> *ka*<sup>11</sup> *anye*<sup>12</sup> *cha* [va]ge *bahuke vedayati* (M) *tata tuphe* [hi ichhi]taye *kiṃti majham* [pa]tipātayem[a] (N) *imehi jāte* [hi]<sup>13</sup> *no* [pa]tipa[ja]ti<sup>14</sup> *i*<sup>15</sup> *[s]ā[ya]*<sup>16</sup> *āsulopena* [ni]kṭhū[li]ye[na]<sup>17</sup>
- 6 *t[ul]āya*<sup>18</sup> *[a]nā[v]uti*<sup>19</sup> *ya*<sup>20</sup> *āla[s]y[e]na ki* lamath[e]na (O) *heva[m] ichhit[ā]vi[y]e kiṃti me et[ā]ni jātā[ni] njo hveyū*<sup>21</sup> *ti* (P) *savasa chu*<sup>22</sup> *iyam mū[le] a[n]ā[s]u[lo]p[e] atulanā* (Q) *nī[tiya]m* [e]y[am] *ki* j[ā]m[te] [siya] . . .
- 7 *sa[m]chalitu* *uthāy[ā]*<sup>23</sup> *sa[m]chalitavye tu v[a]t[ita]viya*<sup>24</sup> *[pi] etaviye pi nū[i]ya[m]* (R) *eve dakh[e]yā*<sup>25</sup> *āna[m]ne*<sup>26</sup> *nijhap[e]ta* [vi]ye<sup>27</sup> *heva[m] heva[m] cha Devāna[m]p[ā]ya* *sa an[ū]sa[thi] ti* (S) [eta]m [sa[m]paṭipā]ta[ya[m]]-
- 8 *ta[m] mahā-phale hoti asampaṭipati mahāpāy[e] hoti* (T) *vipaṭipātaya[m]ta[m] no svag[a]-āladhi no lājādhi*<sup>28</sup> (U) *du[ā]hale etasa* [ka]m[na]sa *sa me k[u]t[ā]c[e] ma[n]o-ati* [le]ke<sup>29</sup> (V) [eta]m *sampaṭipajamine mama*]
- 9 *cha ānanyam esatha svagam cha āla[dha]yisa[th]a* (W) *iyam chā*<sup>30</sup> *li[p]* *anutisam sot[a]v[i]yā* (X) *[a]lā*<sup>31</sup> *[p]i kha[ne]na sota* [vi]yā *ek[a]k[e]na pi* (Y) . . . . .
- 10 *tave* (Z) *etāye cha aṭh[ā]ye iya[m] [li]khitā* [I]ipi *ena mahāmātā nagalaka sa[s]vata[m] sama[ya]m* [eta]m *yul]jey[u] t[i] ena* [muni]s[ā]nam [a] . . . . . *ne* [pal]i[k]e<sup>32</sup> . . . . . ye
- 11 *[pa]mchasa pa[m]chasa va* [sesu] *anu* [sa]yānam<sup>33</sup> *nikhāma* [y]isāmi<sup>34</sup> *mahāmātā* [m] *achamā* [m] *aphal[usa]m*<sup>35</sup> *ta*<sup>36</sup> . . . . . *pi kumāle* [v]i<sup>37</sup> . . . . . *ta* . . . . . *m[ayi]*<sup>38</sup> . . . . . [lā]t[ā]e<sup>39</sup> . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> Read -munissā me; -munise Senart and Bühler.<sup>2</sup> cha Bühler.<sup>3</sup> āvā- Bühler; -gamake Senart and Bühler.<sup>4</sup> -pūhis Senart and Bühler.<sup>5</sup> pi manati Senart, pi [ma]nāti Bühler.<sup>6</sup> hi Bühler.<sup>7</sup> hi Bühler.<sup>8</sup> Senart and Bühler omit it.<sup>9</sup> bāndha<sup>10</sup> Senart and Bühler.<sup>11</sup> Bühler omitted this word.<sup>12</sup> jātehi Bühler.<sup>13</sup> sa[m]pāpi<sup>14</sup> Senart, samis<sup>15</sup> Bühler.<sup>16</sup> sāl[ye] Bühler.<sup>17</sup> nīkhu<sup>18</sup> Senart, nīkhu<sup>19</sup> Bühler.<sup>20</sup> tulaye Senart and Bühler.<sup>21</sup> tiye Senart and Bühler.<sup>22</sup> heyū Senart and Bühler.<sup>23</sup> cha Senart and Bühler.<sup>24</sup> uthā[ye] Bühler. <sup>25</sup> vajitā<sup>26</sup> Senart and Bühler.<sup>27</sup> dekheji Senart and Bühler.<sup>28</sup> amra ne Senart and Bühler.<sup>29</sup> nijha<sup>30</sup> Senart and Bühler.<sup>31</sup> Read lājāladhi.<sup>32</sup> [ma]ne- Bühler.<sup>33</sup> cha Senart and Bühler<sup>34</sup> Read aṃtālā.<sup>35</sup> mane Bühler.<sup>36</sup> Restore akasmā bāndhane palikilese.<sup>37</sup> samyānam Senart and Bühler<sup>38</sup> sāmī Bühler.<sup>39</sup> aphaḥa Bühler.<sup>40</sup> Bühler adds . . . vachanele; perhaps sakṣinālamābham is intended, as in the corresponding passage at Dhauḷi. <sup>41</sup> vā Bühler. <sup>42</sup> Restore nikhāmayasati.<sup>43</sup> This is probably a remnant of Takhasilāte.

12 . . . . . vachanik[a]<sup>1</sup> ada<sup>2</sup> [anusa]jyānati<sup>3</sup> n[īkha]mi[sam]ti a[ta]ne ka[rhma]m  
 . . . . . [yitu tam pi tathā] kalamti [athā] . . . . .

## TRANSLATION

(A) *Dēvānāmpriya* speaks thus.

(B) The *Mahāmātras* at *Samāpā*, (who are) the judicial officers of the city, have to be told this.

(C) Whatever I recognize (to be right), that I strive to carry out by deeds, and to accomplish by (various) means.

(D) And this is considered by me the principal means, viz. (to give) instruction to you.

(E) For you are occupied with many thousands of men, with the object of gaining the affection of men.

(F) All men are my children.

(G) As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided by me with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, even so is my desire on behalf of all men.

(H) But you do not learn this, (viz.) how far this (my) object reaches.

(I) Some single person (only) learns (this), (and) even he (only) a portion, (but) not the whole.

(J) Now you must also pay attention (to this), although you are in prosperous circumstances.<sup>4</sup>

(K) It happens frequently that a single person undergoes imprisonment and suffers harsh treatment.<sup>5</sup>

(L) In this case (an order) cancelling the imprisonment is (obtained) by him accidentally, while many other people<sup>6</sup> (continue to) suffer.

(M) In this case you must strive to deal (with all of them) impartially.

(N) One fails to act (thus) on account of the following dispositions: envy, anger, cruelty, hurry, want of practice, laziness, (and) fatigue.

(O) (You) must strive for this, that these dispositions may not arise in you.

(P) But the root of all is this: the absence of anger and the avoidance of hurry.

(Q) Whoever is fatigued in the administration (of justice), will [not] move and rise; but one ought to move, to walk, and to advance in the administration (of justice).

(R) He who will pay attention to this,<sup>7</sup> must exhort<sup>8</sup> (you) to discharge (your) debt (to the king), (by telling you): 'Such and such is the instruction of *Dēvānāmpriya*.'

<sup>1</sup> *javacha*<sup>o</sup> Senart, *ājavacha*<sup>o</sup> Bühler; cf. *l[ā]ja-vachanik[a]* in the Jaugaḍa separate edict II, B.

<sup>2</sup> *tada* Senart, *adā* Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> *saṃjyānati* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> For *svvita* see Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary. Dhauī has the synonym *svvukita*.

<sup>5</sup> Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 862) renders the Dhauī version of this section: 'There is also a single officer who hears of imprisonment or torture'; but, in order to vindicate this translation, he is obliged to change *eti* in the Jaugaḍa version to *eta* (p. 856, n. 17), which gives no sense. The verb *pāpudāti* has the same meaning as here in the rock-edict XIII; cf. above, p. 47, n. 5.

<sup>6</sup> For *vage* = *jane* see above, p. 40, n. 2.

<sup>7</sup> As *eve dakh[e]yā* corresponds to *hevaṃmeva e da[kheya]* at Dhauī, it seems to represent *evain e dakheya*.

<sup>8</sup> For *nijhapeti* see above, p. 69, n. 4.

(8) If one observes this, great gain results, (but its) non-observance becomes a great evil.

(T) If one fails to observe (this), (there will be) neither attainment of heaven nor satisfaction of the king.

(U) How (could) my mind be pleased if one fulfils this duty badly?

(V) If (you) observe this, you will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me, and you will attain heaven.

(W) And this rescript must be listened to (by all) on every (day of) Tishya.

(X) It may be listened to even by a single (person) also on (other) occasions between (the days of Tishya).

(Y) . . . . . you will be able to . . . . .

(Z) And for the following purpose has this rescript been written, (viz.) in order that the *Mahāmātras* (who are) city-judges may strive at all times for this, that to men [undeserved imprisonment or harsh treatment]. . . . .

(AA) . . . . . I shall send out every five years on a complete tour (throughout his charge)<sup>1</sup> a *Mahāmātra* who is neither fierce nor harsh . . . . .

(BB) . . . . . also the prince (governor) [will send out] . . . . .

(CC) . . . . . from [Takhshāśī]lā.

(DD) When, at the word [of the king],<sup>2</sup> they will set out on tour, (then), [with-out neglecting] their own duties, (they will ascertain<sup>3</sup> whether the judicial officers) are carrying out this also just, as . . . . .

## SECOND SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये हेवं आह (B) समापायं महमता लाजवचनिक वतविया (C) अं किछि दखामि हकं तं इछामि हकं किंति कं कमन
- 2 पटिपातयेहं दुवालते च आलभेहं (D) एस च मे मोखियमत दुवाल एतस अयस अं तुफेसु अनुसथि (E) सवमुनि-
- 3 सा मे पजा (F) अथ पजाये इछामि किंति मे सवेणा हितसुखेन युजेयू अथ पजाये इछामि किंति मे सवेन हितसु-
- 4 खेन युजेयू ति हिदलोगिकपाललोकिकेण हेवंमेव मे इछ सवमुनिसेसु (G) सिया अंतानं अविजिता-
- 5 नं किछदि सु लाजा अफेसू ति (H) एताका वा मे इछ अंतेसु पापुनेसु लाजा हेवं इछति अनुविगिन हेयू
- 6 ममियाये अस्वसेसु च मे सुखंमेव च लहेयू ममते नो खं हेवं च पापुनेसु खमिसति ने लाजा
- 7 ए सकिये खमितवे ममं निमित्तं च धमं चलेयू ति हिदलोगं च पललोगं च आलाधयेयू (I) एताये

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 5, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 117, n. 10.

<sup>3</sup> The word *jānisanti* seems to be omitted at Jaugada, but is required by the context; see the Dhauli version, CC.



- 8 च अथाये हकं तुफेनि अनुसासामि अनने एतकेन हकं तुफेनि अनुसासितु छंदं  
च वेदि-
- 9 तु आ मम धिति पटिंना च अचल (J) स हेवं कटू कमे चलितविषे  
अस्वासनिया च ते एन ते पापुने-
- 10 यु अथा पित हेवं ने लाजा ति अथ अतानं अनुकंपति हेवं अफेनि अनुकंपति  
अथा पजा हे-
- 11 वं मये लाजिने (K) तुफेनि हकं अनुसासित छंदं च वेदित आ मम धिति  
पटिंना चा अचल सकल-
- 12 देसाआयुतिके होसामी एतसि अथसि (L) अलं हि तुफे अस्वासनाये हितसुखाये  
च तेसं हिद-
- 13 लोगिकपाललोकिकामे (M) हेवं च कलंतं स्वगं च आलापयिमुथ मम च  
आननेयं एसथ (N) ए-
- 14 ताये च अथाये इयं लिपी लिखित हिद एन महामाता सास्वतं समं युजेयू  
अस्वासनाये च
- 15 धमचलमाये च अंतानं (O) इयं च लिपी अनुचातुमासं सोतविया तिसेन (P)  
अंतला पि च सोतविया
- 16 (Q) खने संतं एकेन पि सोतविया (R) हेवं च कलंतं चघथ संपटिपातयितवे

- 1 (A) *Devānaṃpiye* hevaṃ ā[ha] (B) *Samāpāyaṃ* mahamatā l[ā]ja-vachanik[a]<sup>1</sup>  
vataviyā (C) aṃ kichhī dakh[ā]mi hakam tam i[chh]āmi hakam k[im]ti kam  
kamana
- 2 paṭipātayeḥam duvā[la]te cha ālabbehaṃ (D) esa cha me inokhiya-mai[a]<sup>2</sup> duvā[la]  
etasa a[tha]sa a[m] i[uph]esu anusa[thi] (E) sava-muni-
- 3 sā me pajā (F) atha pajāy[e] ichhāmi kiṃti me savaṇā hīta-su[kh]ena yu[je]yū  
[a]tha pajāye ichhāmi kiṃ[ti] m[e] savena hita-su
- 4 kh[e]na yujeyū<sup>3</sup> ti hida-logika-pāla-loki[k]e[na]<sup>4</sup> hevaṃmeva me ichha sava-  
munisesu (G) siyā aṃtānaṃ [a]vijitā-
- 5 naṃ kiṃ-chhānde<sup>5</sup> su lājā apheṣū ti (H) etākā<sup>6</sup> [va] me ichha [a]ṃtesu pāpune-  
yū lājā hevaṃ ichh[ā]ti anu[v]ij[ga]na hve[yū]<sup>7</sup>
- 6 mamiyāye [a]svaseyu cha me sukhani[m]ev[a] cha lahey[ū] mamate [a]o kha[r̥n]<sup>8</sup>  
hevaṃ cha pāpune-yu kha[m]i[sa]ti ne lājā
- 7 e s[a]kiye<sup>9</sup> khamitave mamaṃ nimitam cha dhamma[m]<sup>10</sup> chaley[ū] ti hida-log[aṃ]  
cha palalogam cha ālādha-ye[ū]<sup>11</sup> (I) etāye

<sup>1</sup> *laja*- Senart and Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> *mai*- Senart, *-mantā* Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> Cancel the eight last words ([a]tha to yujeyū), which the writer has repeated by mistake.

<sup>4</sup> *kema* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> *-chhānde* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> Read *etākā*, as proposed by Luders, SPAW, 1914. 867.

<sup>7</sup> *keyu* Senart and Bühler.

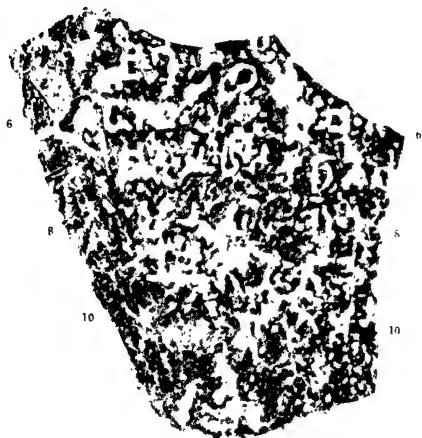
<sup>8</sup> Read *āukhaṇi*.

<sup>9</sup> *chha kiye* Senart, *chakiye* Bühler.

<sup>10</sup> The Anusvāra of *maṃ* stands above the line; *dhamma* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>11</sup> *yeju* Senart and Bühler.

BOMBAY-SOPARA FRAGMENT OF THE EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT



SCALE ONE-THIRD

- 8 cha aṭhāye hakaṁ tupheni anusāsāmi ana[ne eta]kena [ha]kaṁ tupheni a[nu]sāsitu  
chhamda[m̐ cha] vedi-
- 9 [t]u ā mama dhiti paṭimnā cha achala (J) sa hevaṁ [ka]ṭṭu<sup>1</sup> k[āṇ]me [cha]lītavīye  
asvāsa[n]jyā ch[a] te en[a] te pāpune-
- 10 yu a[th]a pita [h]evaṁ [n]e lājā ti atha [a]kānaṁ anukampat[i] hejvaṁ a[ph]eni  
anuka[m̐pa]ti aṭhā pajā he-
- 11 vaṁ [ma]ye lā[j]īne (K) tupheni hakaṁ anusāsita<sup>2</sup> [chh]ārindaṁ<sup>3</sup> [cha v]e[dī]ta<sup>4</sup>  
[ā<sup>5</sup> ma]ma dhiti paṭi[m̐nā] chā achala [saka]ṇa-
- 12 desā-ay[ut]ike<sup>6</sup> ho sāmi et[ā]si [a]tha[s]i<sup>7</sup> (L) [a]lām [h]i tuphe asvāsa[n]jyē hi[ta]-  
sukhāye [cha te]sa[m̐n] hida-
- 13 logi[ka]-p[ā]l[ā]l[o]ki[k]ā[y]e (M) hevaṁ cha kalaṁtaṁ svaga[m̐ cha ā]lādhaṁ[isa]tha  
mama cha āna[n]jeyāṁ es[a]tha (N) e-
- 14 tāye cha a[th]jāye i[ya]m lipi lī[kh]i[ta]<sup>8</sup> hi[da] e[na ma]h[ā]mātā sāsvataṁ<sup>9</sup> samāṁ<sup>9</sup>  
yujeyū asvāsanāye cha
- 15 dhamma-chala[n]jyē [cha] aṁtā[na]m̐ (O) iyaṁ cha lipi a[nu]ch[ā]tum[m̐]saṁ  
s[ota]vīyā tīseṇa (P) aṁtā[lā] pi cha sotaviyā
- 16 (Q) khane samtaṁ eke[na] pi [sota]v[i]jyā (R) heva[m̐] cha [ka]lām̐[ta]m̐ chaghatha  
saṁpaṭipātayit[av]e

## TRANSLATION

(A) Dēvaṇāmpriya speaks thus.

(B) The *Mahāmātras* at *Samāpā* have to be told (this) at the word of the king.<sup>10</sup>

(C) Whatever I recognize (to be right), that I strive to carry out by deeds and to accomplish by (various) means.

(D) And this is considered by me the principal means for this object, viz. (to give) instruction to you.

(E) All men are my children.

(F) As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided by me with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, even so is my desire on behalf of all men.

(G) It might occur to (my) unconquered borderers (to ask): 'What does the king desire with reference to us?'

(H) This alone is my wish with reference to the borderers, (that) they may learn (that) the king desires this, (that) they may not be afraid of me, but may have confidence in me; (that) they may obtain only happiness from me, not misery; (that) they may learn this, (that) the king will forgive them what can be forgiven; that they may (be induced) by me (to) practise morality; (and that) they may attain (happiness) both (in) this world and (in) the other world.

<sup>1</sup> *kaṭṭu* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> *chhamdaṁ* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> Senart and Bühler omit ā.

<sup>4</sup> *likhiā* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> Read °*sāsitu*, which is Bühler's reading.

<sup>6</sup> Read *veditu*; *vedāta* Senart, *vedit[av]* Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> Read *desāyutike*.

<sup>8</sup> *sasvataṁ* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>9</sup> Read *samayaṁ*.

<sup>10</sup> The derivative [i]ā[ja-vachani]a seems to convey the same meaning as the two words *Dvāṇāmpiyasa vachanena* at the beginning of each of the two separate edicts at Dhauri, and of the Queen's pillar-edict at Allahabad. Cf. also the opening phrase of the *Brahmagiri* and *Siddhāpura* rock-inscriptions.

(I) And for the following purpose I am instructing you, (viz. that) I may discharge the debt (which I owe to them) by this, that I instruct you and inform (you) of (my) will, i. e. (of) my unshakable resolution and vow.

(J) Therefore, acting thus, (you) must fulfil (your) duty and must inspire them with confidence,<sup>1</sup> in order that they may learn that the king is to them like a father, (that) he loves them as he loves himself, (and that) they are to the king like (his own) children.

(K) Having instructed you and having informed (you) of (my) will, i. e. (of) my unshakable resolution and vow, I shall have (i. e. maintain) officers in all provinces for this object.

(L) For you are able to inspire those (borderers) with confidence and (to secure their) welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world.

(M) And if (you) act thus, you will attain heaven, and you will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me.

(N) And for the following purpose has this rescript been written here, (viz.) in order that the *Mahāmātras* may strive at all times to inspire (my) borderers with confidence and (to induce them) to practise morality.

(O) And this rescript must be listened to (by all) every four months on (the day of) Tishya.

(P) And it may be listened to also between (the days of) Tishya).

(Q) It may be listened to even by a single (person) when an occasion offers<sup>2</sup>

(R) And if (you) act thus, you will be able to carry out (my orders).

## VII. THE BOMBAY-SOPARA FRAGMENT OF THE EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT

.....

5 निखमिठ स .....<sup>3</sup>

6 (E) हेत इयं होति बंभ .....<sup>4</sup>

7 बुढानं दसने च हिरनपटिविधाने च .....<sup>5</sup>

8 धंमानुसथि धंम .....<sup>6</sup>

9 .. ये रती होति दे .....<sup>7</sup>

10 .... ने भागे अं ..<sup>8</sup>

.....

5 nikhamiṭṭha Sa<sup>3</sup> .....

6 (E) heta iyam [ho]ti bam[bha] .....

7 vuḍḍhānaṃ dasane<sup>4</sup> [cha] hiraṇṇa-paṭividdhāne cha .....

8 [dha\*]mmanusa[thi]<sup>5</sup> dhamma .....

9 .. ye [ra]ti<sup>6</sup> hoti De .....

10 .... n[ṭ] bhāge am ..<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> With *asvāsa[n]iyā* cf. *visvaṇisayitave* on the Sarnāth pillar, ll. 8 and 9.

<sup>2</sup> The two words *khane samānā* are nominatives absolute; cf. above, p. 97, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *nikhamiṭṭha sam* Bhagvanlal Indraji.

<sup>4</sup> These two words are entered above the line.

<sup>5</sup> *sapthi* Bh. I.

<sup>6</sup> *rati* Bh. I.

## SECOND PART: THE PILLAR-EDICTS

## I. THE DELHI-TOPRA PILLAR

## FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

*North Face of Pillar.*

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आहा (B) सडुवीसति-  
 2 वसअभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापिता  
 3 (C) हिदतपालते दुसंपटिपादये अंनत अगाया धंमकामताया  
 4 अगाय पलीखाया अगाय सुसूयाया अगेन भयेना  
 5 अगेन उसाहेना (D) एस चु खो मम अनुसथिया  
 6 धंमापेखा धंमकामता चा सुवे सुवे वदिता वदीसति चेवा  
 7 (E) पुलिसा पि च मे उकासा चा गेवया चा मज्झिमा चा अनुविधीयंती  
 8 संपटिपादयंति चा अलं चपलं समादपयितवे (F) हेमेवा अंत-  
 9 महामाता पि (G) एस हि विधि या इयं धमेन पालना धमेन विधाने  
 10 धमेन सुखियना धमेन गोती ति
- 1 (A) *Devānāmpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āhā* (B) *saḍḍuvisati-*  
 2 *vassa-abhisitena me iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā*  
 3 (C) *hidata-pālate dusaṃpaṭipādaye añnata agāyā dhamma-kāmatāyā*  
 4 *agāya palikhāyā agāya su[sū]yāyā agena bhayenā*  
 5 *agena usāhenā* (D) *esa chu kho mama anusathiyā*  
 6 *dhammāpekhā dhamma-kāmatā chā suve suve vadditā vaddisati chevā*  
 7 (E) *pulisā pi cha me ukasā chā gevayā chā majjhimā chā anuvīdhiyaṃtī*  
 8 *saṃpaṭipādayaṃtī chā alaṃ chapalaṃ samādapayitave* (F) *hemevā aṃta-*  
 9 *mahāmātā pi* (G) *esa<sup>1</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> vidhī yā iyaṃ dhammena pālānā dhammena vidhāne*  
 10 *dhammena sukhīyaṇā dhammena gotī ti*

## TRANSLATION

(A) King *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus.

(B) This rescript on morality was caused to be written by me (when I had been) anointed twenty-six years.

(C) (Happiness) in this (world) and in the other (world)<sup>3</sup> is difficult to secure<sup>1</sup> *esā* Bühler.<sup>2</sup> *pi* Senart and Bühler; *hi* is quite distinct on the inked estampages.<sup>3</sup> With the base *pālata*, which is derived from the Sanskrit adverb *paratra*, cf. *pāvatrika* at Girnār (= *pālāntikya* at Kālsī, and *pālātika* elsewhere).

without great love of morality, careful examination, great obedience, great fear (of sin), (and) great energy.

(D) But indeed by my instruction ~~was~~ regard for morality and love of morality have been promoted day by day<sup>1</sup> and will progress still (more).

(E) And my agents<sup>2</sup> also, both the high ones<sup>3</sup> and the low ones,<sup>4</sup> and those of middle rank, are conforming to and practising (morality), (and are thus) able to stir up<sup>5</sup> fickle (persons).

(F) In the same way the *Mahāmātras* of the borderers<sup>6</sup> also (are acting).

(G) For (their) instruction (is) this, viz.<sup>7</sup> to protect according to morality, to dispose according to morality, to cause pleasure<sup>8</sup> according to morality, (and) to guard (their speech)<sup>9</sup> according to morality.

## SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

*North Face of Pillar.*

- 10 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज  
11 हेवं आहा (B) धंमे साधू कियं च धंमे ति (C) अपासिनवे बहु कयाने  
12 दया दाने सचे सोचये (D) चक्षुदाने पि मे बहुविधे दिंने (E) दुपद-  
13 चतुपदेसु पस्विवाल्लिचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहे कटे आ पान-  
14 दाखिनाये (F) अन्नानि पि च मे बहूनि कयानानि कटानि (G) एताये मे  
15 अठाये इयं धम्मलिपि लिखापिता हेवं अनुपटिपजंतु चिलं-  
16 धितिका च होतू ती ति (H) ये च हेवं संपटिपजीसति से सुकटं कळती ति

- 10 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja<sup>10</sup>  
11 hevaṃ āhā (B) dhamme sādhū kiyāṃ chu dhamme ti (C) apāsīnave<sup>11</sup> bahu kayāne  
12 dayā dāne sache sochaye (D) chakhu-dāne pi me<sup>12</sup> bahuvidhe dimne (E) dupada-

<sup>1</sup> For *suve suve* = Skt. *svah svah* (literally: 'to-morrow to-morrow'), see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *suve*.

<sup>2</sup> I adopt V. A. Smith's translation of *pulisa*; see his *Asoka*, sec. ed., p. 182, n. 3. Cf. the pillar-edict IV, G, and VII, M.

<sup>3</sup> *ukasa* (= *utkarsha*) is used in the sense of *utkrishṭa*.

<sup>4</sup> This meaning of *gevaṃ* is evident from the context. Buhler (*ZDMG*, 48. 62) derived *gevaṃ* (for *\*gēvaṃ*) from the root *gēv*, to which the *Dhātupatha* attributes the meaning of *sev*, 'to serve'. For the change of *k* to *y* cf. *supadālaya*, above, p. 33, n. 3. But the existence of the root *gēv* is far from certain; see Luders, SPAW, 1913. 991 and n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> For *samādāpeti* see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *samādiyaṭi*.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the separate edict II at Dhauli (M) and at Jaugada (N).

<sup>7</sup> For this meaning of *yā iyaṃ* see Senart, IA, 17. 305, who compares with it the Pāli expression *yad iyaṃ*.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the pillar-edict IV, F, and VII, V.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the rock-edict XII, D.

<sup>10</sup> *lāja* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>11</sup> A superfluous horizontal stroke is attached to the left side of the lower portion of *ve*.

<sup>12</sup> A vertical stroke is attached to the bottom of *me*.

- 13 chatupadesu pakhi-vālichaesu vividhe me anugahe kaṭe ā pāna-  
 14 dākhināye (F) amnāni pi cha me bahūni kayānāni kaṭāni (G) etāye me  
 15 aṭhāye iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā hevaṃ anupaṭipajāntu chilaṃ-  
 16 thitikā cha hotū ti ti<sup>1</sup> (H) ye cha hevaṃ saṃpaṭipajisati se sukaṭaṃ kachhati<sup>2</sup> ti

## TRANSLATION

- (A) King Dōvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.  
 (B) (To practise) morality is meritorious; but what does morality include?<sup>3</sup>  
 (C) (It includes) few sins,<sup>4</sup> many virtuous deeds, compassion, liberality, truthfulness, (and) purity.  
 (D) The gift of spiritual insight<sup>5</sup> also has been bestowed by me in many ways.  
 (E) On bipeds and quadrupeds, on birds and aquatic animals various benefits have been conferred by me, (even) to the boon of life.<sup>6</sup>  
 (F) And many other virtuous deeds also have been performed by me.<sup>7</sup>  
 (G) For the following purpose was this rescript on morality caused to be written by me, (viz.) in order that (men) might conform to it, and that it might be of long duration.  
 (H) And he who will act thus will perform good deeds.<sup>8</sup>

## THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

## North Face of Pillar.

- 17 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज्ज हेवं अहा (B) कयानमेव देखति इयं मे  
 18 कयाने कटे ति (C) नो मिन पापं देखति इयं मे पापे कटे ति इयं वा आसिनवे  
 19 नामा ति (D) दुपटिवेखे चु खो एसा (E) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये (F) इमानि  
 20 आसिनवगामीनि नाम अथ चंडिये निदूलिये कोपे माने इस्या  
 21 कालनेन व हक्कं मा पलिभसयिसं (G) एस बाढ देखिये (H) इयं मे  
 22 हितिकाये इयंमन मे पालतिकाये

<sup>1</sup> The remaining versions read *hotū ti*. Three verses of Manu in which *iti* is doubled are quoted in Böhtlingk and Roth's *Wörterbuch*, I, p. 790, l. 18. Cf. also *kiti d[i]* at Kālsī, XII, D.

<sup>2</sup> An apparent Anusvāra after *ka* is probably accidental.

<sup>3</sup> Burnouf (*Lotus*, p. 667) explained *kiyaṇi* = Skt. *kiyaṇ*.

<sup>4</sup> *āsinava* is a dialectic variety of the Jaina term *aṇhaya* which is derived from *ā + snu*; see Weber's *Ind. Studien*, 16, 326, n. 7, and Michelson, IF, 23, 267 f. The corresponding Pāli term is *āsava*, which is Sanskritized by *āsrava* or *āsrava*. See Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 822 f.; *Sarvadārtanasaṃgraha*, translated by Cowell and Gough, p. 53 f.; ZDMG, 72, 149. With the compound *apāsinaṇe* cf. *apa-vyayātā*, *apa-phalanī*, and *apa-parisrave* in the Gīrnār edict III, l. 5, IX, l. 3, and X, l. 3, respectively.

<sup>5</sup> Literally: 'the gift of the eye'. According to the *Itivuttaka* (ed. by Windisch, p. 52), the three *chakkhūni* are *maṇisa-chakkhu*, *diḍḍa-chakkhu*, and *paññā-chakkhu*; see Bühler, ZDMG, 48, 62.

<sup>6</sup> For details of these regulations see the pillar-edict V.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the rock-edict V, D.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the same edict, E.

- 17 (A) *Devānāmpriye Piyadasi lāja* hevaṃ ahā (B) *kayānaṃmeva* dekhati iyaṃ me  
 18 *kayāne* kaṭe ti (C) *no mina pāpaṃ d[e]khati* iyaṃ me pāpe kaṭe ti iyaṃ vā āsinave  
 19 *nāmā* ti (D) *dupaṭivekhe* chu kho esā (E) *hevaṃ* chu kho esa dekhiye (F) *imāni*  
 20 *āsinava-gāmini* nāma atha chaṇḍiye nīḥūliye kodhe māne isyā  
 21 *kālanena* va hakaṃ mā palibhasayisaṃ (G) *esa* bāḍha dekhiye (H) *iyaṃ* me  
 22 *hidatikāye* iyaṃmana me pālatikāye

## TRANSLATION

(A) King *Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus.

(B) (Men) regard only (their) virtuous deeds, (thinking): 'This virtuous deed has been performed by me.'

(C) They do not at all<sup>1</sup> regard (their) evil deeds, (thinking): 'This evil deed has been performed by me; this very (act) is called a sin.'<sup>2</sup>

(D) Now this is indeed difficult to recognize.

(E) But indeed this ought to be regarded thus:

(F) 'These (passions), viz. fierceness, cruelty, anger, pride, envy, are called sinful.'<sup>3</sup> Let me not<sup>4</sup> ruin (myself) by (these) very (passions).'

(G) The following ought to be specially regarded:

(H) 'This (action conduces) to my (happiness) in this (world), that other (action)<sup>5</sup> to my (happiness) in the other (world).'

## FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

## West Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंप्रिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आहा (B) सदुवीसतिवस-  
 2 अभिसिन्नेन मे इयं धमलिपि लिखापिता (C) लज्जा मे  
 3 बहुसु पानसतसहसेसु जनसि आचता (D) तेसं ये अभिहाले वा  
 4 दंडे वा अतपित्ये मे कटे किति लज्जा अस्वय अभीता

<sup>1</sup> Michelson (IF, 23. 236 f.) dissolves *nomina* into *no amina*, and identifies *amina* with the Pāli *aminā*, to which he attributes the meaning 'also'; but this word rather means 'hereby'. Buhler (EI, 2. 251, n. 21) seems to be right in taking *no mina* = Skt. *na manāḥ*. For the change of *a* to *i* cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, §§ 101-103.

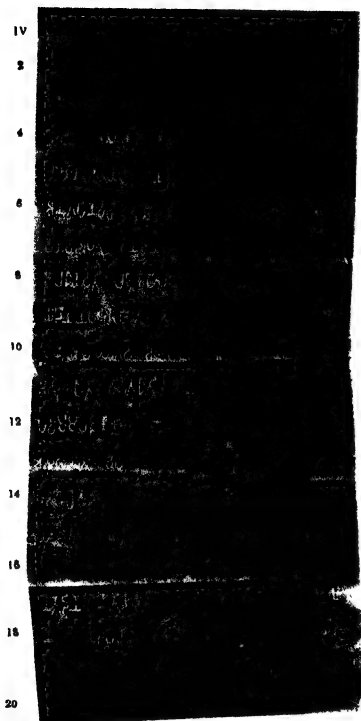
<sup>2</sup> For *āsinava* see above, p. 121, n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> With the compound *āsinava-gāmini* cf. *āva-gamuka* in the first separate edict at Dhauri (G) and Jaugaḍa (H).

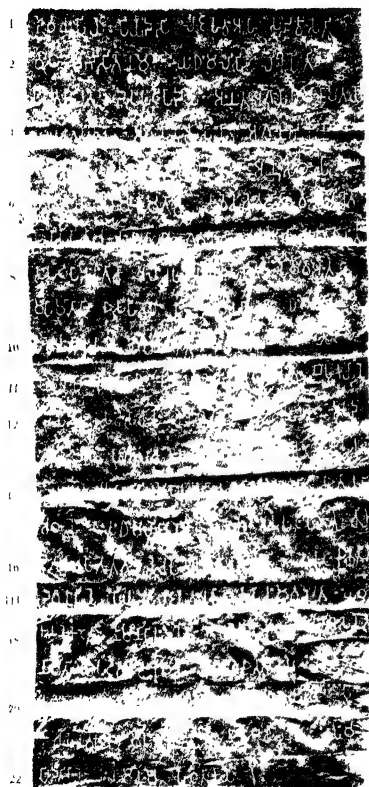
<sup>4</sup> See Michelson, IF, 23. 262. To the reasons adduced by him against taking *mā* to be the accusative of the pronoun *mad*, we may add that, if *mā* were the object of *palibhasayisaṃ*, it would be an unidiomatic substitute of Skt. *ātmanam*.

<sup>5</sup> Michelson (IF, 23. 237 f.) connects *mana* with Skt. *manāḥ*, and Buhler translated it by 'at least'. The adverb *mana* does occur in the *Jātaka*, vol. I, p. 405, verse 97, where it means 'nearly'. I suspect that *iyammana* represents Skt. *idam anyat*. For the Sandhi cf. *kayānaṃmeva* in line 17; *hevaṃmeva* (or 'vā') in the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar-edict VI, D, the Dhauri separate edict I, l. 13, the Jaugaḍa separate edict II, l. 4, and the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription, F; *sukhaṃmeva* in the Dhauri separate edict II, l. 5, and the Jaugaḍa separate edict II, l. 6.





SCALE ONE-SIXTH



- 5 कंमानि पवतयेवू जनस जानपदसा हितसुखं उपदहेवू  
 6 अनुगहिनेवु चा (E) सुखीयनदुखीयनं जानिसंति धंमयुतेन च  
 7 वियोवदिसंति जनं जानपदं किंति हितं च पालतं च  
 8 आलाधयेवू ति (F) लज्जूका पि लघंति पटिचलितवे मं (G) पुलिसानि पि मे  
 9 छंदनानि पटिचलिसंति (H) ते पि च कानि वियोवदिसंति येन मं लज्जूका  
 10 चपंति आलाधयितवे (I) अथा हि पजं वियताये धातिये निसिजितु  
 11 अस्वथे होति वियत धाति चपति मे पजं सुखं पलिहटवे  
 12 हेवं ममा लज्जूका कटा जानपदस हितसुखाये (J) येन एते अभीता  
 13 अस्वथ संतं अविमना कंमानि पवतयेवू ति एतेन मे लज्जूकानं  
 14 अभिहाले व दंडे वा अतपतिये कटे (K) इच्छितविये हि एसा किंति  
 15 वियोहालसमता च सिय दंडसमता चा (L) अब इते पि च मे आवुति  
 16 बंधनबधानं मुनिसानं तीलितदंडानं पतबधानं तिनि दिवसानि मे  
 17 योते दिने (M) नातिका व कानि निहपयिसंति जीविताये तानं  
 18 नासंतं वा निहपयिता दानं दाहंति पालतिकं उपवासं व कच्छति  
 19 (N) इच्छा हि मे हेवं निलुधसि पि कालसि पालतं आलाधयेवू ति (O) जनस च  
 20 वदति विविधे धंमचलने संयमे दानसविभागे ति

- 1 (A) Devānāṃpiye Piyadasi l[ā]jja hevaṃ āhā (B) saḍḍuvisati-vaṣa-  
 2 abhisitena me iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā (C) lajūkā me  
 3 bahūsu pāna-sata-sahasasu janasi āyatā (D) tesāṃ ye abhihāle vā  
 4 daṇḍe vā ata-patiye me kaṭe kiṃti lajūkā asvatha abhītā  
 5 kaṃmāni pavatayevū janasa jānapadasā hita-sukhaṃ upadahevū  
 6 anugahinevu chā (E) sukhiyana-dukhiyanaṃ jānisanti dhamma-yutena cha  
 7 viyovadisanti janaṃ jānapadaṃ kiṃti hidataṃ cha pālataṃ cha  
 8 ālādhayevū ti (F) lajūkā pi laghamti paṭichalitave maṃ (G) pulisāni pi me  
 9 chhaṃdamnāni paṭichalisanti (H) te pi cha kāni viyovadisanti yena maṃ lajūkā  
 10 chaghamti ālādhayitave (I) athā hi pajāṃ viyatāye dhātiye nisijitu  
 11 asvathe hoti viyata dhāti chaghati me pajāṃ sukhaṃ palihaṭave  
 12 hevaṃ mama lajūkā kaṭā jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (J) yena ete abhītā  
 13 asvatha saṃtaṃ avimaṇā kaṃmāni pavatayevū ti etena me lajūkānaṃ  
 14 abh[i]hāle<sup>1</sup> va daṇḍe vā ata-patiye kaṭe (K) ichhitaviye [h]i esā kiṃti  
 15 viyohāla-samatā cha siya daṇḍa-samatā chā (L) ava ite pi cha me āvuti  
 16 baṃdhana-badhānaṃ munisaṇaṃ til[i]ta-daṇḍānaṃ<sup>2</sup> pata-vadhānaṃ timni  
 17 yote diṇne (M) nātikā va kāni nijhapayasanti jivitāye taṇaṃ  
 18 nāsantaṃ vā nijhapayitā dānaṃ dāhamti pālataṃ upavāsaṃ va kachhamti  
 19 (N) ichhā hi me hevaṃ niludhasi pi kālasi pālataṃ ālādhayevū ti (O) janasa cha  
 20 vadhati vividhe dhamma-chalane saṃyame dāna-savibhāge ti

<sup>1</sup> abhihāle Bühler.<sup>2</sup> pāta-Senart and Bühler.

## TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvaṇāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) This rescript on morality was caused to be written by me (when I had been) anointed twenty-six years.

(C) My *Lajūkas*<sup>1</sup> are occupied with the people, with many hundred thousands of men.<sup>2</sup>

(D) I have ordered that either rewards<sup>3</sup> or punishments are left to their discretion,<sup>4</sup> in order that the *Lajūkas* should perform (their) duties confidently (and) fearlessly, that they should bestow welfare and happiness on the people of the country, and that they should confer benefits (on them).

(E) They will know how to cause pleasure<sup>5</sup> and to cause pain (to them), and will exhort the people of the country through those who are devoted to morality,<sup>6</sup> in order that they may attain (happiness) both in this (world) and in the other (world).

(F) The *Lajūkas* also must obey me.<sup>7</sup>

(G) They will also obey the agents<sup>8</sup> who know (my) wishes.

(H) And these (agents) will also exhort those (people),<sup>9</sup> in order that the *Lajūkas* may be able to please me.<sup>10</sup>

(I) For, as one feels confident after having entrusted (his) child to an intelligent<sup>11</sup> nurse, (thinking): 'The intelligent nurse will be able to keep my child well', so the *Lajūkas* were appointed by me for the welfare and happiness of the country-people.<sup>12</sup>

(J) In order that they should perform (their) duties, being fearless, confident, (and) unperturbed,<sup>13</sup> for this (purpose) I have ordered that either rewards or punishments are left to the discretion of the *Lajūkas*.

<sup>1</sup> For *Lajūka* or *Rājūka* see above, p. 5, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> For *āyata* cf. above, p. 95, n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> In the *Jātaka* the word *abhihāra* has the meaning of 'a present, an offering'; see Bühler, ZDMG, 46, 539 f., and Lüders, SPAW, 1913 991 f.

<sup>4</sup> As shown by Lüders (SPAW, 1913, 990 f.), *ata-patiya* is an adjective formed of *ātman* + *pati* with the affix *-ya*, which seems to stand for *-ka*, see Franke, VOJ, 9, 347. Cf. *mlathiya* in the Kālsī rock-edict IX, C, and *atha-bhāgrya* on the Rummindū pillar, C.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *sukhyanā* in the pillar-edict I, l. 10, and *sukhyanā*, VII, V.

<sup>6</sup> Bühler translated *dhamma-yutena* by 'in accordance with the principles of the sacred law'. In the pillar-edict VII, N, *dhamma-yu[ta]m* is an adjective qualifying *janam*, 'the people who are devoted to morality'. The same translation suits *dhamma-yute[na]* at Maski, l. 5, and the substantives *dharma-yutasa* and *dharma-yuta* in the Shahbāzgarhi rock-edict V (J, K, N), which, as the variant [*dhamma*]-*yutānam* at Girnār (V, K) shows, are used (just as here) in a collective sense. V. A. Smith (*Asoka*, sec. ed., p. 185) and Lüders (SPAW, 1913, 992) understand the word *dharma-yukta* to be the collective designation of certain officials.

<sup>7</sup> Kern (*Jāartelling*, p. 96) compared *laghanits* with Skt. *arhants*.

<sup>8</sup> Lüders (SPAW, 1913 992 ff.) has shown that *pulisāni* is the accusative of *pulisa*, which occurs in the pillar-edict I, E, and VII, M; cf. above, p. 30, n. 1.

<sup>9</sup> For *kāni* see above, p. 35, n. 12.

<sup>10</sup> For *chaghati* = Skt. *śakshyati* see above, p. 97, n. 4.

<sup>11</sup> Kern (*Jāartelling*, p. 99) first identified *viyata* with Skt. *vyakta*, which, according to the *Amarakōśa*, has also the meaning of *prājña*, and which is used with this meaning in Buddhist Sanskrit; see Bohtlingk's *Abridged Dictionary*, v. ३१६, and Āsvaghōsha's *Saundarananda*, II, 38.

<sup>12</sup> I follow Senart and Lüders (SPAW, 1913, 1009 f.) in making this section end here.

<sup>13</sup> *saṃtām* is a nominative singular absolute. See Lüders, SPAW, 1913, 1010 f., and cf. above, p. 97, n. 3.

(K) For the following is to be desired, (viz.) that there should be both impartiality in judicial proceedings and impartiality in punishments.

(L) And my order<sup>1</sup> (reaches) even so far<sup>2</sup> (that) a respite of three days is granted by me to persons lying in prison on whom punishment has been passed,<sup>3</sup> (and) who have been condemned to death.

(M) (In this way) either (their) relatives will persuade<sup>4</sup> those (*Lajukas*) to (grant) their life, or, if there is none who persuades (them),<sup>5</sup> they will bestow gifts or will undergo fasts in order to (attain happiness) in the other (world).<sup>6</sup>

(N) For my desire is this, that, even when the time (of respite) has expired,<sup>7</sup> they should attain (happiness) in the other (world).

(O) And various moral practices, self-control, (and) the distribution of gifts are (thus) promoted among the people.

## FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

*South Face of Pillar.*

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं अहा (B) सडुवीसतिवस-
- 2 अभिसितेन मे इमानि जातानि अयधियानि कटानि सेयषा
- 3 मुके सालिका अलुने चकवाके हंसे नंदीमुखे गेलाटे
- 4 जतूका अंबाकपीलिका दळी अनठिकमळे वेदवेयके
- 5 गंगापुपुटेके संकुजमळे कफटसयके पंनससे सिमले
- 6 संडके ओकपिडे पलसते सेतकपोते गामकपोते
- 7 सवे चतुपदे ये पटिभोगं नो एति न च खादियती (C) . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> With *āvuts* = *āyukti* (Senart) cf. *-āvutske* in the Dhauli separate edict II, l. 8 = *-āy[ut]ske* at Jaugada, II, l. 12; *vishava* at Sarnāth (l. 10), Shāhbāzgarh, and Mānschrā, and *viśava* at Kālsī = *vi[śa]ya* at Gīrnā, XIII, R; *supadarave* at Mānschrā = *supadālaye* at Kālsī, Dhāuli, and Jaugada, V, G; *sochave* in the Delhi-Toprā pillar-edict VII, l. 28 = *sochaye* in edict II, l. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Senart (IA, 18. 9) translated *ava ste* (= Skt. *yavād itah*) by 'from this day'. I follow Bühler's rendering (EI, 2. 254), and compare *āva-gamū[k]* in the first separate edict at Dhāuli (G) and Jaugada (H). Michelson (IF, 23. 236) compares *ava* with Avestan *yavat*, and *āvā*, the reading of three other versions of this edict, with Ancient Persian *yāvā*.

<sup>3</sup> With *hlita-damḍa* cf. *hlitam* (*kāryam*), Manu, IX, 233, and *atha-sainḍiraṇā* at Gīrnā, VI, ll. 9, 10.

<sup>4</sup> Literally: 'will induce to meditate or consider'. Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1022 f.) quotes *na machchuno nijjapaṇaṇaṃ karonti* from the *Jātaka*. The means of 'persuasion' was evidently the payment of ransom; cf. the *Kaṇṭhiya*, p. 146, last line: पुकाशीकाः समयापुनश्च वा दोषनिर्गमं [वन्धनक्षानां] हवुः.

<sup>5</sup> Three other versions read: 'if there is none to persuade (them)'. Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1023) has explained *nāsantam* as the nominative singular absolute of the participle present of *nath* (Skt. *nāsti*).

<sup>6</sup> As shown by Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1024 f.), the prisoners themselves are the subject of the last sentence.

<sup>7</sup> Bühler (EI, 2. 254, n. 28) took *niruddhā 'pi kāl* in the sense of *nirōdha-kāl* 'pi', 'even during (their) imprisonment'. Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1026) translates: 'even in limited time', and Thomas (JRAS, 1916. 123): 'though their hour of death is irrevocably fixed'. In favour of my rendering I may quote Childers, s. v. *niruddha*.

- 8 एठका चा सूकली चा गभिनी व पायमीना व अवधिय पतके  
 9 पि च कानि आसंमासिके (D) वधिकुकुटे नो कटविये (E) तुसे सजीवे  
 10 नो ज्ञापेतविये (F) दावे अनटाये वा विहिसाये वा नो ज्ञापेतविये  
 11 (G) जीवेन जीवे नो पुसितविये (H) तीसु चातुंमासीसु तिसायं पुनमासियं  
 12 तिनं दिवसानि चावुदसं पनडसं पटिपदाये धुवाये चा  
 13 अनुपोसथं महे अवधिये नो पि विक्केतविये (I) एतानि येवा दिवसानि  
 14 नागवनसि केवटभोगसि यानि अनानि पि जीवनिक्कायानि  
 15 न हंतवियानि (J) अठमीपखाये चावुदसाये पनडसाये तिसाये  
 16 पुनावसुने तीसु चातुंमासीसु सुदिवसाये गोने नो नीलखितविये  
 17 अजके एडके सूकले ए वा पि अने नीलखियति नो नीलखितविये  
 18 (K) तिसाये पुनावसुने चातुंमासिये चातुंमासिपखाये अस्वसा गोनसा  
 19 लखने नो कटविये (L) यावसदुवीसतिवसअभिसितेन मे एताये  
 20 अंतलिक्काये पनवीसति बंधनमोखानि कटानि

- 1 (A) Devānāṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ ahā (B) saḍḍuvisati-vasa-  
 2 abhisitena me imāni jātāni avadhiyāni kaṭāni seyathā  
 3 suke sālikā alune chakavāke haṃse naṃdimukhe gelāṭe  
 4 jatukā ambā-kapilikā dajī<sup>1</sup> anāṭhika-machhe vedaveyāke  
 5 Gaṅgā-pupufake saṃkuja-machhe kaphaṭ[a]-sayake paṃna-sase simale  
 6 saṃḍake okapiṃḍe palasate seta-kapote gāma-kapote  
 7 save chatupade ye paṭibhogāṃ no eti na cha khādiyati<sup>2</sup> (C) . . . . . i<sup>3</sup>  
 8 [e]lākā<sup>4</sup> chā sūkālī chā gabhinī va pāyaminā va avadhī[y . p . ta]ke<sup>5</sup>  
 9 pi cha kāni āsaṃmāsike (D) vadhi-kukuṭe no kaṭaviye (E) tuse sajjīve  
 10 no jhāpetaviye (F) dāve anāṭhāye vā vihisāye vā no jhāpetaviye  
 11 (G) jīvena jīve no pusitaviye (H) tisū chātummasīsū tisāyaṃ punnamāsiyaṃ  
 12 tiṇṇi divasāni chāvudasaṃ paṃnaḍasaṃ paṭipadāy[e] dhuvaṃ chā  
 13 anuposathāṃ machhe avadhiye no pi viketaviye (I) etāni yeva<sup>6</sup> divasāni  
 14 nāga-vanasi kevaṭa-bhogasi yāni aṃnāni pi jīva-nikāyāni  
 15 no haṃtavīyāni (J) aṭhamī-pakhāye chāvudasaṃ paṃnaḍasaṃ tisāye  
 16 punāvasune tisū chātummasīsū sudivasāye gone no nilakhitaviye  
 17 ajake eḍake sūkale e vā pi aṃne nilakhiyati no nilakhitaviye  
 18 (K) tisāye punāvasune chātummasīye chātummasī-pakhāye asvasā gonaṣā  
 19 lakhane no kaṭaviye (L) yāva-saḍḍuvisati-vasa-abhisitena me etāye  
 20 aṃtalikāye paṃnavisati baṃdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni

<sup>1</sup> *duḍḍi* Bühler; but see his *Ind. Pal.*, § 16, C, 41, and Lüders in JRAS, 1911. 1088. Three other versions read *duḍḍi*, and the A. Lahabad-Kōsarn pillar *duḍḍi*.

<sup>2</sup> *khādiyati* Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> Three other versions read *ajakā nāni*.

<sup>4</sup> Restore *avadhiyā potake*.

<sup>5</sup> *eḍakā* Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> *yeva* Bühler.

## TRANSLATION

(A) King Dōvānāhpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) (When I had been) anointed twenty-six years, the following animals were declared by me inviolable, viz.<sup>1</sup> parrots, mainas, the *aruṇa*, ruddy geese, wild geese, the *nandimukha*, the *gelāṭa*, bats, queen-ants,<sup>2</sup> terrapins,<sup>3</sup> boneless fish, the *vedavyāka*, the *Gaṅgā-puṇḍaka*, skate-fish,<sup>4</sup> tortoises<sup>5</sup> and porcupines, squirrels (?),<sup>6</sup> the *śrīmara*,<sup>7</sup> bulls set at liberty,<sup>8</sup> iguanas (?), the rhinoceros,<sup>9</sup> white doves, domestic doves, (and) all the quadrupeds which are neither useful nor edible.

(C) Those [she-goats],<sup>10</sup> ewes, and sows (which are) either with young or in milk, are inviolable, and also those (of their) young ones (which are) less than six months old.

(D) Cocks must not be caponed.

(E) Husks containing living animals must not be burnt.

(F) Forests must not be burnt either uselessly or in order to destroy (living beings).

<sup>1</sup> *seyathā* = Pāli *seyyathā* and Skt. *tadyathā*.

<sup>2</sup> Michelson (IF, 23, 266 f.) dissolves *anibākapiṭikā* into \**ambāka* (an adjective formed of *ambā*) and \**piṭikā* (for *pipilikā* by haplology). But it seems easier to divide the word into *ambā* and *kapilikā* = Pāli *kipilikā*. The Allahabad-Kōsam pillar actually reads *anibā-kiṭilikā*. Skt. *pipilikā* has been changed to *kapilikā*, &c. through dissimilation; cf. Trenckner's *Pālī Miscellany*, p. 59.

<sup>3</sup> Monmohan Chakravarti (*Memoirs*, ASB, 1, 368) takes *ā[ṇ]ṭi* in the sense of 'the female tortoise'. But tortoises are mentioned separately in the sequel.

<sup>4</sup> With *sanikuya* Senart (IA, 18, 75) compares Skt. *śāṅkuchi* or *sāṅkuchi*, which may be derived from *śāṅkuchi*, 'to contract'.

<sup>5</sup> The identification of *kaphata* with Skt. *kamāṭha* is due to Senart; see IA, 18, 75.

<sup>6</sup> This doubtful explanation of *parṇa-śaśa* was proposed by Buhler; see EI, 2, 260.

<sup>7</sup> This animal is mentioned in the *Kaṭṭhiya*, p. 100, l. 12.

<sup>8</sup> C. M. Mulvany (IA, 37, 211) remarks that this translation of *saṇḍaka* is improbable because 'Hindūs would hardly kill a bull'; but matters may have been different in Aśoka's time. Cf. the reference in Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* (v. 45) to king Rantidēva who, according to the *Mahābhārata* (7, 67, 5; 12, 29, 123; 13, 66, 42 f.), sacrificed so many cows that their blood formed the river Charnavati. According to the *Śatapatha-Brahmana* (III, 1, 2, 21), Yājñavalkya was fond of tender beef. At the beginning of the fourth act of Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāmacarita* it is stated that a heifer (*vatsatari*) was slaughtered by Vālmiki in honour of Vasishtha's visit to his hermitage. According to Pāṇini, III, 4, 73, *gōghna* means 'a guest' because a cow is killed for him. Pāraskara (I, 3, 27) specifies the verse which had to be recited at the killing of the cow. Āpastamba (*Grihyasūtra*, I, 3, 9) permits the slaughter of a cow at the reception of a guest, at the worship of the manes, and at the celebration of a marriage; cf. Manu, V, 41. For a description of the *śulagava* or 'spit-ox' offered to Rudra, see Hillebrandt's *Ritual-Litteratur*, p. 83 f. The Buddhist *Suttas* mention beef-butchers; see Neumann's translation of the *Dighanikāya*, vol. II, p. 448, n. 5. Cf. also *Memoirs*, ASB, 1, 373; Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, vol. II, p. 145; Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, article 'cow' by Jacobi.

<sup>9</sup> According to Trenckner's *Pālī Miscellany*, p. 58, n. 6, *palasata* (= Vēdic *parasata*) is the original of Pāli *palāsāda*, 'a rhinoceros', and the latter, which means literally 'eating leaves', is an etymologizing corruption of the former. The form *palāsāda* occurs in the *Jātaka*, V, p. 406, v. 267, and *palasata* *ibid.*, VI, p. 277, v. 1205; see Kern's *Torvoegselen op 't Woordenboek van Childers* (Amsterdam, 1916), II, p. 13.

<sup>10</sup> For the pronoun *nāni* see above, p. 13, n. 5. Lüders (SPAW, 1913, 998, n. 1) has refuted a suggestion of Franke (VOJ, 9, 343), who wanted to join *ajakānāni* into one word, and to consider it a Prakṛit form of *ajakā*. Just as the nom. plur. neut. *nāni* is connected here with the nom. sing. fem. *ajakā*, and with the nom. sing. neut. *she* in the Queen's edict, l. 4, *kāni* is combined with the nom. sing. masc. *potake* in l. 9; see Lüders, p. 997, and cf. above, p. 35, n. 12.

(G) Living animals must not be fed with (other) living animals.

(H) Fish are inviolable, and must not be sold, on the three Chāturmāsīs<sup>1</sup> (and) on the Tishyā full-moon<sup>2</sup> during three days, (viz.) the fourteenth, the fifteenth, (and) the first (*tithi*), and invariably on every fast-day.<sup>3</sup>

(I) And during these same days also no other classes of animals which are in the elephant-park<sup>4</sup> (and) in the preserves of the fishermen, must be killed.

(J) On the eighth (*tithi*) of (every) fortnight,<sup>5</sup> on the fourteenth, on the fifteenth, on Tishyā, on Punarvasu, on the three Chāturmāsīs, (and) on festivals,<sup>6</sup> bulls<sup>7</sup> must not be castrated, (and) he-goats, rams, boars, and whatever other (animals) are castrated (otherwise), must not be castrated (then).

(K) On Tishyā, on Punarvasu, on the Chāturmāsīs, (and) during the fortnight of (every) Chāturmāsī, horses (and) bullocks must not be branded.

(L) Until (I had been) **anointed twenty-six years**, in this period the release of prisoners was ordered by me twenty-five (times).<sup>8</sup>

### SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

#### *East Face of Pillar.*

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं अहा (B) दुवाडस-
- 2 वसअभिसितेन मे धंमलिपि लिखापिता लोक्सा
- 3 हितमुखाये से तं अपहटा तं तं धंमवदि पापोवा
- 4 (C) हेवं लोक्सा हितमुखे ति पटिवेखामि अष इयं
- 5 नात्तिमु हेवं पतियासंनेसु हेवं अपकट्ठेसु

<sup>1</sup> i.e. certain full-moon days of each of the three seasons (summer, rains, and winter); see Bühler, EI, 2. 261 ff., and cf. the second separate edict at Dhauri (N) and Jaugada (O).

<sup>2</sup> *tisā* (i.e. *tishyā*), instead of which three other versions read *tisi* (i.e. \**tisht*), is the full-moon of the month Taisha or Pausa; see EI, 2. 264.

<sup>3</sup> With the words *dhuṇṇāye chā anuposatham* cf. *anuposatham cha dhuṇṇāye* on the Sarnāth pillar, l. 8.

<sup>4</sup> For *nāga-vana* see the *Dhammapada*, verse 324, and the *Kautiliya*, p. 50.

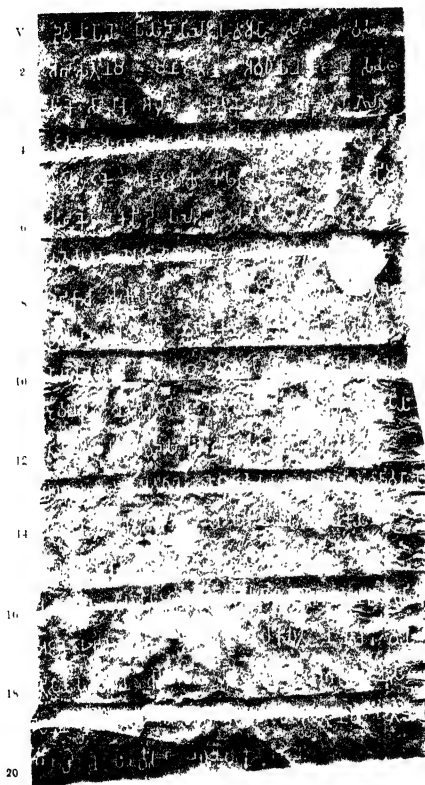
<sup>5</sup> In the compound *athamī-pakha* the usual order of the two members is reversed. Similar expressions were quoted by Bühler, EI, 2. 266, and by Franke in KZ, 34. 434.

<sup>6</sup> According to the *Kautiliya*, p. 407, l. 9 f., the king's birthday and local festivals are meant; see below, n. 8.

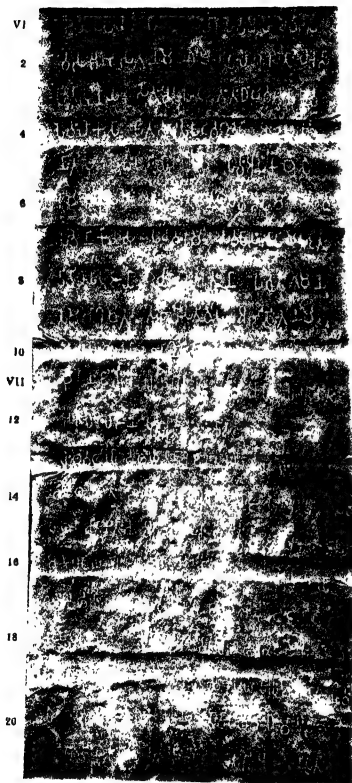
<sup>7</sup> For *goṇa*, the Prākṛit and Pāli equivalent of Skt. *gō*, 'an ox', see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 393.

<sup>8</sup> The occasions on which it was customary to release prisoners are enumerated in the *Kautiliya*, p. 146 f. Cf. also Bühler, ZDMG, 48. 63 f., and Zachariae, VOJ, 27. 406. With sections C, H, J, and L of this edict cf. the *Kautiliya*, p. 407. [विजिजीपुर्णवमवाय चर्षा] कारयेत्सर्ववन्धनमोक्षं . . . . . चातुराणिकं रावदेवमपेक्षेवराणिकं योनिवासवधं पुंस्त्रोपघातं च प्रतिषेधयेत्; '[having acquired a new territory, the conqueror] shall order all prisoners to be released . . . . . and the slaughter (of animals) to be avoided on the Chāturmāsīyas during half a month, on full-moon days, during four nights, on the king's birthday and on local festivals during one night, (and) shall prohibit the slaughter of females and (their) young ones and the castration of males (on the same occasions).'





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SCALE ONE-SIXTH

- 6 किमं कानि सुखं अवहामी ति तथ च विदहामि (D) हेमेवा  
 7 सबनिकायेसु पटिवेखामि (E) सवपासंदा पि मे पूजिता  
 8 विविधाय पूजाया (F) ए चु इयं अतना पचूपगमने  
 9 से मे मोख्यमते (G) सडुवीसतिवसअभिसितेन मे  
 10 इयं धम्मलिपि लिखापिता

- 1 (A) Devānāmpīye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ ahā (B) duvāḍasa-  
 2 vasa-abhisitena me dhamma-lipi likhāpitā lokasā  
 3 hita-sukhāye se taṃ apahatā taṃ taṃ dhamma-vaḍhi pāpovā  
 4 (G) hevaṃ lokasā hita-[sukhe] ti paṭivekhāmi atha iyaṃ  
 5 nātisū hevaṃ patiyāsāṃnesu hevaṃ apakaṭhesu  
 6 kimāṃ kāni sukhaṃ avahāmi ti tatha cha vīdahāmi (D) hemevā  
 7 sava-nikāyesu paṭivekhāmi<sup>1</sup> (E) sava-pāsaṃdā pi me pūjita  
 8 vividhāya pūjāyā (F) e chu iyaṃ at[a]nā<sup>2</sup> pachūpagamane  
 9 se me mokhya-mate (G) saḍḍuvisati-vasa-abhisitena me  
 10 iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā

## TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) (When I had been) anointed twelve years, rescripts on morality were caused to be written by me for the welfare and happiness of the people, (in order that), not transgressing<sup>3</sup> those (rescripts), they might attain a promotion of morality in various respects.

(C) (Thinking): 'thus the welfare and happiness of the people (will be secured)', I am directing my attention not only<sup>4</sup> to (my) relatives, but to those who are near and far, in order that<sup>5</sup> I may lead them<sup>6</sup> to happiness, and I am instructing (them) accordingly.

(D) In the same manner I am directing my attention to all classes.<sup>7</sup>

(E) And all the sects have been honoured by me with honours of various kinds.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A superfluous horizontal stroke is attached to the left side of the lower portion of *ve*; cf. above, p. 120, n. 11.

<sup>2</sup> *atunā* Bühler; but see Fleet's note, IA, 13. 310.

<sup>3</sup> Kern (*Jaartelling*, p. 92 f.) explained *apahatā* by *a-prahartā*, and translated it by 'leaving untouched'. Franke (VOJ, 9. 344, n. 2) suggested two slight modifications: *apahatā* may correspond as well to *\*a-prahritā* (Skt. *a-prahṛitya*), and *pra-hṛi* may be taken in the sense of 'transgressing'. I adopt this translation, but believe that Kern found the correct Sanskrit equivalent. The gerund in *-tvā* would be without parallel in the earlier dialect; see Lüders, SPAW, 1912. 1024, n. 1. Cf. also the nominative singular *nijhapayitā* in the pillar-edict IV, M.

<sup>4</sup> With *atha iyaṃ* cf. *yathasiddhā*, 'just as', in Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*.

<sup>5</sup> *kimāṃ* (or *kinmāṃ* as three other versions read) appears to be used in the sense of *kimti*, and to be an enlarged form of Skt. *kim*, as Pāli *sudam* of Skt. *svid*. See the remarks of Senart in IA, 18. 107, and those of Franke in KZ, 34. 430. Bühler (EI, 2. 269) preferred to derive it from *\*kimva* = *kimiva*.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 35, n. 12.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the rock-edict XIII, J.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the rock-edict XII, A.

(F) But this is considered by me (my) principal (duty),<sup>1</sup> viz.<sup>2</sup> visiting (the people) personally.<sup>3</sup>

(G) (When I had been) anointed twenty-six years, this rescript on morality was caused to be written by me.

### SEVENTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

#### *A.—East Face of Pillar.*

- 11 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (B) ये अतिकंतं  
 12 अंतलं लाजाने हुसु हेवं इक्षि सु कथं जने  
 13 धंमवडिया वडेया नो च जने अनुलुपाया धंमवडिया  
 14 वडिया (C) एतं देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (D) एस मे  
 15 हुषा (E) अतिकंतं च अंतलं हेवं इक्षि सु लाजाने कथं जने  
 16 अनुलुपाया धंमवडिया वडेया ति नो च जने अनुलुपाया  
 17 धंमवडिया वडिया (F) से किंसु जने अनुपटिपजेया  
 18 (G) किंसु जने अनुलुपाया धंमवडिया वडेया ति (H) किंसु कानि  
 19 अभ्युनामयेहं धंमवडिया ति (I) एतं देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं  
 20 आहा (J) एस मे हुषा (K) धंमसावनानि सावापयामि धंमानुसथिनि  
 21 अनुसासामि (L) एतं जने सुतु अनुपटीपजीसति अभ्युनमिसति

#### *B.—Round the Pillar.*

- 22 धंमवडिया च बाढं वडिसति (M) एताये मे अठाये धंमसावनानि सावापितानि  
 धंमानुसथिनि विविधानि आनपितानि य . . . . निसा पि बहुने जनसि  
 आयता ए ते पलियोवदिसंति पि पविषलिसंति पि (N) लजूका पि बहुकेसु  
 पानसतसहसेसु आयता ते पि मे आनपिता हेवं च हेवं च पलियोवदाथ  
 23 जनं धंमयुतं (O) देवानंपिये पियदसि हेवं आहा (P) एतमेव मे अनुवेखमाने  
 धंमबंधानि कटानि धंममहामाता कटा धंम . . . . कटे (Q) देवानंपिये  
 पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (R) मगेसु पि मे निगोहानि लोपापितानि  
 ज्ञायोपगानि होसंति पसुमुनिसानं अंबावडिक्का लोपापिता (S) अड-  
 कोसिक्कानि पि मे उदुपानानि  
 24 खानापापितानि निंसिडया च कालापिता (T) आपानानि मे बहुकानि तत  
 तत कालापितानि पटीभोगाये पसुमुनिसानं (U) ल . . . . एस पटीभोगे

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Shāhbāzgarhi rock-edict XIII, P.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, p. 120, n. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the rock-edict VIII, E, and *atana āgācha* on the Rummindei and Nigāli Sāgar pillars. Senart (IA, 18, 107 f.) translated *atana pakkhīpagamane* by 'the personal adherence (to the sects)', and Bühler (EI, 2, 268) by 'the approach through one's own free will'.

- नाम (V) विदिधाया हि सुखायनाया पुल्लिमेहि पि लाजीहि ममया च सुखयिते लोके (W) इमं चु धंमानुपटीपती अनुपटीपजंतु ति एतदथा मे
- 25 एस कटे (X) देवानंपिये पियदसि हेवं आहा (Y) धंममहामाता पि मे ते बहुविधेषु अठेसु आनुगहिकेसु वियापटासे पवजीतानं चेव गिहिषानं च सब ..... डेसु पि च वियापटासे (Z) संघठसि पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा होहंति ति हेमेव बाभनेसु आजीविकेसु पि मे कटे
- 26 इमे वियापटा होहंति ति निगठेसु पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा होहंति नानापासंडेसु पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा होहंति ति पटिविसिठं पटीविसिठं तेसु तेसु ते ..... माता (AA) धंममहामाता चु मे एतेसु चेव वियापटा सवेसु च अंनेसु पासंडेसु (BB) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा
- 27 (CC) एते च अंने च बहुका मुखा दानविसगसि वियापटासे मम चेव देविनं च सवसि च मे ओलोपनसि ते बहुविधेन आकालेन तानि तानि तुदायतनानि पटी ..... हिद चेव दिसासु च (DD) दालकानं पि च मे कटे अंनानं च देविकुमालानं इमे दानविसगेसु वियापटा होहंति ति
- 28 धंमापदानठाये धंमानुपटिपतिये (EE) एस हि धंमापदाने धंमपटीपति च या इयं दया दाने सचे सोचवे मदवे साधवे च लोकसि हेवं वडिसति ति (FF) देवानंपिये प ..... स लाजा हेवं आहा (GG) यानि हि कानिचि ममिया साधवानि कटानि तं लोके अनूपटीपने तं च अनुविधियंति (HH) तेन वडिता च
- 29 वडिसंति च मातापितिसु सुसुसाया गुलूसु सुसुसाया वयोमहालकानं अनुपटी-पतिया बाभनसमनेसु कपनबलकेसु आव दासभटकेसु संपटीपतिया (II) देवानंपिय ..... यदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (JJ) मुनिसानं चु या इयं धंमवडि वडिता दुवेहि येव आकालेहि धंमनियमेन च निरुतिया च
- 30 (KK) तत चु लहु से धंमनियमे निरुतिया च भुये (LL) धंमनियमे चु खो एस ये मे इयं कटे इमानि च इमानि जातानि अवधियानि (MM) अंनानि पि चु बहुक ..... धंमनियमानि यानि मे कटानि (NN) निरुतिया च चु भुये मुनिसानं धंमवडि वडिता अबिहिंसाये भुतानं
- 31 अनालंभाये पानानं (OO) से एताये अथाये इयं कटे पुतापपोतिके चंदमसुलियिके होतु ति तथा च अनुपटीपजंतु ति (PP) हेवं हि अनुपटीपजंतं हिदतपालते आलथे होति (QQ) सतविसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिचि लिखापापिता ति (BB) एतं देवानंपिये आहा (BB) इयं
- 32 धंमलिचि अत अबि सिलाकंभानि वा सिलाफलकानि वा तत कटविया एन एस चिलठितिके सिया

*A.—East Face of Pillar.*

- 11 (A) *Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā* hevaṃ āhā (B) ye atikaṃtaṃ  
 12 aṃtalaṃ lājāne husu hevaṃ ichhisu kathaṃ jane  
 13 dhamma-vaḍhiyā vaḍheyā no chu jane anulupāyā dhamma-vaḍhiyā  
 14 vaḍhithā (C) etaṃ *Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā* hevaṃ āhā (D) esa me  
 15 huthā (E) atikaṃtaṃ cha aṃtaml[a]ṃ<sup>1</sup> hevaṃ ichhisu lājāne kathaṃ jane  
 16 anulupāyā dhamma-vaḍhiyā vaḍheyā ti no cha jane anulupāyā  
 17 dhamma-vaḍhiyā vaḍhithā (F) se kinasu jane anu[pa]ṭipajeyā<sup>2</sup>  
 18 (G) 'kinasu jane anulupāyā dhamma-vaḍhiyā vaḍheyā ti (H) k[i]nasu kāni  
 19 abhyuṇṇāmayehaṃ dhamma-vaḍhiyā ti (I) etaṃ *Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā*  
 hevaṃ  
 20 āhā (J) esa me huthā (K) dhamma-sāvanāni sāvāpayāmi dhammānusathini  
 21 anus[ā]sāmi (L) etaṃ jane sutu anupaṭipajisati abhyuṇṇamisati

*B.—Round the Pillar.*

- 22 dhamma-vaḍhiyā cha bādhaṃ vaḍhisat[i] (M) etāye me aṭhāye dhamma-sāvanāni  
 sāvāpitāni dhammānusathini vividhāni ānapitāni [ya] . . . . [is]ā<sup>3</sup> pi bahuṇe  
 janasi āyatā e te<sup>4</sup> paliyovadisamti pi pavithalisamti pi (N) lajūkā pi bahukesu  
 pāna-sata-sahasasu āyatā te pi me ānapitā hevaṃ cha hevaṃ cha paliyovadātha  
 23 janaṃ dhamma-yu[ta]ṃ (O) [*Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi* hevaṃ āhā (P) etameva me  
 anuvekhamāne dhamma-thaṃbhāni kaṭāni dhamma-mahāmātā kaṭā dham[ma]  
 . ā . . . e<sup>5</sup> kaṭe (Q) *Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā* hevaṃ āhā (R) magesu pi  
 me nigohāni lopāpitāni chhāyopagāni hosamti pasu-munisānaṃ ambā-vaḍikya  
 lopāpitā (S) aḍha-[kos]jikyāni pi me udupānāni  
 24 khānāpāpitāni nimsi[dha]yā<sup>6</sup> cha kālāpitā (T) āpānāni me ba[h]ukāni tata tata  
 k[ā]lāpitāni paṭibhogāye p[a]su-munisānaṃ (U) [la] . . . .<sup>7</sup> esa paṭibhoge nāma  
 (V) vividhāyā hi sukhāyanāyā pulimehi pi lājīhi mamayā cha sukhayite loke  
 (W) imaṃ chu dhammānupaṭipati anupaṭipajamtu ti etadathā me  
 25 esa kaṭe (X) *Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi* hevaṃ āhā (Y) dhamma-mahāmātā pi me  
 te bahuvidhesu aṭhesu ānugahikesu viyāpaṭāse pavajitānaṃ cheva gihithānaṃ  
 cha sava . . . [d]esu<sup>8</sup> pi cha viyāpaṭāse (Z) saṃghaṭhasi pi me kaṭe ime  
 viyāpaṭā hohaṃti ti hemeva bābhānesu ā[ji]vikesu pi me kaṭe  
 26 ime viyāpaṭā hohaṃti ti nigamṭhesu pi me kaṭe ime viyāpaṭā hohaṃti nānā-  
 pāsamḍesu pi<sup>9</sup> me [ka]ṭe ime viyāpaṭā hohaṃti ti paṭivisiṭhaṃ paṭivisiṭhaṃ  
 tesu tesu [te] . . . . mātā<sup>10</sup> (AA) dhamma-mahāmātā chu me etesu cheva  
 viyā[pa]ṭā savesu cha amṇesu pāsamḍesu (BB) *Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā*  
 hevaṃ āhā

<sup>1</sup> Read *aṃtalaṃ*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.<sup>2</sup> The *pa* of *“pajeyā”* is inserted above the line.<sup>3</sup> Restore *yathā pulisā*.<sup>4</sup> *ete* (in one word) Senart and Bühler.<sup>5</sup> Restore *dhamma-sāvana*.<sup>6</sup> *nimsiḍhiyā* Bühler.<sup>7</sup> Restore *lahuke chu*.<sup>8</sup> Restore *sava-pāsamḍesu*.<sup>9</sup> *pi* looks almost like *ghi*.<sup>10</sup> Restore *te te mahāmātā*. When Fleet's plate (IA, 13. 310) was prepared, the missing letters were still visible.

- 27 (OC) ete cha amne cha bahukā mukhā dāna-visagasi viyāpaṭāse mama cheva devinaṃ cha savasi cha me olodhanasi te bahuvidhena a[kā]lena tāni tāni tuṭhāyatan[ā]ni paṭi . . . . .<sup>1</sup> hida cheva disāsu cha (DD) dālakanān pi cha me kaṭe amnānān cha devi-kumalānān ime dāna-visagesu viyāpaṭā hohanānti ti
- 28 dhammāpadānāthāye dhammānupaṭipatiye (EE) esa hi dhammāpadāne dhamma-paṭipati cha yā iyaṃ dayā dāne sache sochave madave sādha[v]e cha lokasa hevaṃ vaḍhisati ti (FF) Devānāmpīye [P . . . . s .<sup>2</sup> 1]āḥ hevaṃ āhā (GG) yāni hi [k]ānichi mamīyā sādhaṃvāni kaṭāni taṃ loka anūp[a]ṭiparīne taṃ cha anuvidhiyaṃti (HH) tena vaḍhitā cha
- 29 vaḍhisarīnti cha mātā-pit[ī]su sususāyā gulusu sususāyā vayo-mahālakānān anupaṭipatiyā bābhana-samanesu kapana-valākesu āva dāsa-bhaṭakesu saṃpaṭipatiyā (II) Devānāmpīy[īy . . . ya]dasi<sup>3</sup> lājā hevaṃ āhā (JJ) munisānān chu yā iyaṃ dhamma-vaḍhi vaḍhitā duvehi yeva ākālehi dhamma-niyamena cha nijhatīyā [cha]
- 30 (KK) tata chu lahu se dhamma-niyame nijhatīyā va bhuye (LL) dhamma-niyame chu kho esa ye me iyaṃ kaṭe imāni cha imāni jātāni avadhiyāni (MM) amnāni pi chu bahu[k] . . .<sup>4</sup> dhamma-niyamāni yāni me kaṭāni (NN) nijhatīyā va chu bhuye munisānān dhamma-vaḍhi vaḍhitā avihimsāye bhutānān
- 31 anālambhāye pānānān (OO) se etāye a[th]āye<sup>5</sup> iyaṃ kaṭe putā-papotike chaṃdama-suliyike hotu ti tathā cha anupaṭipajamtu ti (PP) hevaṃ hi anupaṭipajamtaṃ hi[da]ta-[pāla]te āladhe hoti (QQ) satavisati-vasābbhi[ī]tena me iyaṃ dhamma-libi likhāpāṭi ti (RR) etaṃ Devānāmpīye<sup>6</sup> āhā (SS) iyaṃ
- 32 dhamma-libi ata athi silā-thambhāni vā silā-phalakāni vā tata kaṭaviyā ena esa chila-ṭhitike siyā

## TRANSLATION

(A) King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) The kings who were in times past, had this desire, that<sup>7</sup> men might (be made to) progress by the promotion of morality; but men were not made to progress by an adequate promotion of morality.

(C) Concerning this,<sup>8</sup> king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(D) The following occurred to me.

(E) On one hand, in times past kings had this desire, that men might (be made to) progress by an adequate promotion of morality; (but) on the other hand, men were not made to progress by an adequate promotion of morality.

<sup>1</sup> Bühler (EI, 2. 274, note f) restored *paṭipādāyanti*, which he translated by 'they point out'. I suspect that the actual reading of the pillar was *paṭivedāyanti*; cf. *pratiivedāyanti* in the Jaugaḍa rock-edict VI, D.

<sup>2</sup> Restore *Piyadasi*.

<sup>3</sup> Restore *°piye Piyadasi*.

<sup>4</sup> Restore *bahukāni*.

<sup>5</sup> *athāye* Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> The late Dr. Ficet drew my attention to the fact that a peculiar mark is attached to the top of the *de* of *Devānāmpīye*, and that there is a corresponding mark above the word *a[th]āye* in section OO. This double *kākapāda* or caret (cf. Kalhana's *Rājatarangīnī*, IV, 117) suggests that the writer wanted us to place sections RR and SS before section OO.

<sup>7</sup> Franke (GN, 1895. 537) attributes to *katham* the meaning of 'that'. Bühler translated it by 'in some way'.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the Shāhbāzgarhī rock-edict XI, D.

(F) How<sup>1</sup> then might men (be made to) conform to (morality)?

(G) How might men (be made to) progress by an adequate promotion of morality?

(H) How could I elevate<sup>2</sup> them<sup>3</sup> by the promotion of morality?

(I) Concerning this, king **Dōvānāthpriya Priyadarśin** speaks thus.

(J) The following occurred to me.

(K) I shall issue proclamations on morality,<sup>4</sup> (and) shall order instruction in morality (to be given).

(L) Hearing this, men will conform to (it), will be elevated, and will (be made to) progress considerably by the promotion of morality.

(M) For this purpose proclamations on morality were issued by me, (and) manifold instruction in morality was ordered (to be given), [in order that those agents] (of mine)<sup>5</sup> too, who are occupied<sup>6</sup> with many<sup>7</sup> people, will exhort (them) and will explain (morality to them) in detail.

(N) The *Lajakas*<sup>8</sup> also, who are occupied with many hundred thousands of men, —these too were ordered by me: 'In such and such a manner<sup>9</sup> exhort ye the people who are devoted to morality'.

(O) **Dōvānāthpriya Priyadarśin** speaks thus.

(P) Having in view this very (matter),<sup>10</sup> I have set up pillars of morality,<sup>11</sup> appointed *Mahāmātras* of morality, (and) issued [proclamations] on morality.

(Q) King **Dōvānāthpriya Priyadarśin** speaks thus.

(R) On the roads banyan-trees were caused to be planted by me, (in order that) they might afford shade to cattle and men,<sup>12</sup> (and) mango-groves<sup>13</sup> were caused to be planted.

<sup>1</sup> Senart (IA, 18. 302) explains *kinasu* = Pāli *kenassu* and Skt. *kṛtsu-svī*; cf. Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v. *assu*. For *su* = *svī* see above, p. 99, n. 14.

<sup>2</sup> With the optative *\*nāmayekam* cf. [*pa*][*śi*][*pāday*]*chaṁ* and *ālabhekaṁ* in the Dhauli separate edict I, B, and *yekam* in four versions of the rock-edict VI, L.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 35, n. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Bühler translated: 'Sermons on the sacred law I will order to be preached'. With the meaning which I assign to *sāvāpayāmi*, cf. *iyam sāvane sāvāpīte* at Brahmagiri (I. 5), for which the Śiddhāpura edict (I. 11) reads [*iya*]*m sāvane sāvīte*, and the Rūpnāth edict (I. 3) *sāvane kaṭe*. These three records and the Sahasrām, Bairāt, Maski, and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara rock-inscriptions are actual specimens of the *dharma-sāvanāmi* to which Aśoka is alluding here.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 120, n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 95, n. 4.

<sup>7</sup> With the locative *baḥune* Bühler (EI, 2. 270, n. 68) compared *puṇāvāsune* in the pillar-edict V, II. 16 and 18, which, however, might be a dative.

<sup>8</sup> See above, p. 124, n. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the Dhauli separate edict I, I. 12.

<sup>10</sup> *anuvakhamāne* is a nominative singular absolute. See above, p. 96, n. 11, and Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 1013.

<sup>11</sup> As noted by Bühler (ZDMG, 46. 90), this is a reference to the pillars bearing the six first edicts.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. the rock-edict II, D.

<sup>13</sup> In *ambā-vaḍḍikā* and *aḍḍa-[ka]ḍḍikā* (below, section S) the *k* of the two affixes *-kā* and *-ika* is palatalized through the influence of the preceding vowel *i*, as frequently at Kālsī; see there *nātikya*, *pālāntikya*, &c. The form *ambā-vaḍḍikā* occurs in the Queen's pillar-edict, I. 3. The first member of this compound, *ambā* (for the Sanskrit masculine *āmra*), seems to be used as feminine; cf. *ābikā-bhātī* (= *\*āmritā-bhātī*) at Junnar (ASWI, 4. 97, No. 26). The second member, *vaḍḍikā*, is the regular Prākṛit equivalent of Skt. *\*vṛtikā* (= *vṛtī*, 'a hedge'), while its usual Sanskrit synonym, *vāṭikā*, presupposes the form *\*vartikā*; cf. Wackernagel's *Altind. Grammatik*, I, p. 168.



(8) And (at intervals) of eight *kōs*<sup>1</sup> wells were caused to be dug by me, and flights of steps (for descending into the water)<sup>2</sup> were caused to be built.

(T) Numerous drinking-places<sup>3</sup> were caused to be established by me, here and there, for the enjoyment of cattle and men.

(U) [But] this so-called enjoyment (is) [of little consequence].<sup>4</sup>

(V) For with various comforts have the people been blessed both by former kings and by myself.

(W) But by me this has been done for the following purpose:<sup>5</sup> that they might conform to that practice of morality.

(X) *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus.

(Y) Those<sup>6</sup> my *Mahāmātras* of morality too are occupied<sup>7</sup> with affairs of many kinds which are beneficial to ascetics as well as to householders, and they are occupied also with all sects.

<sup>1</sup> Fleet (JRAS, 1906, 401 ff.) showed that *adha* here represents Skt. *aśtan*, and not *ardha*. According to Huen-Tsang, Bāna, and Kautilya (JRAS, 1912, 239), one *yojana* = eight *kōs* = nine miles was considered a day's march of an army, while it would have been unnecessarily lavish and unpractical to sink wells and build rest-houses at distances of but little more than half a mile.

<sup>2</sup> Bühler read *nimsiḍhiyā*, which he rendered by 'rest-houses', connecting it with *nishidiyā* (from Skt. *nishidati*) in the Nāgārjuni Hill cave-inscriptions; cf. also *Arahata-nisidiyā-samīpe* in the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela, l. 15. Lüders (SPAW, 1914, 852) compares with it the Ardhamāgadhi *seḍhi* = Skt. *\*śiṣṭi*. As *seḍhi* is synonymous with Skt. *śrēṣṭi*, he attributes to *nimsiḍhiyā* the sense of Skt. *nīṣṭayāṇi*, 'a ladder, a flight of steps'. This meaning would fit the text admirably, but the actual reading of the pillar is *nimsi[ḍha]yā*, which would correspond to Skt. *\*nīṣṭhikā*. For the change of *śi* to *ms* see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 74, and for *ḍh* = original *ṣṭ* cf. *adha* = *aśta* at the beginning of section S.

<sup>3</sup> With *āpāna* cf. *prapā* in the Nāsik cave-inscription No. 10, l. 3 (EI, 8, 78), and in the Palitānā plates of Śiṃhāditya (EI, 11, 18, text l. 12). I cannot refrain from quoting the following description from F. Drew's charming work, *The Northern Barrier of India* (London, 1877), p. 99: 'At this time of the year the ground is dry, and all the way from Akhnūr the road has been hot and thirst-bringing. A good charitable custom of the Hindūs brings relief to the traveller. On many a spot in the hottest part, perhaps at the summit of one of the steep rises of the uneven road, will be found a hut where cool water kept in clean porous vessels is at the service of any who may ask for it. The man in charge is probably a Brahman, so that people of every caste can take water from his hands; he may have been placed there by some well-to-do Hindū, whose piety prompts him to this good work. It is the Brahman's business to bring the water from the nearest stream, which may be a long walk off, and distribute it to wayfarers. When the rains come, and water is to be found in every pool and little stream, the establishment will be no longer kept up.' The same charitable arrangement is evidently alluded to in the text of Aśoka's pillar-edict. The Hindūs are wonderfully conservative; e.g. the bullock-cart and the carrying-pole (Hindi *bakāṅgī*, Dravidian *kāvaḍi*) figured at Bharaut (Cunningham's *Stūpa of Bharkut*, plate 57; 41, fig. 1; 42, fig. 7; 45, fig. 5; 46, fig. 8) do not differ from those one sees at the present day.

<sup>4</sup> A similar phrase occurs in the Kālsī and Shāhbāzgarhi edict XIII, V, and below, section KK.

<sup>5</sup> For *athā* = *athāya* see above, p. 22, n. 3. Although in the dialect of the pillar-edicts Skt. *artha* is generally represented by *apka*, the form *atka* (with dental *ṭh*) occurs also in section OO of the edict VII. Michelson's explanation of *stadathā* (IF, 23, 248 f.) appears to me 'too bold', as he confesses himself.

<sup>6</sup> The pronoun *te* seems to refer to section P, above.

<sup>7</sup> Franke (VOJ, 9, 349 f.) has pointed out that *vijāpāṣṭse*, which occurs twice in this section and once in CC, below, is the Prākṛit equivalent of the Vēdic nominative plural in *-asāḥ*. Cf. above, p. 87, n. 3.

(Z) Some (*Mahāmātras*) were ordered by me to busy themselves<sup>1</sup> with the affairs of the *Samgha*; <sup>2</sup> likewise others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the *Brāhmaṇas* (and) *Ājīvikas*; <sup>3</sup> others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the *Nirgranthas*; <sup>4</sup> others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with various (other) sects; (thus) different *Mahāmātras* (are busying themselves) specially with different (congregations).<sup>5</sup>

(AA) But my *Mahāmātras* of morality are occupied with these (congregations) as well as with all other sects.

(BB) King *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus.

(CC) Both these and many other chief (officers) <sup>6</sup> are occupied with the delivery of the gifts of myself as well as of the queens, and among my whole harem [they are reporting] in divers ways different worthy recipients of charity<sup>7</sup> both here <sup>8</sup> and in the provinces.

(DD) And others <sup>9</sup> were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the delivery of the gifts of (my) sons and of other queens' sons,<sup>10</sup> in order (to promote) noble deeds of morality (and) the practice of morality.

(EE) For noble deeds of morality and the practice of morality (consist in) this, that (morality), viz.<sup>11</sup> compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity, gentleness, and goodness, will thus be promoted among men.

(FF) King *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus.

(GG) Whatsoever good deeds have been performed by me, those the people have imitated, and to those they are conforming.

(HH) Thereby they have been made to progress and will (be made to) progress in obedience to mother and father, in obedience to elders, in courtesy to the aged, in courtesy to *Brāhmaṇas* and *Śramaṇas*, to the poor and distressed, (and) even to slaves and servants.

<sup>1</sup> Literally: 'it has been made by me that these will be occupied'. In the subsequent sentences I have translated *ime* by 'others'.

<sup>2</sup> i. e. the Buddhist clergy.

<sup>3</sup> For the *Ājīvika* sect see my last note on the first Barābar Hill cave-inscription.

<sup>4</sup> i. e. the Jaina monks.

<sup>5</sup> As remarked by Senart (IA, 18. 305), the officers mentioned in this section are distinct from the *Dharma-mahāmātras* of sections Y and AA.

<sup>6</sup> As at *Shāhbāzgarhi* (XIII, 8) and *Mānsehrā* (XIII, 9), *mukha* corresponds to Skt. *mukhya*. Michelson (IF, 23. 263 f.) prefers to identify it with Skt. *mukha*, because in *mukhya* (= Skt. *mukhya*, Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VI, l. 9) the group *khy* is not assimilated. But Skt. *mukha* is always neuter, and the masculine *mukha* seems to be a fiction of the Kōśas. Thomas renders *bahukā mukhā* by 'many departments'; see JRAS, 1915. 99.

<sup>7</sup> Kern and Buhler (EI, 2. 274) explained *tushāyatan[ā]ni* by *tushty-āyatanāni*, 'sources of contentment', i. e. 'opportunities for charity'. I adopt this suggestion, but prefer to take *āyatana* as a synonym of *pātra* or *tīrtha*, and follow Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 853) in considering the first member of the compound to be *tushā* in the sense of *tushṭi*.

<sup>8</sup> viz. in Pāṭaliputra. Cf. above, p. 33, n. 10.

<sup>9</sup> Literally: 'these'. Cf. above, n. 1.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. the Kālsi edict V, M, where Aśoka mentions the harems of his brothers, sisters, and other relatives.

<sup>11</sup> See above, p. 120, n. 7. Before *yā iyaṇi* we may have to supply *dhāṇiṃ*, which includes the virtues that are enumerated after it; cf. the pillar-edict II, C. I differ here slightly from Lüders, SPAW, 1914. 854.

(II) King *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus.

(JJ) Now this progress of morality among men has been promoted (by me) only in two ways, (viz.) by moral restrictions and by conversion.<sup>1</sup>

(KK) But among these (two), those moral restrictions are of little consequence; by conversion, however, (morality is promoted) more considerably.

(LL) Now moral restrictions indeed are these, that I have ordered this, (that) certain animals are inviolable.<sup>2</sup>

(MM) But there are also many other moral restrictions which have been imposed by me.

(NN) By conversion, however, the progress of morality among men has been promoted more considerably, (because it leads) to abstention from hurting living beings (and) to abstention from killing animals.

(OO) Now for the following purpose has this been ordered, that it may last as long as (my) sons and great-grandsons (shall reign and) as long as the moon and the sun (shall shine),<sup>3</sup> and in order that (men) may conform to it.

(PP) For if one conforms to this,<sup>4</sup> (happiness) in this (world) and in the other (world) will be attained.

(QQ) This rescript on morality was caused to be written by me (when I had been) anointed twenty-seven years.

(RR) Concerning this, *Dēvānāmpriya* says.<sup>5</sup>

(SS) This rescript on morality must be engraved there, where either stone pillars or stone slabs are (available), in order that<sup>6</sup> this may be of long duration.

## II. THE DELHI-MIRATH PILLAR

### FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

1 ..... नं धमेन विधाने

2 धमे .....

1 ..... [naṁ] dhamēna [a] v[i]dh[āne]

2 dha[me] .....

### SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

1 (A) देवानंप्रिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आ . . (B) धंमे साधु कियं . . . मे ति

2 (C) अपासितवे बहु कयाने दया दाने सचे सोचये (D) चक्षुदाना पि मे

<sup>1</sup> Literally; 'by inducing to meditate'. Cf. above, p. 69, n. 4. Thomas (JRAS, 1916. 122) has shown that in Buddhist Sanskrit works *nidhyapti* has the meaning 'reflection'.

<sup>2</sup> See the pillar-edict V.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *puta-papotike chaṇḍama-sūriyike* on the Sāmchi pillar, C, *ā-chaṇḍama-shūliyam* in the three Nāgarjuni Hill cave-inscriptions (IA, 20. 364 f.), and *ā-chandrārkaṁ* in Sanskrit inscriptions.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 97, n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> This section and the next one may have to be placed before section OO; see above, p. 133, n. 6.

<sup>6</sup> *ena* is used in the same way in the Dhauī separate edict I, V, and II, I and M.

- 3 बहुविधे दिने (E) दुपदचतुपदेसु पखिवाल्लिचलेसु विविधे मे अनु-  
 4 गहे कटे आ पानदाखिनाये (F) अन्नानि पि च मे बहुनि कयानानि  
 5 कटानि (G) एताये मे अदाये इयं धम्मलिपि लिखापिता . . . .  
 6 अनुपटिपजंतू चिलंघितिका च होतू ति (H) ये च . . . . .  
 7 सति से सुकटं कळती ति

- 1 (A) De[vā]n[a]m̐piye Piyadasi lāja<sup>1</sup> [hevaṃ ā] . . (B) dh[arṇ]me s[ā]dh[u] k[īya]rṇ  
 . . . . [m]e ti  
 2 (C) a[pā]sinave bahu kayāne dayā dāne sache sochaye (D) [chakhu-dā]nā<sup>2</sup> [pi me]  
 3 bahuvidhe diṇne (E) du[pā]da-ch[a]tu[pā]desu pakhi-vālichale[su viv]i[dhe me anu]-  
 4 gahe kaṭe ā pāna-dākhināye (F) a[rṇ]nāni pi cha me bah[ūni kayānāni]  
 5 kaṭāni (G) etāye me aṭhāye iyaṃ dhamma-lipi li[khāpitā] . . . .  
 6 anupaṭipajantū chil[arṇ-th]itikā cha hot[ū] ti (H) ye [cha] . . . . .  
 7 [sa]ti se sukaṭaṃ ka[chha]ti ti

## THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

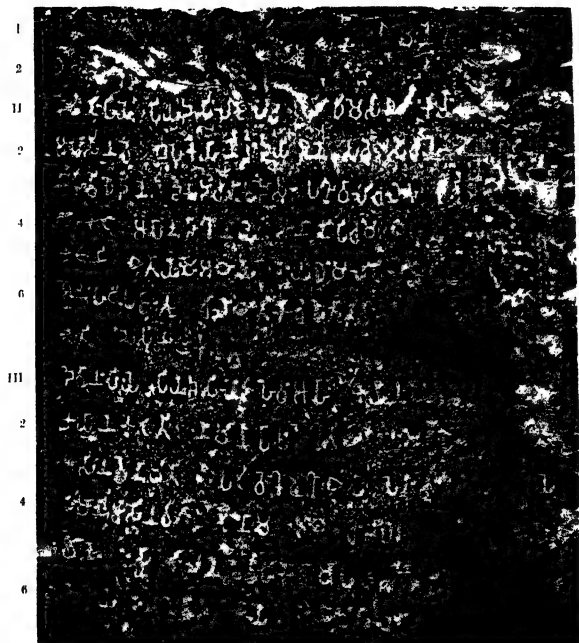
- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आहा (B) कयानंमेव दे . . . . .  
 2 कयाने कटे ती (C) नो मिना पापं देखति इयं मे पापे कटे ति इयं व  
 3 आसिनवे नामा ति (D) दुपटिवेखे चु खो एसा (E) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये  
 4 (F) इमानि आसिनवगामीनि नाम अथ चंडिये निदूलिये कोषे  
 5 माने इस्या कालनेन व हकं मा पलिभसयिसं (G) . . . . बादं  
 6 देखिये (H) इयं मे हिदतिकाये इयं मे पालतिकाये

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja<sup>3</sup> hevaṃ āhā (B) kayānaṃm[eva de] . . . . .  
 2 kayāne kaṭe ti<sup>4</sup> (C) no min[ā] pāpaṃ dekhati iyaṃ me pāp[e<sup>5</sup> kaṭe ti iyaṃ va]  
 3 āsinave nāmā ti (D) [du]paṭivekhe chu kho esā (E) hevaṃ chu kho [esa<sup>5</sup> de]khiye  
 4 (F) imāni āsinav[a-gāmini] nāma atha chaṇḍ[i]ye ni[dhū]li[y]e k[o]dhe  
 5 māne isyā kālanena [va] hakaṃ mā palibha[sā]yi[sā]rṇ (G) . . . . bā[ḍham]  
 6 dekhīye (H) iyaṃ me [hi]daṭ[i]kāye iyaṃ me pālaticāye

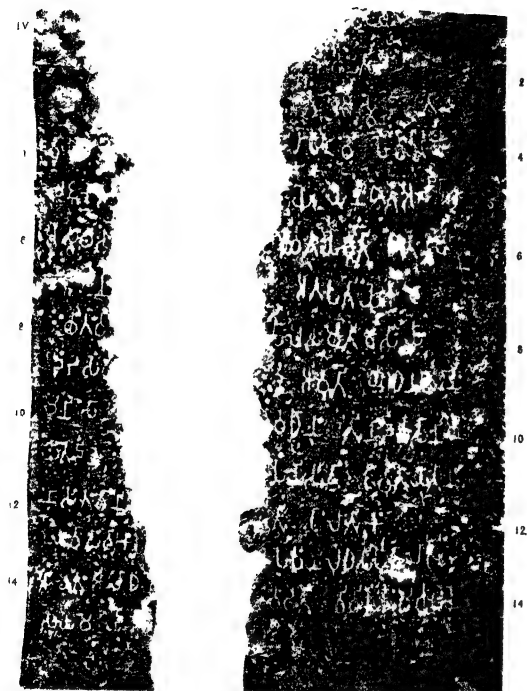
## FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

- 1 . . . . .  
 2 . . . . . क चरंति आलापयित्वे  
 3 . . . . . तु अस्वये होति  
 4 विषय . . . . . लिहदवे हेवं ममा  
 5 लज्जूक . . . . . ये (J) येन एते अभीता

<sup>1</sup> lāja Bühler.<sup>3</sup> lāja Bühler.<sup>5</sup> . . . sā Bühler.<sup>4</sup> ti Bühler.<sup>2</sup> -[dā]nām Bühler.<sup>5</sup> pāpaṃ Bühler.



Scale One-fourth



SCALE ONE-FOURTH

- 6 अस्वथ सं ..... पवतयेवू ति एतेन मे  
 7 लज्जकानं ..... अतपतिवे कटे  
 8 (K) इच्छितवि ..... हालसमता च सिया  
 9 दंडसम ..... मे आवुति बंधनवधानं  
 10 मुनिसानं ..... वधानं तिंनि दिवसानि मे  
 11 योते दिने (M) ..... पयिसंति जीवित्तये तानं  
 12 नासंतं वा नि ..... ति पालतिकं  
 13 उपवासं वा क ..... हेवं निलुधसि पि कालसि  
 14 पालतं आलाधये ..... वढति विविधे धमचलने  
 15 संयमे दान .....

- 1 .....  
 2 ..... [ka]<sup>1</sup> chagharnti [ā]lādha[y]i[tave]  
 3 ..... tu asvathe<sup>2</sup> [ho]ti  
 4 vi[ya] ..... [l]i[ha]tave hev[am] mam[ā]  
 5 [la]jū[kā]<sup>3</sup> ..... ye (J) yen[a] ete a[bh]iṭṭa  
 6 asvatha sam ..... [pa]vataye[v]ū ti [e]te[na] me  
 7 [la]jū[kā]n[am] ..... ata-patiye kaṭ[e]  
 8 (K) ichhitavi ..... [h]āla-samata ch[a] siyā  
 9 daṇḍa-sa[ma] ..... [me] āvuti [ba]ndhana-[badh]ānam  
 10 munisā[na]m ..... vadhānam tiṇṇi di[va]sāni [m]e  
 11 y[o]te diṇṇe (M) ..... payisa[m]ti j[i]v[i]tāye tāna[m]  
 12 nāsaṇṭam [v]ā ni ..... ti pālaticam  
 13 u[pa]vāsam vā k[a] ..... hevaṁ niludhasi pi [k]ālasī  
 14 pā[la]tān ālādha[ye] ..... vaḍhati vividhe dhamma-chal[a]ne  
 15 saṇyame dā[na] .....

## FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

- 1 ..... योतके पि च कानि  
 2 ..... के (D) वषिक्कुटे नो कटविये (E) तुसे सजीवे  
 3 ..... तविये (F) दावे अन्नदाये वा विहिसाये वा नो  
 4 रुपेतविये (G) जीवेन जीवे नो पुसित्तविये (H) तीसु चातंमासीसु  
 5 तिसायं पुनमासियं तिंनि दिवसानि चावुदसं पंडसं  
 6 पटिपदा धुवाये च अनुपोसथं मळे अवधिये नो पि  
 7 वियेतविये (I) एतानि येव दिवसानि नागवन्नसि केवढभोगसि  
 8 यानि अन्नानि पि जीवनिक्कायानि नो हंतवियानी

<sup>1</sup> [la]jū[kā] Bühler.<sup>2</sup> asva[ph]r Bühler.<sup>3</sup> lajū[kā] Bühler.

- 9 (J) अठमिपसाये चावुदसाये पनइसाये तिसाये  
 10 पुनावसुने तीसु चातुमासीसु सुदिवसाये गोने  
 11 नो नीलखितविये अजके एऊके सूकले ए वा पि  
 12 अंने नीलखियति नो नीलखितविये (K) तिसाये पुनावसुने  
 13 चातुमासिये चातुमासिपसाये अस्वसा गोनसा लखने  
 14 नो . . . . विये (L) यावसडुबीसतिवसअभिसितेन मे एताये  
 15 अंतलिक्काये पनवीसति बंधनमोखानि कटाणि

- 1 . . . . . [potake<sup>1</sup> pi cha] k[ā]n[i]  
 2 . . . . . ke (D) [vadh]i-kukuṭe no kaṭaviye (E) tuse saji[ve]  
 3 . . . . . ta[v]iye (F) dāve [a]naṭhāye vā vihisāye vā no  
 4 [jhāpe]ta[vi]ye (G) ji[v]ena j[iv]e no pusi[ta]viye (H) tisu chātāmāsīsu<sup>2</sup>  
 5 [t]isāya[m] pu[m]na[m]ā[si]ya[m] tīmni divasāni chāvudasa[m] paṁnaḍasa[m]  
 6 p[a]ṭipadā dh[r]uvāye<sup>3</sup> cha anuposatha[m] machhe avadhiye no pi  
 7 viketav[i]ye (I) etān[i] yeva divasāni n[ā]ḡa-van[a]si kevaṭa-bhogasi  
 8 y[ā]ni aṁnāni pi jiṇa-nikāyān[i] no [ha]ntaviyāni<sup>4</sup>  
 9 (J) aṭham[i-pakhā]ye<sup>5</sup> [chā]vudasāye paṁ[na]ḍasāye tisāye  
 10 punāvasune tisu chātūmāsīsu sudivasāye gone  
 11 no nīlākhitavi[y]e ajake e[ake] sūkale e vā pi  
 12 aṁ[n]e nī[la]khi[ya]ti [no] nīlakhitaviye (K) tisāye punāvasun[e]  
 13 chātūmāsīye chātu[m]māsi-pakhāye asvasā gonasā lakhane  
 14 no . . . [v]iye (L) yā[va]-saḍuvisati-[va]sa-abhisitena me etāye  
 15 a[m]talikāye paṁnavisati baṁdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni

## SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

- 1 \* \* \* \* \*  
 1 \* \* \* \* \*  
 2 \* \* \* \* \*  
 1 . . . . .  
 2 . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> On Fleet's plate (IA, 19. 124), portions of the preceding word *avadhiyā* are also visible.

<sup>2</sup> Read *chātum*.

<sup>3</sup> *dhuvāye* Bühler. Cf. above, p. 2, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *ṇāni* Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> *aṭham[r]*-Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> *eḍake* Bühler; but see Lüders, JRAS, 1911. 1088.





## III. THE LAURIYA ARARAJ-PILLAR

## FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

*A.—East Face of Pillar.*

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सहुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमल्लिपि
- 2 लिखापित (C) हिदत्तपालते दुसंपटिपादये अन्नत अगाय धंमकामताय अगाय पल्लीखाय
- 3 अगाय सुसुसाय अगेन भयेन अगेन उसाहेन (D) एस चु खो मम अनुसत्थिय धंमापेख
- 4 धंमकामता च सुवे सुवे वडित वडिसति चेव (E) पुलिसा पि मे उक्सा च गेवया च मज्झिमा च अनुविधीयंति
- 5 संपटिपादयंति च अल्लं चपलं समादपयितवे (F) हेमेव अंतमहामाता पि (G) एसा हि विधि या इयं धंमेन पालन
- 6 धंमेन विधाने धंमेन सुखीयन धंमेन गोती ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me iyaṃ dhamma-lī[p]i
- 2 likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusaṃpaṭipādaye aṇṇata agāya dhamma-kāmatāya agāya palikhāy[a]
- 3 agāya susūsāya aṇa bhayena aṇa usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya dhammāpekha<sup>1</sup>
- 4 dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍḍhita<sup>2</sup> vaḍḍhisati cheva (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majjhimā cha anuvīdhiyaṃti
- 5 saṃpaṭipādayaṃti cha alaṃ chapalaṃ samādapayitave (F) hemeva aṇṭa-mahāmātā pi (G) esa hi vidhi yā iyaṃ dhammena pālana
- 6 dhammena vidhāne dhammena sukhīyana dhammena goti ti

## SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) धंमे साधु कियं चु धंमे ति (C) अपासिनवे बहु कयाने दय दाने सचे
- 2 सोचेये ति (D) चक्षुदाने पि मे बहुविधे दिने (E) दुपदच्चतुपदेसु पखिवाल्लिचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहे कटे

<sup>1</sup> *dhammāpekha* Bühler.<sup>2</sup> *vaḍḍhita* Bühler.

- 3 आ पानदखिनाये (F) अंनानि पि च मे बहूनि कयानानि कटानि (G) एताये मे  
अठाये इयं धम्मलिपि लिखापित हेवं
- 4 अनुपटिपजंतु चिल्लिपितीका च होतू ति (H) ये च हेवं संपटिपजिससि से सुकटं  
कच्छति ति
- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) dhamme sādhu kiyāṃ chu  
dhamme ti (C) apāsinave bahu kayāne daya dāne sache
- 2 socheye ti (D) chakhu-dāne pi me bahuvidhe diṃne (E) dupada-chatupadesu pakhi-  
vālichalesu viddhe me anugahe kaṭe
- 3 ā pāna-dakhiṇāye (F) a[m]nāni pi cha me bahūni kayānāni kaṭāni (G) etāye me  
aṭhāye iyaṃ dhama-lipi likhāpita hevaṃ
- 4 anupaṭipajamtu chilam-thitika cha hotū ti (H) ye cha hevaṃ sampaṭipajisati se  
sukataṃ kachhati ti

## THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) कयानमेव देखंति इयं मे कयाने कटे  
ति (C) नो मिन पापं देखंति इयं मे पापे कटे ति
- 2 इयं व आसिनवे नामा ति (D) दुपटिवेखे चु खो एस (E) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये  
(F) इमानि आसिनवगामीनि नामा ति अथ चंदिडे
- 3 निठूलिये कोधे माने इस्य कालनेन व हकं मा पल्लिभसयिसं ति (G) एस बाढं  
देखिये (H) इयं मे हितिकाये इयंमन मे पालतिकाये ति
- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) kayānaṃmeva dekhamti iyaṃ me  
kayāne kaṭe ti (C) no mina pāpaṃ dekhamti iyaṃ me pāpe kaṭe ti
- 2 iyaṃ va āsinave nāmā ti (D) dupaṭivekhe chu kho esa (E) hevaṃ chu kho esa  
dekhiye (F) imāni āsinava-gāmini nāmā ti atha chaṇḍiye
- 3 niṭhūliye kodhe māne isya kālanena va hakaṃ mā palibhasayisaṃ ti (G) esa bādham  
dekhiye (H) iyaṃ me hidatikāye iyaṃmana me palatikāye ti

## FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सङ्खीयसतिवसाभिसित्तेन मे इयं  
धम्मलिपि लिखापित (C) लज्जूका मे बहूसु पानसत्तसहसेसु
- 2 जनसि आयत (D) तेसं ये अभिहाले व दंडे व अत्तपत्तिये मे कटे किंति लज्जूक  
अस्वय्य अभीत कंमानि पवत्तयेवू ति जनस जानपदस
- 3 हितसुखं उपदहेवु अनुगहिनेवु च (E) सुखीयनदुखीयनं जानिसंति धम्मयुत्तेन च  
वियोवदिसंति जनं जानपदं किंति हितं च
- 4 पालतं च आलाधयेवु (F) लज्जूका पि लपंति पटिचलितवे मं (G) पुल्लिसानि  
पि मे छंदनानि पटिचलिसंति (H) ते पि च कानि वियोवदिसंति येन मं

- 5 लज्जक चयन्ति आलापयित्वा (I) अथा हि पञं वियताये धातिये निसिजितु  
अस्वये होति वियत धाति चयन्ति मे पञं सुखं पलिहट्ठवे ति  
6 हेवं मम लज्जक कट जानपदस हितसुखाये (J) येन एते अभीत अस्वया संतं  
अहिमन कमानि पवतयेवू ति एतेन मे लज्जकानं अभिहाले व  
7 दंडे व अतपतिये कटे (K) इच्छितविये हि एस किंति वियोहालसमता च सिय  
दंडसमता च (L) आवा इते पि च मे आवुति बंधनवधानं  
8 मुनिसानं तीलितदंडानं पतवधानं तिन्नि दिवसानि मे योते दिन्ने (M) नातिका  
व कानि निरूपयिसंति जीवित्तये तानं नासंतं व  
9 निरूपयित्वा दानं दाहंति पालतिकं उपवासं व कच्छंति (N) इच्छा हि मे हेवं  
निलुधसि पि कालसि पालतं आलापयेवू ति  
10 (O) जनस च वदन्ति विविधे धम्मचलने सयमे दानसंविभागे ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyaḍasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍḍuvisati-vasābhisaṭṭena me  
iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) lajūkā me bahūsu pāna-sata-sahasasu  
2 janasi āyata (D) tesam ye abhihāle va d[ā]ṇḍe va ata-patiye me kaṭe kiṃti lajūka  
asvatha abhiṭa kaṃmāni pavatayevū ti janasa jānapadasa  
3 hita-sukhaṃ upadahevu anugahinevu cha (E) sukhiyana-dukhiyanaṃ jānisanti  
dhamma-yutena cha viyovadisanti janaṃ jānapadaṃ kiṃti hidataṃ cha  
4 pālatam cha ālādhayevu (F) lajūkā pi laghamti paṭichalitave maṃ (G) pulisāni pi  
me chhamdamaṇṇi paṭichalisanti (H) te pi cha kāni viyovadisanti yena maṃ  
5 lajūka chaghamti ālādhayitave (I) athā hi paṇaṃ viyatāye dhātīye nisijitu asvathe  
hoti viyata dhātī chaghati me paṇaṃ<sup>1</sup> sukhāṃ palihaṭṭave ti  
6 hevaṃ mama lajūka kaṭa jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (J) yena ete abhiṭa asvathā  
santi achiṃmana<sup>2</sup> kaṃmāni pavatayevū ti etena me lajūkaṇaṃ abhihāle va  
7 daṇḍe va ata-patiye kaṭe (K) icchitaviye hi esa kiṃti viyohāla-samatā cha siya  
daṇḍa-samatā cha (L) āvā ite pi cha me āvuti baṃdhana-badhānaṃ  
8 munisā[na]ṃ tilita-daṇḍānaṃ pata-vadhānaṃ tiṇṇi divasāni me yote diṇṇe (M)  
nātika va kāni nijhapayisanti jīvitaṃ tanaṃ nāsanti va  
9 nijhapay[ita]ve dānaṃ dāhamti pālatikaṃ upavāsaṃ va kachchamti (N) icchā hi me  
hevaṃ niludhasi pi kālasi pālatam ālādhayevū ti  
10 (O) janasa cha va[dha]ti vividhe dha[ṇ]ma-chalane sayame dāna-samvibhāge ti

## FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

B.—West Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसामिसितस मे इमानि  
पि जातानि अवध्यानि  
2 कटानि सेयथ सुके सालिक अलुने चकवाके हंस नंदीमुखे गेलाटे जलूक  
3 अंबाकपिलिक दुळि अन्नठिकमळे वेदवेयके गंगापुपुटके संकुजमळे कफटसेयके

<sup>1</sup> Read *paṇaṃ*.<sup>2</sup> Read *avimāna*.

- 4 पंनससे सिमले संडके ओकपिडे पलसते सेतकपोते गामकपोते सवे चतुपदे  
 5 वे पटिपोगं नो एति नो च खादियति (C) अजका नानि एडका च सूकली च  
 गभिनी व पायमीना व  
 6 अवध्य पोतके च कानि आसंमासिके (D) वधिकुकुटे नो कटविये (E) तुसे सजीवे  
 नो ज्ञापयितविये (F) दावे  
 7 अनठाये व विहिसाये व नो ज्ञापयितविये (G) जीवेन जीवे नो पुसितविये (H)  
 तीसु चातुंमासीसु तिस्यं  
 8 पुंनमासियं तिंनि दिवसानि चावुदसं पंनऊसं पटिपदं धुवाये च अनुपोसथं  
 महे अवध्ये नो पि  
 9 विकेतविये (I) एतानि येव दिवसानि नागवनसि केवटभोगसि यानि अनानि  
 पि जीवन्किायानि  
 10 नो हंतवियानि (J) अठमिपखाये चावुदसाये पंनडसाये तिसाये पुनावसुने तीसु  
 चातुंमासीसु  
 11 सुदिदसाये गोने नो नीलखितविये अजके एठके सूकले ए वा पि अने  
 नीलखियति नो नीलखितविये  
 12 (K) तिसाये पुनावसुने चातुंमासिये चातुंमासिपखाये अस्वस गोमस लखने  
 नो कटविये  
 13 (L) यावसदुवीसतिवसाभिसितस मे एताये अंतलिक्काये पंनवीसति बंधन-  
 मोखानि कटानि

- 1 (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍvīsati-vasābhisitasa me  
 imāni pi jātāni avadhyāni  
 2 kaṭāni seyatha suke sālika alune chakavāke haṃse naṃdimukhe gelāṭe jatūka  
 3 aṃbā-kapilika duji<sup>1</sup> anaṭhika-machhe vedaveyake Gaṃgā-puṇṇaṭake saṃkuja-machhe  
 kaphaṭa-seyake  
 4 paṃna-sase simale saṃḍake okapiṇḍe palasate seta-kapote gāma-kapote save  
 chatupade  
 5 ye paṭipogaṃ<sup>2</sup> no eti no cha khādīya[ti] (C) ajakā nāni eḍakā cha sūkālī cha  
 gabbhīni va pāyaminā va  
 6 avadhyā potake cha kāni āsaṃmāsike (D) vadhi-kukūṭe no kaṭaviye (E) tuse sajīve  
 no jhāpayitaviye (F) dāve  
 7 anaṭhāye va vihiṣāye va no jhāpayitaviye (G) jīvena jīve no pusitaviye (H) tisū  
 chāturmāsīsū tisyāṃ  
 8 puṃnamāsīyaṃ tiṇni divasāni chāvudasaṃ paṃnaḍasaṃ<sup>3</sup> paṭipadaṃ dhuvāye cha  
 anuposathaṃ machhe avadhye no pi  
 9 vīketaviye (I) etāni yeva divasāni nāga-vanasi kevaṭa-bhogasī yāni aṃnāni pi  
 jīva-nik[ā]yāni

<sup>1</sup> *duḍḍi* Bühler; but see his *Ind. Pal.*, § 16, C, 41, and Lüders in *JRAS*, 1911, 1087.

<sup>2</sup> Read *paṭibhogam*.

<sup>3</sup> *paṃnaḍasaṃ* Bühler.

- 10 no haṁtaviyāni (J) aṭhami-pakhāye chāvudasaḥe paṁnaḍasaḥe tisāye punāvasune tisu chātumṁāsīsu  
 11 sudivasāye gone no ṇilakhitaviye ajake eḷake<sup>1</sup> sūkale e vā pi aṁne ṇilakhiyati no ṇilakhitaviye  
 12 (K) tisāye punāvasune chātumṁāsīye chātumṁāsī-pakhāye asvasa gonasa lakhane no kaṭaviye  
 13 (L) yāva-saḍuvisatī-vasābhisitasa me etāye aṁtalikāye paṁnavīsati baṁdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni

## SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) दुवादसवसाभिसितेन मे धंमलिपि लिखापित लोकस  
 2 हितसुखाये से तं अपहट तं तं धंमवदि पापोव (C) हेवं लोकस हितसुखे ति पटिवेखामि  
 3 अथा इयं नातिमु हेवं पत्यासंनेसु हेव अपकळेसु किंमं कानि सुखं आवहामी ति तथा च विदहामि  
 4 (D) हेमेव सवनिकायेसु पटिवेखामि (E) सवपासंडा पि मे पूजित विविधाय पूजाय (F) ए च्चु इयं अतन पचूपगमने  
 5 से मे मुख्यमुते (G) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित  
 1 (A) Devāṇampiye Piyaḍasi lāja hevaṁ āha (B) duvā[ḍa]sa-vasābhisitena me dhamma-lipi likhāpita lokasa  
 2 hita-sukhāye se taṁ apahaṭa taṁ taṁ dhamma-vadhi pāpova (C) hevaṁ lokasa hita-sukhe ti paṭivekhāmi  
 3 athā iyaṁ nātisu hevaṁ patyāsaṁnesu hevaṁ apakaḭhesu kiṁmaṁ kāni sukhaṁ āvahāmi ti tathā cha vidahāmi  
 4 (D) hemeva sava-nikāyesu paṭivekhāmi (E) sava-pāsaṇḍā pi me pūjita vividhāya pūjāya (F) e chu iyaṁ atana pachūpagamane  
 5 se me mukhya-mute<sup>2</sup> (G) saḍuvisatī-vasābhisitena me iyaṁ dhamma-lipi likhāpita

## IV. THE LAURIYA-NANDANGARH PILLAR

## FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

*A.—East Face of Pillar.*

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं  
 2 धंमलिपि लिखापित (C) हिदतपालते दुसंपटिपादये अंनत अगाय धंमकामताय  
 3 अगाय पलीखाय अगाय सुसूसाय अगेन भयेन अगेन उसाहेन (D) एस च्चु खो मम

<sup>1</sup> eḷake Bühler.<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 35, n. 10.

- 4 अनुसन्धिष्य धंमापेक्ष धंमकामता च सुवे सुवे वडित वडिसति चेव (E) पुलिसा  
पि मे
- 5 उक्सा च गेवया च मझिमा च अनुविधीयंति संपटिपादयंति च अलं चपलं  
समादपयितवे
- 6 (F) हेमेव अंतमहामाता पि (G) एसा हि विधि या इयं धंमेन पालन धंमेन  
विधाने धंमेन सुखीयन
- 7 धंमेन गोती ति
- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ ā[ha] (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me  
iyaṃ
- 2 dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusaṃpaṭipādāye amnata agāya dhamma-  
kāmatāya
- 3 agāya palikhāya agāya susūsāya agha bhayena agha usāhena (D) esa chu  
kho mama
- 4 anusathiya dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍhita vaḍhisati cheva  
(E) pulisā pi me
- 5 ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha anuvīdhiyānti saṃpaṭipādāyānti cha alaṃ  
chapaṃ saṃādapayitave
- 6 (F) hemeva aṃta-mahāmātā pi (G) esā hi vidhi yā iyaṃ dhammena pālana dhammena  
vidhāne dhammena sukhīyana
- 7 dhammena gotī ti

## SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) धंमे साधु किय च धंमे ति (C)  
अपासिनवे बहु कयाने
- 2 दय दाने सचे सोचेये ति (D) चक्षुदाने पि मे बहुविधे दिने (E) दुपदचतुपदेसु पक्षि-  
बालिचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहे कटे आ पानदक्षिनाये (F) अन्नानि पि च मे  
बहुनि कयानानि
- 4 कटानि (G) एताये मे अटाये इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित हेवं अनुपटिपजंतु  
चिलंघित्तीका च होतू ति
- 5 (H) ये च हेवं संपटिपजिसति से सुकटं कळति
- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) dhamme sādhu kiya<sup>1</sup> chu dhamme  
ti (C) apāsinaṃve bahu kayāne
- 2 daya dāne sache socheye ti (D) chakhu-dāne pi me bahuvīdhe diṇne (E) dupada-  
chatupadesu pakhi-
- 3 vālichalesu vividhe me anugahe kaṭe ā pāna-dakhiṇāye (F) annāni pi cha me bahūni  
kayānāni

- 4 kaṭāni (G) eṭāye me aṭhāye iyaṁ dhaṁma-lipi likhāpita hevaṁ anupaṭipajantu  
chilāṁ-thitikā cha hotū ti  
5 (H) ye cha hevaṁ saṁpaṭipajisati se sukataṁ kachhati

## THIRD PILLAR-EDICT : LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) कयानंमेव देखंति इयं मे कयाने कटे  
ति (C) नो मिन पापं  
2 देखंति इयं मे पापे कटे ति इयं व आसिनवे नामा ति (D) दुपटिवेसे चु खो एस  
(E) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये  
3 (F) इमानि आसिनवगामीनि नामा ति अथ चंडिये निदूलिये कोधे माने इय्य  
कालनेन व हवं  
4 मा पलिभसयिसं ति (G) एस बाढं देखिये (H) इयं मे हितिकाये इयंमन मे  
पालतिकाये ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ āha (B) kayānaṁmeva dekhaṁti iyaṁ me  
kayāne kaṭe ti (C) no mina pāpaṁ  
2 dekhaṁti iyaṁ me pāpe kaṭe ti iyaṁ va āsinave nāmā ti (D) dupaṭivekhe chu kho  
esa (E) hevaṁ chu kho esa dekhiye  
3 (F) imāni āsinava-gāminī<sup>1</sup> nāmā ti atha chaṇḍiye niṭhūliye kodhe māne isya  
kālanena va haṁva  
4 mā palibhasayisaṁ ti (G) esa bāḍhaṁ dekhiye (H) iyaṁ me hidatikāye iyaṁmana  
me pālatikāye ti

## FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT : LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसित्तेन मे इयं  
धम्मलिपि लिखापित (C) लज्जूका मे  
2 बहूसु पानसतसहसेसु जनसि आवत (D) तेसं ये अग्निहाले व दंडे व अतपतिये  
मे कटे किंति लज्जूक अस्वच  
3 अभीत वंमानि पवतयेवू ति जनस जानपदस हितसुखं उपदहेवू अनुगहिनेवु व  
(E) सुखीयनदुखीयनं  
4 आनिस्संति धम्मवुत्तेन व विबोवदिसंति जनं जानपदं किंति हितं व पालतं व  
आलाधयेवू ति (F) लज्जूका पि लवंति  
5 पटिचलितवे मं (G) पुलिसानि पि मे ऊदंनानि पटिचलिसंति (H) ते पि  
व आनि विबोवदिसंति येन मं लज्जूक चपंति आलाधयितवे

<sup>1</sup> *āsinave* Bühler.



- 6 (I) अथा हि पजं वियताये धातिये निसिजितु अस्वथे होति वियत धाति चयति  
मे पजं सुखं पलिहटवे ति
- 7 हेवं मम लजूक कट जानपदस हितसुखाये (J) येन एते अभीत अस्वथा संतं  
अविमन कमानि पवतयेवू ति
- 8 एतेन मे लजूकानं अभिहाले व दंडे व अतपतिये कटे (K) इक्षितविये हि एस  
किंति वियोहालसमता च सिय दंडसमता च
- 9 (L) आवा इते पि च मे आवुति बंधनवधानं मुनिसानं तीलितदंडानं पतवधानं  
तिंनि दिवसानि मे योते दिने (M) नातिका व कानि
- 10 निरूपयिसंति जीविताये तानं नासंतं व निरूपयितवे दानं दाहंति पालतिकं  
उपवासं व कद्धंति (N) इछा हि मे हेवं
- 11 निलुधसि पि कालसि पालतं आलापयेवू ति (O) जनस च वढति विविधे  
धम्मचलने सयमे दानसविभागे ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiyē Piyaḍasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me  
iyam dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) lajūkā me
- 2 bahūsa pāna-sata-sahasasu janasi āyata (D) tesam ye abhihāle va daṇḍe va  
ata-patiye me kaṭe kiṃti lajūka asvatha
- 3 abhita kaṇṇāni pavatayevū ti janasa jānapadasa hita-sukhaṃ upadahevū  
anugahinevū cha (E) sukhīyana-dukkhīyanaṃ
- 4 jānisamti dhamma-yutena cha viyovadisamti janam jānapadam kiṃti hidatam cha  
pālatam cha ālādhayevū ti (F) lajūkā pi laghamti
- 5 paṭichalitave maṃ (G) pulis[ā]ni pi me chhamdamaṇāni paṭichalisamti (H) te pi  
cha kāni viyovadisamti yena maṃ lajūka chaghamti ālādhayitave
- 6 (I) athā hi pajam viyatāye dhātiye nisijitu asvathe hoti viyata dhāti chaghati me  
pajam sukhaṃ palihaṭave ti
- 7 hevaṃ mama lajūka kaṭa jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (J) yena ete abhita asvathā  
saṃtaṃ avimana kaṇṇāni pavatayevū ti
- 8 etena me lajūkānaṃ [a]bhihāle va daṇḍe va ata-patiye kaṭe (K) ichhitaviye hi esa  
kiṃti viyohāla-samatā cha siya daṇḍa-samatā cha
- 9 (L) āvā ite pi cha me āvuti baṃdhana-badhānaṃ munisaṇaṃ tīlita-dariddhānaṃ  
pata-vadhānaṃ tiṃni divasāni me [yo]te dirhne (M) nātikā va kāni
- 10 nijhapayisamti jīvītāye tānaṃ nāsantaṃ va nijhapayī[tav]e dānaṃ dāhamti  
pālaticam upavāsaṃ va kachhamti (N) ichhā hi me hevaṃ
- 11 niludhasi pi [kālas]i pālatam ālādhayevū t[ī] (O) janasa cha vaḍhati vividhe  
dhamma-chalane sayame dāna-savibhāge ti

## FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

B.—West Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितस मे  
इमानि पि
- 2 जातानि अवध्यानि कटानि सेयथा मुके सालिक अलुने चक्वाके हंसे
- 3 नंदीमुखे गेलाले जतूक अंबाकपिलिक दुळि अनठिकमळे वेदवेयके
- 4 गंगापुपुढके संकुजमळे कफटसेयके पंनससे सिमले संडके ओकपिडे
- 5 पलसते सेतकपोते गामकपोते सवे चतुपदे ये पटिभोगं नो एति न च खादियति
- 6 (C) अजका नानि एहका च सूकली च गभिनी व पायमीना व अवध्य पोतके  
च कानि
- 7 आसंमासिके (D) वधिकुकुटे नो कटविये (E) तुसे सजीवे नो रूपयितविये (F)  
दावे अनदाये व
- 8 विहिसाये व नो रूपयितविये (G) जीवेन जीवे नो पुसितविये (H) तीसु  
चातुमासीसु तिसियं
- 9 पुंनमासियं तिंति दिवसानि चावुएसं पंनळसं पटिपदं धुवाये च अनुपोसचं  
मळे अवध्ये
- 10 नो पि विकेतविये (I) एतानि येव दिवसानि नागवनसि केवढभोगसि यानि  
अंनानि पि
- 11 जीवनिकायानि नो हंतवियानि (J) अठमिपखाये चावुएसाये पंनळसाये  
तिसाये पुनावसुने
- 12 तीसु चातुमासीसु सुदिवसाये गौने नो नीलखितविये अजके एळके सूकले ए  
वा पि अने
- 13 नीलखियति नो नीलखितविये (K) तिसाये पुनावसुने चातुमासिये चातुमासि-  
पखाये अस्वस गोमस
- 14 लखने नो कटविये (L) यावसडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे एताये अंतलिक्काये  
पंनवीसति
- 15 बंधनमोखानि कटानि

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍḍuvisati-vasābhīsitasā me  
imāni pi
- 2 jātāni avadhyāni kaṭāni seyaṭh[ā] suke sālīka alune chakavāke haṃse
- 3 naṇḍīmukhe gelāṭe jatūka ambā-kapilīka duḷi<sup>1</sup> anaṭhika-machhe vedaveyake
- 4 Gaṅgā-pupuṭake saṃkuja-machhe kaphaṭa-seyake paṇṇa-sase simale aṇḍake  
okapiṇḍe

<sup>1</sup> *duḍi* Bühler; but see his *Ind. Pal.*, § 16, C, 41, and Lüders in JRS, 1911. 1087.

- 5 palasate seta-kapote gāma-kapote save chatupade ye paṭibhogarū no eti na cha khādiyati  
 6 (C) ajakā nāni eḍakā cha sūkālī cha gabhinī va pāyaminā va avadhya potake cha kāni  
 7 āsahmāsike (D) vadhi-kukūṭe no kaṭaviye (E) tuse sajīve no jhāpayitaviye (F) dāve anañhāye va  
 8 vihisāye va no jhāpayitaviye (G) jīvena jīve no pusitaviye (H) tisu chāturmāsīsu tisiyaṃ  
 9 puṇṇamāsīyaṃ tirhni divasāni chāvudasaṃ paṇṇa|asaṃ<sup>1</sup> paṭipadaṃ dhuvāye cha anuposathaṃ machhe avadhye  
 10 no pi viketaviye (I) etāni yeva divasāni nāga-vanasi kevaṭa-bhogasi yāni aṇṇāni pi  
 11 jīva-nikāyāni no haṃtaviyāni (J) aṭhami-pakhāye chāvudasaṃ paṇṇa|asaṃ<sup>2</sup> tisaṃ punāvasune  
 12 tisu chāturmāsīsu sudiṇasaṃ gone no nilakhitaviye ajake e|ake<sup>3</sup> sūkale e vā pi aṇṇe  
 13 nilakhīyati no nilakhitaviye (K) tisaṃ punāvasune chāturmāsīye chāturmāsī-pakhāye asvasa gonasa  
 14 lakhane no kaṭaviye (L) yāva-saḍḍuvisati-va[s]ābhīsitena me etāye aṃtalikāye paṇṇa|visati  
 15 baṇḍhana-mokhāni kaṭāni

## SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) दुवाळसवसाभिसितेन मे धम्मलिपि लिखापित  
 2 लोकस हितसुखाये से तं अपहट तं तं धम्मवदि पापोव (C) हेवं लोकस  
 3 हितसुखे ति पटिवेस्सामि अथा इयं नातिसु हेवं पत्थासंनेसु हेवं अपफडेसु  
 4 किंमं कानि सुखं आवहामी ति तथा च विदहामि (D) हेमेव सवनिक्खयेसु पटिवेस्सामि  
 5 (E) सवपासंडा पि मे पूजित विविधाव पूजाय (F) ए चु इयं अतन पचूपगमने  
 6 से मे मोख्यमुते (G) सदुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धम्मलिपि लिखापित  
 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyaḍasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) duvā[la]m[a-va]sābhīsitena<sup>4</sup> me dhamma-lipi likhāpita  
 2 lokasa hita-sukhāye se taṃ apahaṭa taṃ taṃ dhamma-vaḍhi pāpova (C) hevaṃ lokasa  
 3 hita-sukhe ti paṭivekkhāmi athā iyaṃ nātisu hevaṃ patyāsaṃnesu hevaṃ apakaṭhesu  
 4 kiṇṇaṃ kāni sukhaṃ āvahaṃāmi ti tathā cha vidahaṃāmi (D) hemeva sava-nikkāyesu paṭivekkhāmi  
 5 (E) sava-pāsanda pi me pūjita vividhāya pūjāya (F) e chu iyaṃ atana pachūpa-gamane  
 6 se me mokhya-mute (G) saḍḍuvisati-va[s]ābhīsitena me iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpita

<sup>1</sup> paṇṇa|asaṃ Bühler.<sup>2</sup> paṇṇa|asaṃ Bühler.<sup>3</sup> eḍaks Bühler.<sup>4</sup> duvāḍasa- Bühler.

## V. THE RAMPURVA PILLAR

## FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

*A.—North Face of Pillar.*

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेव आह (B) सधुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं  
धंमलिपि लिखापित (C) हिदतपालते
- 2 दुसंपटिपादये अन्नत अगाय धंमकामताय अगाय पलीहाय अगाय सुसुसाय  
अगेन भयेन अगेन उसाहेन
- 3 (D) एस चु खो मम अनुसथिय धंमापेख धंमकामता च सुवे सुवे वडित वडिसति  
चेव (E) पुलिसा पि मे उक्सा च
- 4 गेवया च मज्झिमा च अनुविधीयंति संपटिपादयंति च अलं चपलं समादपयित्वे  
(F) हेमेव अंतमहामाता पि (G) एसा हि विधि
- 5 या इयं धंमेन पालन धंमेन विधाने धंमेन सुखीयन धंमेन गोती ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyaḍasi lāja heva<sup>1</sup> āha (B) saḍḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me  
iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate
- 2 dusaṃpaṭipādaye aṇṇata agāya dhamma-kāmatāya agāya palikhāya agāya susūsāya  
agena bhayena agena usāhena
- 3 (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve  
vaḍḍhita vaḍḍhisati cheva (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha
- 4 gevayā cha majjhimā cha anuvīdhiyaṃti saṃpaṭipādayaṃti cha alaṃ chapalaṃ  
samādapayitvā (F) hemeva aṇṇa-mahāmātā pi (G) esa hi vidhi
- 5 yā iyaṃ dhammena pālana dhammena vidhāne dha[m]m[e]na sukhīyana dhammena  
gotī ti

## SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) धंमे साधु कियं चु धंमे ति (C)  
अपासिनवे बहु कयाने दय दाने सचे सोचेवे ति (D) चखुदाने पि मे
- 2 बहुविधे दिंने (E) दुपदचतुपदेसु पखिवालिचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगाहे कटे आ  
पानदखिनाये (F) अन्नानि पि च मे बहूनि कयानानि कटानि
- 3 (G) एताये मे अठाये इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित हेवं अनुपटिपजंठु चिलंघितीका  
च होतू ति (H) ये च हेवं संपटिपजिसति से सुकटं ककती ति
- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyaḍasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) dhamme sādhū kiyāṃ chu  
dhamme ti (C) apāsinaṃve bahu kayāṇe daya dāṇe sache socheye ti (D) chakhu-  
dāṇe pi me

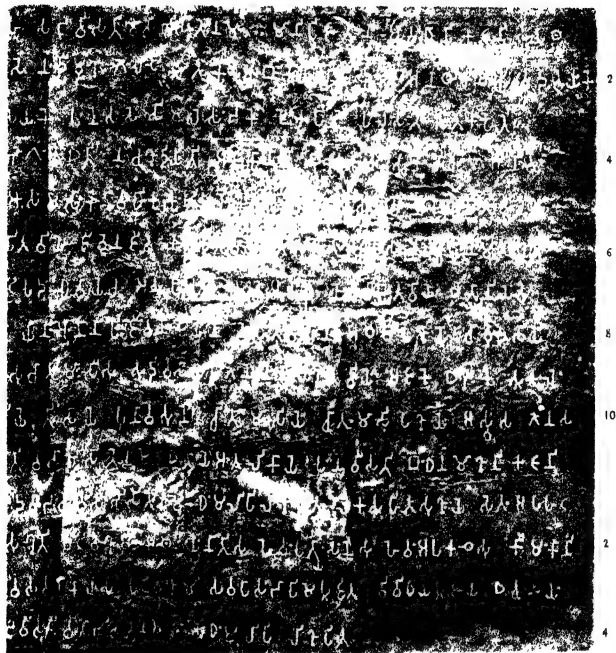
- 2 bahuvidhe diṃne (E) dupada-chatupadesu pakhi-vālichalesu vividhe me anugahe kaṭe ā pāna-dakhiṇāye (F) arṇnāni pi cha me bahūni kayānāni kaṭāni
- 3 (G) eṭāye me aṭhāye iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpita hevaṃ anupaṭipajamtu chilaṃ-thitūka cha hotū ti (H) ye cha hevaṃ sampāṭipajisati se sukaṭaṃ kachhati ti

## THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) कयानंमेव देखंति इयं मे कयाने कटे ति (C) नो मिन पापं देखंति इयं मे पापे कटे ति
- 2 इयं व आसिनवे नामा ति (D) दुपटिवेखे चु खो एस (E) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये (F) इमानि आसिनवगामीनि नामा ति अथ चंडिये निदूलिये
- 3 कोधे माने इस्स कालनेन व हक् मा पलिभसयिसं (G) एस बाढं देखिये (H) इयं मे हिदतिकāये इयंमन मे पालतिकāये ति
- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) kayānaṃmeva dekhaṃti iyaṃ me kayāne kaṭe ti (C) no mina pāpaṃ dekhaṃti iyaṃ me pāpe kaṭe ti
- 2 iyaṃ va āsinave nāmā ti (D) dupaṭivekhe chu kho esa (E) hevaṃ chu kho esa dekhiye (F) imāni āsinava-gāmīni nāmā ti atha chaṇḍiye niṭhūliye
- 3 kodhe māne issa kālānena va hakaṃ mā palibhasayisaṃ (G) esa baḍhaṃ dekhiye (H) iyaṃ me hidatikāye iyaṃmana me pālatikāye ti

## FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सहुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलपि लिखापित (C) लजूका मे बहूसु पानसतसहसेसु
- 2 जनसि आयत (D) तेसं ये अभिहले व दंडे व अतपतिये मे कटे किंति लजूक अस्वथ अभीत कंमानि पवतयेवू ति जनस जानपदस
- 3 हितमुखं उपदहेवु अनुगहिनेवु च (E) सुखीयनदुखीयनं जानिसंति धंमयुतेन च वियोवदिसंति जनं जानपदं किंति हिदतं च पालतं च
- 4 आलाभयेवू ति (F) लजूका पि लघंति पटिचलितवे मं (G) पुलिसानि पि मे छंदनानि पटिचलिसंति (H) ते पि च कानि वियोवदिसंति येन मं लजूक
- 5 चर्धति आलाभयितवे (I) अथा हि पजं वियताये धातिये निसिजितु अस्वथे होति वियत धाति चर्धति मे पजं मुखं पलिहटवे ति हेवं मम लजूक कट
- 6 जानपदस हितसुखाये (J) येन एते अभीत अस्वथा संतं अविमन कंमानि पवतयेवू ति एतेन मे लजूकानं अभिहाले व दंडे व अतपतिये कटे
- 7 (K) इक्षितविये हि एस किंति वियोहालसमता च सिय दंडसमता च (L) आवा इते पि च मे आवुति बंधनवधानं मुनिसानं तीलितदंडानं पतवधानं



- 8 तिंनि दिवसानि मे योते दिने (M) नात्तिका व कानि निरुपयिस्संति जीवित्तये  
तानं नास्संतं व निरुपयित्तये दानं दाहंति पालत्तिकं उपवासं व कच्छति
- 9 (N) इच्छा हि मे हेवं निलुपसि पि कालसि पालतं आलाधयेवू ति (O) जनस  
व वदति विविधे धम्मचलने समये दानसविभागे ति
- 1 (A) Devānarāpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me  
iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) lajūka me bahūsu pāna-sata-sahasasu
- 2 janasi āyata (D) tesam ye abhihale<sup>1</sup> va daṃḍe va ata-patiye me kaṭe kiṃti lajūka  
asvatha abhita kaṃmāni pavataye vū ti janasa jānapadasa
- 3 hita-sukhaṃ upadahevu anugahinevu cha (E) sukhīyana-dukkhīyanaṃ jānisamti  
dhamma-yutena cha viyovadisamti janaṃ jānapadaṃ kiṃti hidataṃ cha  
pālataṃ cha
- 4 ālādhaye vū ti (F) lajūka pi laghamti paṭichalitave maṃ (G) pulisāni pi me  
chhamdamnāni paṭichalisamti (H) te pi cha kāni viyovadisamti yena maṃ  
lajūka
- 5 chaghamti ālādhayitave (I) athā hi pajam viyatāye dhātiye nisijitu asvathe hoti  
viyata dhāti chaghati me pajam sukhaṃ palihaṭave ti hevaṃ mama lajūka  
kaṭa
- 6 jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (J) yena ete abhita asvathā samtaṃ avimana kaṃmāni  
pavataye vū ti etena me lajūkānaṃ abhihāle va daṃḍe va ata-patiye kaṭe
- 7 (K) icchitaviye hi esa ki[m]ti<sup>2</sup> viyohāla-samatā cha siya daṃḍa-samatā cha (L) evā  
ite pi cha me āvuti baṃdhana-badhānaṃ munisānaṃ tilita-daṃḍānaṃ  
pata-vadhānaṃ
- 8 tirinī divasāni me [y]ote diṃne (M) nātikā va kāni nijhapayisamti jīvītāye tānaṃ  
nāsaṃtaṃ va nijhapayitave dānaṃ dāhamti pālataṃ upavāsaṃ va kachchariti
- 9 (N) ichhā hi me hevaṃ niludhasi pi kālasi pālataṃ ālādhaye vū ti (O) janasa cha  
vaḍḍhati vividhe dhamma-chalane sayame dāna-savibhāge ti

## FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

B.—South Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सदुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इसानि  
पि जातानि अक्खयानि कटानि सेयथ
- 2 सुके सालिक अलुने चक्काके हंसे नंदीमुखे गेलाटे जतूक अवाकपिलिक दुळि  
अनटिकमके वेदवेयके
- 3 गंगापुपुटके संकुजमके कफटसेयके पंससे सिमले संहके ओकपिडे पलसते  
सेतकपोते
- 4 गामकपोते सवे चतुपदे ये पटिभोगं नो एति न च खारियति (O) अजका नानि  
एळका च सूकली च गभिनी व

<sup>1</sup> Read *abhihāle*.<sup>2</sup> *kiti* Bühler.

- 5 पायमीना व श्वध्व्य पोतके च कानि आसंमासिके (D) बधिकुकुटे नो कटविये  
(E) तुसे सजीवे नो शपयितविये
- 6 (F) दावे अनठाये व विहिसाये व नो शपयितविये (G) जीवेन जीवे नो  
पुसितविये (H) तीसु चातुंमासीसु तिस्यं पुंनमासियं
- 7 तिंनि दिवसानि चाबुदसं पंनडसं पटिपदं धुवाये च अनुपोसथं महे श्वध्व्ये नो  
पि विकेतविये (I) एतानि येव
- 8 दिवसानि नागवनसि केवटभोगसि यानि अनानि पि जीवनिक्कायानि नो  
हंतवियानि (J) अटमिपस्साये चाबुदसाये
- 9 पंनडसाये तिसाये पुनावमुने तीसु चातुंमासीसु सुदिवसाये गोने नो निलखितविये  
अजके एठके सूकले
- 10 ए वा पि अने नीलखियति नो नीलखितविये (K) तिसाये पुनावमुने चातुंमासिये  
चातुंमासिपस्साये अस्वस गोनस
- 11 लखने नो कटविये (L) यावसडुवीसतिवसाभिसित्तेन मे एताये अंतलिक्काये  
पंनवीसति वंधनमोखानि कटानि

- 1 (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ āha (B) saduvīsati-[va]sābhisitena me  
imāni pi jātāni avadhyāni kaṭāni seyyatha
- 2 suke sālika alune chakavake haṁse namdimukhe gelāṭe jatuka ambā-kapilika duḷi  
anāthika-machhe vedaveyake
- 3 Gaṇḍā-puṇḍake samkuja-machhe kaphaṭa-seyake paṇṇa-sase simale samḍake  
okapimḍe palasate seta-kapote
- 4 gama-kapote sava chatupade ye patibhogam no eti na cha khādiyati (C) ajakā nāni  
elaka cha sūkālī cha gabhīni va
- 5 payamīna va avadhya potake cha kāni āsamāsike (D) vadhi-kukūṭe no kaṭaviye  
(E) tuse sajīve no jhapayitaviye
- 6 (F) dāve anāṭhaye va viḥisaye va no jhāpayitaviye (G) jīvena jīve no pusitaviye  
(H) tisu chātummā[s]siṇu tisyāni puṇṇamāsīyaṁ
- 7 timni divasāni chāvudasaṁ paṇṇadasaṁ paṭipadaṁ dhuvāye cha anuposathaṁ  
machhe avadhye no pi viketaviye (I) etāni yeva
- 8 divasāni nāga-vanasi kevaṭa-bhogasi yāni amnāni pi jīva-nikāyāni no haṁtaviyāni  
(J) athami-jakhāye chāvudasaṁ
- 9 paṇṇadasāye tisāye puṇavasune tisu chātummāsīsu sudivasāye gone no  
nilakhitaviye ajake elake sūkale
- 10 e vā pi aṇṇe nilakhīyati no nilakhitaviye (K) tisāye puṇāvasune chātummāsīye  
chātummāsī-pakhāye asvaṣa gona
- 11 lakhane no kaṭaviye (L) yāva-saduvīsati-vasābhisitena me etāye amtalikāye  
paṇṇavīsati baṁdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni



## SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) दुवाडसवसाभिसितेन मे धंमलिपि लिखापित लोकस हितसुखाये से तं अपहट
- 2 तं तं धंमवदि पापोव (C) हेवं लोकस हितसुखे ति पटिवेखामि अथ इयं नातिसु हेवं पत्यासनेसु हेवं अपकटेसु किंमं कानि
- 3 सुखं आवहामी ति तथा च विदहामि (D) हेमेव सवनिक्कायेसु पटिवेखामि (E) सवपासंहा पि मे पूजित विविधाय पूजाय (F) ए च इयं
- 4 अतन पच्चूपगमने से मे मोख्यमुते (G) सहुवीसत्तिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) duvāḍasa-vasābhisitena me dhamma-lipi likhāpita lokasa hita-sukhāye se taṃ apahata
- 2 taṃ taṃ dhamma-vaḍḍhi pāpova (C) hevaṃ lok[a]sa hita-sukhe ti paṭivekhāmi atha iyaṃ nātisu hevaṃ patyāsānesu hevaṃ apakaṭhesu kiṃmaṃ kāni
- 3 sukhāṃ āvahāmi ti tathā cha vidahāmi (D) hemeva sava-n[i]kkāyesu paṭivekhāmi (E) sava-pāsāṃhā pi me pūjita vividhāya pūjāya (F) e chu iyaṃ
- 4 atana pachūpagamane se me mokhya-mute (G) saḍḍuvisat[i]-vasābhisitena me iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpita

## VI. THE ALLAHABAD-KOSAM PILLAR

## A. THE SIX FIRST PILLAR-EDICTS

## FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) सहुवीसत्तिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापिता (C) हितपालते दुसंपटिपादये
- 2 अनंत अगाय धंमकामताय अगाय पलीखाय अगाय सुसूसाया अगेन भयेन अगेन उसाहेन (D) एस चु खो मम अनुसपिया
- 3 धंमापेखा धंमकामता च सुवे सुवे वदिता वदिसति चेवा (E) पुलिसा पि मे उक्कसा च गेवया च मफिसा च अनुविधीयंति संपटिपादयंति च
- 4 अलं चपलं समादपयितवे (F) हेमेव अंतमहामाता पि (G) एसा हि विधि या इयं धंमेन पालना धंमेन विधाने धंमेन सुखीयना धंमेन गुति ति च

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusaṃpaṭipāda[y]e
- 2 aṇnata agāya dhamma-kāmatāya agāya palikhāya agāya susūsāyā agena bhayena a[g]ena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathi[y]ā

- 3 dhammāpekhā dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍḍhitā vaḍḍhisati ch[e]vā (B) pulisā  
pi me ukasā cha geveyā cha majhimā cha anuvīdhiyānti sampatipādayaṃti cha  
4 alam chapalam samādapayitave (F) herimeva<sup>1</sup> aṃta-mahāmātā pi (G) esā hi vidhi  
yā [i]yaṃ dhammena pālanā dhammena vidhāne dhammena sukhīyaṇā  
dhammena [gut]i [ti<sup>2</sup> cha]<sup>3</sup>

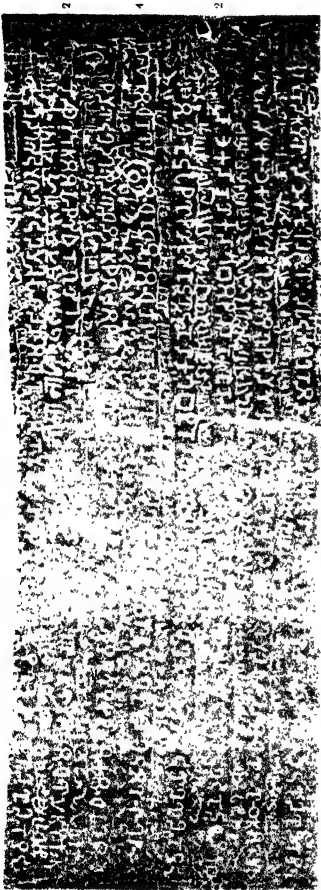
## SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) धंमे साधु कियं च धंमे ति (C)  
अपासिनवे बहु कयाने दया दाने सचे सोचये (D) चक्षुदाने पि मे  
2 बहुविधे दिने (E) दुपदचतुपदेसु पखिवालिचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहे कटे आ  
पानदखिनाये (F) अन्नानि पि च मे बहूनि कयानानि कटानि  
3 (G) एताये मे अठाये इयं धम्मलिपि लिखापिता हेवं अनुपटिपजंतु चित्तितीका  
च होतू ति (H) ये च हेवं संपटिपजिसति से सुकटं कच्छती ति
- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) dhamme sādhu kiyam chu  
dhamme ti (C) apāsinave bahu kayāne dayā dāne sache sochaye (D) chakhu-dāne  
pi me  
2 bahuvidhe diṇne (E) dupada-chatupadesu<sup>4</sup> pakhi-vālichalesu vividhe me anugahe  
kaṭe ā pāna-dakhināye (F) amnāni pi cha me bahūni<sup>5</sup> kayānāni kaṭāni  
3 (G) etāye me aṭhāye iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā hevaṃ anupaṭipajamtu chila-  
ṭṭitikā cha hotū ti (H) ye cha hevaṃ sampatipajisati se sukaṭam kachhati ti

## THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) कयानमेव देखति इयं मे कयाने  
कटे ति (C) नो मिन पापकं देखति इयं मे पापके कटे ति इयं वा आसिनवे  
नामा ति  
.....
- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) kayānameva dekhati iyaṃ me  
kayāne kaṭe ti (C) no mina pāpakam dekhati iyaṃ me pāpake kaṭe ti iyaṃ vā  
āsīnave nāmā ti  
.....

<sup>1</sup> *herimeva* Bühler.<sup>2</sup> As remarked by Fleet (IA, 13. 310, note), the vowel *i* is attached before, not after the *t*.<sup>3</sup> *chu* Bühler.<sup>4</sup> The apparent Anusvāra after *da* of *dupada-* is probably accidental.<sup>5</sup> *bahuni* Bühler.



See also Plate 157

## FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 ..... कानं अभिहाले वा दंडे वा अतपतिये कटे (K) इक्षितविये हि  
 एस किंति
- 2 ..... लसमता च सिया दंडसमता च (L) आव इते पि च मे आवुति  
 बंधनवधानं मुनिसानं तीलीतदंडानं पतवधानं तिंनि दिवसानि योते दिंने
- 3 (M) ..... का व कानि निहपयिसंति जीविताये तानं नासंतं वा निहपयिता  
 दानं दाहंति पालतिकं उपवासं वा कहेति
- 4 (N) ..... हि मे हेवं निलुधसि पि कालसि पालतं आलाधयेवु (O) जनस च  
 वदति विविधे धम्मचलने सयमे दानसविभागे

- 1 ..... [kānaṃ abhihāle vā daṇḍe vā ata-pa]ṭṭiyy[ē kaṭṭe] (K) [i]chh[i]ṭṭa[v[i]y[ē]  
 h[i]e]s[a] k[im]ṭṭi<sup>1</sup>
- 2 ..... la-sama[ṭṭa] cha<sup>2</sup> siyā da[m]da-samatā cha (L) āva<sup>3</sup> ite pi cha me āvuti  
 baṇḍhana-badhānaṃ munisānaṃ tilita-damḍānaṃ pata-vadhānaṃ tiṇṇi divasāni  
 yote diṇṇe
- 3 (M) .... [k]ā va kāni nijhapayisaṃti jīvitāye tānaṃ nāsaṃtaṃ vā nijhapayitā dānaṃ  
 dāhaṃti pālaticāṃ upavāsaṃ vā [ka]chha[m]ti
- 4 (N) .... [h]i me hevaṃ niludhasi pi kālasi pālataṃ ālādhaṃv[u] (O) janasa cha  
 vadhati vividhe dhamma-chalane sayame dāna-savibhāge

## FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 (A) ..... पिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे  
 इमानि जातानि अवधियानि कटानि सेयथ मुके सालिका अलुने चकवाके
- 2 ..... नंदीमुखे गेलाटे जतूका अंबाकिपिलिका दुडी अनठिकमहे वेदेवेयके  
 गंगापुपुटके संकुजमहे कफट ..... के पंससे सिमले संड ..
- 3 ..... तकपोते गामकपोते सवे चतुपदे ये पटिभोगं नो .....  
 ना ..... पायमी ..
- 4 ..... सजीवे नो भाप .....
- 5 ..... नि चाबुदसं पंचद .....
- 6 ..... नि .....
- 7 .....
- 8 लखने नो कटविये (L) या .....

<sup>1</sup> Bühler omitted this line.<sup>2</sup> chā Bühler.<sup>3</sup> ava Bühler.

- 1 (A) ..... [p]iye Piyadasi lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) saḍvīsati-vasābhisaṭṭena me  
imāni jātāni avadhiyāni kaṭāni seyatha suke sālīkā alunc chaka[v]āke  
2 .... [naṃdi]m[u]khe gelāṭe jatūk[ā]<sup>1</sup> āmbā-kipilikā duḍi<sup>2</sup> anathika-machhe<sup>3</sup>  
vedaveyake Gaṃgā-p[u]p[u]ake saṃkuja-machhe kaphaṭa .... k[e] p[a]ṃna-  
sase simale saṃda ..  
3 ..... [ta]-kapote gāma-kapote sa[v]e chatu[pa]de ye paṭṭi[bhogam] [no]  
..... nā ..... [p]ā[ya]mī ..  
4 ..... sajive no jhā[pa] .....  
5 ..... [n]i chā[v]u[da]saṃ [pa]mcha[da] .....  
6 ..... [n]i .....  
7 .....  
8 [lakha]n[e no kaṭaviye] (L) [y]ā .. ..

## SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

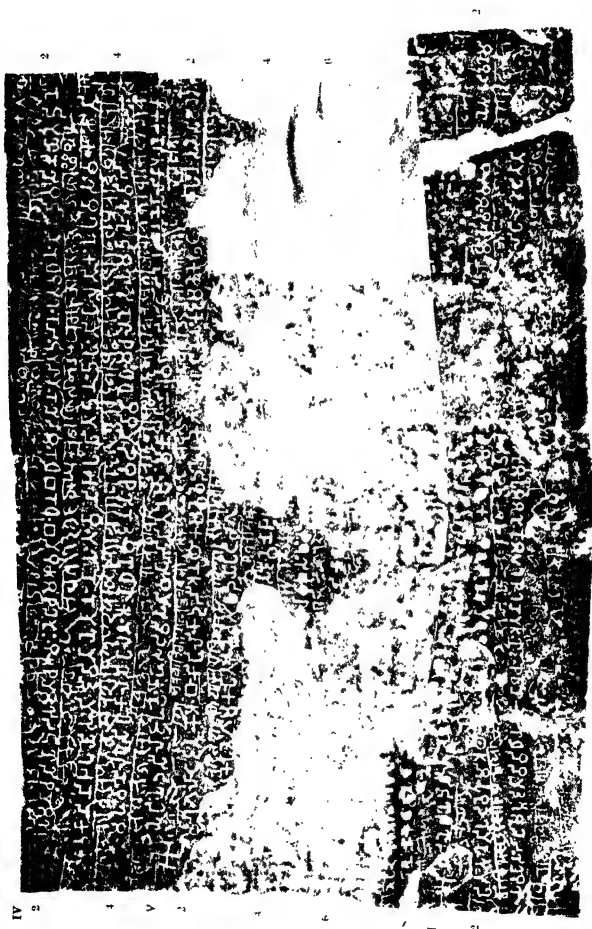
- 1 (A) ..... पिये पियदसी ला ..... तं ..... दि पा ...  
(C) हेवं लोकस  
2 हितमुखे ति पटिवेखामि अष इयं ..... वं पत्यासंनेसु हेवं अपकटेसु  
किमं कानि ..... विदहामि (D) हेवंमेव सव .. कायेसु  
पटिवेखामि  
3 (E) सवपासंडा पि मे पूजिता विविधाय पूजाया (F) ए चु इयं अतना पचुपगमने  
से मे मुख्यमुते (G) ..... लिपी लिखापिता ति

- 1 (A) ..... [p]iye [P]iyada[s]i l[ā] ..... t[am] ..... [dh]i [pā] ....  
(C) heva[m] lokasa]  
2 hita-sukhe ti paṭivekhami atha [iya]m ..... [va]m [paty]āsa[m]ne[su] heva[m]  
apaka[t]h[e]su kimaṃ [k]ā[ni] .. .. [v]i[dah]āmi (D) hevammeva [sa]va  
.. [k]āyesu paṭivekhāmi  
3 (E) [sa]va-pāsaiṇdā pi me pujiṭā vividhāya [pū]jaya (F) e chu iya[m] atana  
pachupagamane se me mukhya-mute (G) . . . . . lipi<sup>4</sup> likhāpitā ti

## B. QUEEN'S PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

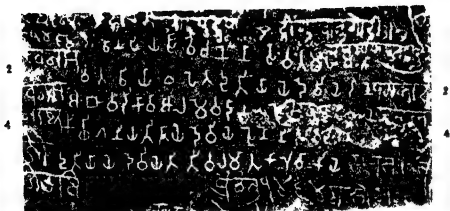
- 1 (A) देवानंपियषा वचनेना सवत महमता  
2 वतविया (B) ए हेता दृतियाये देवीये दाने  
3 अंबावडिका वा आलमे व दानगहे व ए वा पि अने  
4 कीछि गनीयति ताये देविये वे नानि (C) हेवं .. न ..  
5 दुतीयाये देविये ति तीवलमातु कालुवाकिये

<sup>1</sup> jatūke Bühler.<sup>2</sup> dadi Bühler.<sup>3</sup> anathika- Bühler.<sup>4</sup> lipi Bühler.

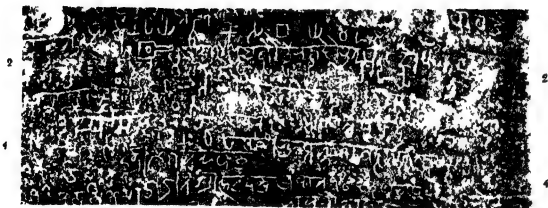


SCALE ONE-FIFTH

QUEEN'S EDICT



KAUSAMBI EDICT



- 1 (A) **Devānāmpiyashā** v[a]chanenā savata mahamatā<sup>1</sup>
- 2 vataviyā (B) e hetā<sup>2</sup> dutiyāye deviye dāne
- 3 ambā-vaḍika vā ālame va dāna-[gah]e [va<sup>3</sup> e vā pi a]mne
- 4 kichhi ganiyati tāye deviye she nāni (C) [he]vañ . . [na] . .<sup>4</sup>
- 5 dutiyāye deviye ti **Tivala**-mātu **Kāluvākiye**

TRANSLATION

(A) At the word of **Devānāmpriya**, the *Mahāmātras* everywhere have to be told (this).

(B) What gifts (have been made) here by the second queen, (viz.) either mango-groves,<sup>5</sup> or gardens, or alms-houses, or whatever else, these<sup>6</sup> (shall) be registered<sup>7</sup> (in the name) of that queen.

(C) This (is) [the request] of the second queen, the mother of **Tivala**,<sup>8</sup> the **Kāluvāki**.<sup>9</sup>

C. KAUSAMBI PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD KOSAM

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये आनपयति (B) कौसंबियं महामात
- 2 ..... समगे कटे (D) संघसि नो लहिये
- 3 ..... संघं भासति भिक्षु वा भिक्षुनि वा से पि वा
- 4 औदात्तानि दुसानि सनंधापयितु अनावाससि आवासयिये

- 1 (A) [Devānāṃ\*]p[i]ye ānapayati (B) **Kosambiyān**<sup>10</sup> mahamā[a]tā<sup>11</sup>
- 2 ..... [sa]mā[ge ka]t[ā] (D) sa[ṅ]gh[a]si no<sup>12</sup> l[ā]hīye<sup>13</sup>
- 3 ..... [saṅ]gham bhā[kh]ati<sup>14</sup> bhikh[u] v[ā]<sup>15</sup> bhikh[u]ni vā se pi cha<sup>17</sup>
- 4 [o\*]dāt[ā]ni<sup>18</sup> duśāni [sa]nāndhāpayitu a[nāvā]sas[i] ā[va]saya[i]e<sup>19</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *mahāmātā* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> *hetā* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> *vā* Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> Restore perhaps *ṭṇatī* (= Skt. *vyñaptī*): see JRAS, 1911, 1117.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. above, p. 134, n. 13.

<sup>6</sup> For the pronoun *nāni* see above, p. 127, n. 10.

<sup>7</sup> With *ganiyati* cf. *gaṇana* or *gaṇanā* in the rock-edict III, E.

<sup>8</sup> Bühler (IA, 19, 124) noted that Tivara occurs (a thousand years after Aśoka) as the name of a king of Kōśala; see Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 293, and EI, 7, 103.

<sup>9</sup> As stated by Bühler (IA, 19, 123), this is probably the name of the queen's family, and it may be connected with the Vedic *gōtra* of the Kārus.

<sup>10</sup> *ōbiya* Bühler and Boyer.

<sup>11</sup> *mahāmāta* Bühler and Boyer.

<sup>12</sup> *na* Bühler and Boyer.

<sup>13</sup> *chi ye* Bühler.

<sup>14</sup> *bhikkhū* Bühler and Boyer.

<sup>15</sup> *vā* Bühler.

<sup>16</sup> *bhikkhūni* Bühler.

<sup>17</sup> [pa]chā Boyer; Bühler and Boyer add *o* at the end of the line.

<sup>18</sup> The syllable *dā* is missing in my material, but is visible on the plate in IA, 19, 125.

<sup>19</sup> *āna[pr]sa* Bühler, *ānāvāsasi* Boyer.

<sup>20</sup> *avā* Boyer.



## TRANSLATION

- (A) [Dēvānāth]priya commands (thus).  
 (B) The *Mahāmātras* at *Kōsambī*<sup>1</sup> . . . . .  
 (C) . . . . . is made united.<sup>2</sup>  
 (D) . . . . . should not be received<sup>3</sup> into the *Saṅgha*.  
 (E) And also that monk or nun [who] shall break up the *Saṅgha*,<sup>4</sup> should be caused to put on white robes<sup>5</sup> and to reside<sup>6</sup> in a non-residence.<sup>7</sup>

## THIRD PART: MINOR PILLAR-INSCRIPTIONS

## I. THE SAMCHI PILLAR

1 . . . . .

2 .. या भेत्त .. (C) .. चे . . . . मगे स्ते

3 भिक्षुनं च भिक्षुनीनं चा ति पुतप-

4 पोतिके चंदमसूरियिके (D) ये संघं

5 भासति भिक्षु वा भिक्षुनि वा ओदाता-

6 नि दुसानि सनंथापयितु अनावा-

7 ससि वासापेतविये (E) इद्धा हि मे किं-

8 ति संघे समगे चिलधित्तिके सिया ति

1 . . . . .

2 . [y]ā<sup>8</sup> bhe[ta] . . (C) . . [gh]e<sup>10</sup> . . . . mage<sup>11</sup> kaṭṭe

3 . [hi\*]khūṇa[rh] cha<sup>12</sup> bhi[khun]jīnaṃ ch[ā]<sup>13</sup> ti [p]uta-pa-

<sup>1</sup> This ancient city (*Kausāmbī* in Sanskrit) corresponds to the modern Kosam; see Fleet's *Gupta Insers.*, p. 2, and EI, II, 141.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the Sarnāth pillar, C.

<sup>3</sup> *lahiye* may be derived from the root *labh*; cf. the gerundive *āvāsaiye* in I. 4 of this inscription, and in I. 5 of the Sarnāth pillar. Boyer (JA (10), 10, 121) connects *lahiye* with the root *rah*.

<sup>4</sup> Venis (JPASB, 3, 3) has identified *bhākhats* with Skt. *bhāṅkshyati*.

<sup>5</sup> Boyer (p. 130) quotes a passage from Buddhaghōṣa's *Samantapāsādikā*, in which Aśoka is stated to have given white robes (*setakāni vatthāni*) to the heretical monks whom he expelled; see *Vinaya-pitaka*, ed. by Oldenberg, vol. III, p. 312, with which Bigandet's *Life or Legend of Gaudama* (4th ed., 2, 139) agrees, and cf. *Dīparvaṇsa*, VII, 53, and *Mahāvāṇsa*, V, 270. The proper colour of the robes of a Buddhist monk is yellow.

<sup>6</sup> *āvāsaiye* is a gerundive formed from the causative *āvāsayaṭi*, and corresponds to Skt. *āvāśya*. Senart (CR, 1907, 28) appears to consider it an optative passive.

<sup>7</sup> i.e. a residence unfit for members of the *Saṅgha*. Venis (JPASB, 3, 3) quoted Buddha ghōṣa's explanation of the term *anāvāsa*; see SBE, 17, 388, n. 1.

<sup>8</sup> [am] Bühler.

<sup>9</sup> bhe[da] Boyer. Restore perhaps *bhetawe*, as on the Sarnāth pillar, I. 3.

<sup>10</sup> The syllable *ghe* is almost certain; restore *saṅgha*.

<sup>11</sup> Restore *samage*, as in I. 8.

<sup>12</sup> [vā] Bühler.

<sup>13</sup> [vā] Bühler, *cha* Boyer.

SAMCHI PILAR INSCRIPTION



SCALE ONE-THIRD

- 4 [po\*]tike chaṃ[da]m[a-sū]rī[yi]ke<sup>1</sup> (D) ye saṃghaṃ  
 5 bh[a]khati<sup>2</sup> bhikhu<sup>3</sup> vā bhikhuni vā odātā-  
 6 ni duś[ān]i sanam[dhāpay]itu anā[vā]-  
 7 sasi vā[sā]petaviy[e] (E) ichhā hi me kiṃ-  
 8 ti saṃghe samage<sup>4</sup> chila-thitike siyā ti

## TRANSLATION

(A) . . . . .

(B) . . . . . [cannot] be divided.<sup>5</sup>

(C) The *Saṃgha* both of monks and of nuns is made united as long as (my) sons and great-grandsons (shall reign, and) as long as the moon and the sun (shall shine).<sup>6</sup>

(D) The monk or nun who shall break up the *Saṃgha*, must be caused to put on white robes and to reside in a non-residence.<sup>7</sup>

(E) For my desire is that the *Saṃgha* may be united<sup>8</sup> (and) of long duration.

## II. THE SARNATH PILLAR

- 1 (A) देवा . . . . .  
 2 ए ल . . . . .  
 3 पाट . . . . . ये केनपि संघे भेतवे (D) ए चं खो  
 4 भिखू वा भिखुनि वा संघं भासति से ओदातानि दुसानि संनधापविवा  
 आनावाससि  
 5 आवासयिगे (E) हेवं इयं सासने भिखुसंघसि च भिखुनिसंघसि च विन-  
 पयितविये  
 6 (F) हेवं देवानपिये आहा (G) हेदिसा च इका लिपी तुफाकंतिकं हुवाति  
 संसलनसि निखिता  
 7 इकं च लिपिं हेदिसमेव उपासकानंतिकं निखिपाष (H) ते पि च उपासका  
 अनुपोसणं यावु  
 8 एतमेव सासनं वित्संसयितवे अनुपोसणं च धुवाये इकिके महामाते पोसयाये

<sup>1</sup> See JRAS, 1911. 167 f.

<sup>2</sup> *bhokhati* Bühler and Boyer.

<sup>3</sup> *bhikkhū* Boyer.

<sup>4</sup> *saṃghasaṃghe* Bühler and Boyer; see JRAS, 1911. 168.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the Sarnāth pillar, C.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *putā-papoti* *chavindama-suliyike hotu ti* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, l. 31. Other instances of the Prakṛit affix -ika are *vadhanike* and *vejayike* in two Pallava inscriptions and in the Kōṇḍamudi plates. See EI, I. 6, text l. 9; 6. 87, text l. 5 f.; 6. 317, text, l. 8 f.

<sup>7</sup> With this section cf. above, p. 160, n. 4, 5, 7.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *samaggo hi samiglo . . . phāsu viharati* in the *Pātimokkha*, JRAS, 1876. 75, § 10; *sukhā saṃghassa samaggi samaggānāni tapo sukho* in the *Dhammapada*, verse 194; *samigho samaggo kuto'na taddhāsi uposatham* in the *Mahāvamsa*, V, 274.

- 9 याति एतमेव सासनं विस्वसयितवे आज्ञानितवे च (I) आवते च तुषाकं  
आहाले
- 10 सवत विवासयाथ तुफे एतेन वियंजनेन (J) हेमेव सवेसु कोटविषवेसु एतेन
- 11 वियंजनेन विवासापयाथा
- 1 (A) Devā<sup>1</sup> . . . . .
- 2 e l . . . . .
- 3 Pāṭa<sup>2</sup> . . . . . ye<sup>3</sup> kenapi saṅghe bhetave (D) e chuṃ kho
- 4 [bhikh]ū [vā bhikh]uni vā saṅgham bh[ākha]ṭ[i]<sup>4</sup> s[c] odātāni dus[ān]i  
[sa]mnamdhāpayiyā ānavāsasi<sup>5</sup>
- 5 āvāsaiye (E) hevaṃ iyaṃ sāsane bhikhu-saṅghasi cha bhikhuni-saṅghasi cha  
vimnapayitaviye
- 6 (F) hevaṃ Devānāmpīye āhā (G) hedisā cha ika lipi tuphākamtikaṃ huvāti  
saṃsalanasi nikhitā
- 7 ikaṃ cha lipiṃ hedisameva upāsakānamtikaṃ nikipātha (H) te pi cha upāsakā  
anuposathaṃ yāvu
- 8 etameva sāsanaṭi visvaṃsayitave anuposathaṃ cha dhuvāye<sup>6</sup> ikike mahāmāte  
posathāye
- 9 yāti etameva sāsanaṃ visvaṃsayitave ājānitave cha (I) āvate cha tupaḥkaṃ  
āhāle
- 10 savata vivāsayaṭha tuphe etena viyamjanena (J) hemeva savaṣu koṭa-viṣhavesu<sup>7</sup>  
etena
- 11 viyamjanena vivāṣapayāthā

## TRANSLATION

(A) Devā[nāmpriya] . . . . .

(B) . . . . . Pāṭa[liputra]<sup>7</sup> . . . . .

(C) . . . . the *Samgha* [cannot] be divided by any one.<sup>8</sup>

(D) But indeed that monk or nun who shall break up the *Samgha*, should be  
caused to put on<sup>9</sup> white robes and to reside<sup>10</sup> in a non-residence.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These are the two first syllables of the title *Devānāmpriya*.

<sup>2</sup> These are probably the two first syllables of the name *Pāṭaliputa*.

<sup>3</sup> Boyer ingeniously restores *na sakiye*.

<sup>4</sup> The correct reading of this word is due to Venis. Vogel and Senart read *bhikkhāṭi*, and Boyer *bhokhāṭi*.

<sup>5</sup> The Sārnāthi and Kausāmbi edicts read *ānavāsasi*.

<sup>6</sup> Venis justly remarked that the second syllable of this word differs from *sa*, and is probably meant for *sha*.

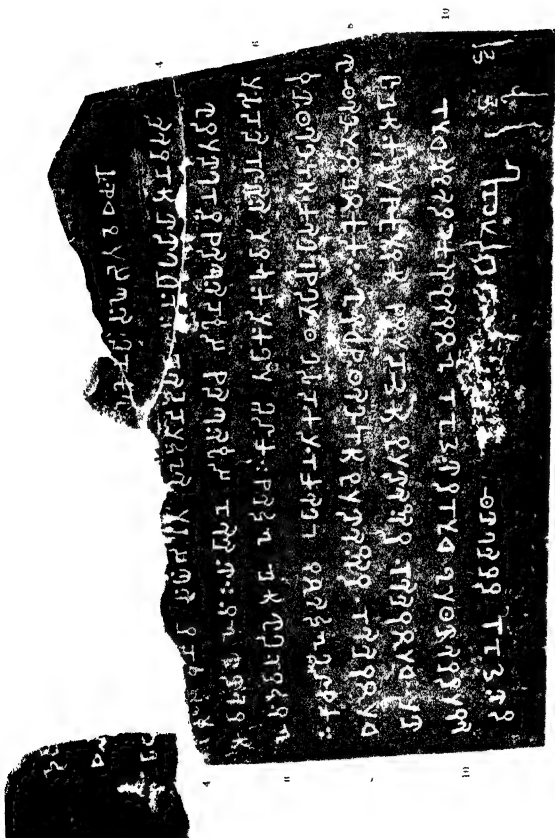
<sup>7</sup> This is the ancient name of the city of Patnā, the capital of Chandragupta and Aśoka. It is mentioned also in the Gīrnār edict V, M. The Sārnāth edict was probably addressed by the king to the *Mahāmātras* at Pātālīputra, as the Kausāmbi edict to the *Mahāmātras* at Kausāmbi.

<sup>8</sup> With *saṅghe bhetave* cf. *saṅghaṃ bhindati*, 'to cause divisions among the priesthood', in Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *bhindati*, *saṅghaṃ bhinditvā* in the *Jātaka*, vol. IV, p. 200. l. 6; *saṃagassa saṅghassa bhūdaya* in the *Pāṭimokkha*, JRS, 1876. 75, § 10; *Buddha-vachanaṃ bhindimsu* in the *Dīpavaṃsa*, VII, 54.

<sup>9</sup> [sa]mnamdhāpayiyā, instead of which the Sārnāthi and Kausāmbi edicts read *sanamdhāpayitū*, corresponds to Skt. *saṃnāhāya*; cf. Senart, CR, 1907. 28.

<sup>10</sup> For *āvāsaiye* see above, p. 160, n. 6.

<sup>11</sup> See above, p. 160, n. 7.



SCALE ONE-THIRD

(E) Thus this edict must be submitted both to the *Samgha* of monks and to the *Samgha* of nuns.

(F) Thus speaks *Dēvānāmpriya*:

(G) Let one copy of this (edict)<sup>1</sup> remain<sup>2</sup> with you<sup>3</sup> deposited<sup>4</sup> in (your) office;<sup>5</sup> and<sup>6</sup> deposit ye another copy of this very (edict) with the lay-worshippers.

(H) These lay-worshippers may come on every fast-day (*posatha*)<sup>7</sup> in order to be inspired with confidence in this very edict;<sup>8</sup> and invariably on every fast-day,<sup>9</sup> every *Mahāmātra* (will) come to the fast-day (service) in order to be inspired with confidence in this very edict and to understand (it).<sup>10</sup>

(I) And as far as your district<sup>11</sup> (extends), dispatch ye (an officer)<sup>12</sup> everywhere according to the letter of this (edict).<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Literally: 'one writing of this description.'

<sup>2</sup> Senart (CR, 1907. 30) explains *huvāti* as a subjunctive.

<sup>3</sup> As remarked by Vogel (EI, 8. 170), *tuphākāntikam* stands for *tuphākam antīkam*, and *upāsakānāntīkam* in l. 7 for *upāsakānam antīkam*. Cf. E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 64, and Geiger's *Pāli*, § 71.

<sup>4</sup> Venis (JPASB, 3. 2) translated *ni-kship* by 'inscribing'. Cf. the *Raghuvansha*, VII, 65, where Mallinatha explains *nikshēpita* by *likhita*, and *nikkhitta-vannam* in the *Śākuntala*, ed. by Cappeller, p. 32, l. 16. But as the word *nikhitā* is placed after *saṃsalanasi*, and *nikhipātha* in the next sentence after *upāsakānāntīkam*, it is more natural to take *ni-kship* in the sense of 'depositing'.

<sup>5</sup> Senart (CR, 1907. 30 ff.) is probably right in considering *saṃsalana* (= Skt. *saṃsarana*) the designation of some locality. Venis (JPASB, 3. 4) translated it by 'place of assembly'.

<sup>6</sup> As remarked by Senart (CR, 1907. 30), the double *cha* in *hedasā cha ikā lpi* and *ikam cha lpi* in *hedasameva* co-ordinates the two sentences. The same is the case in the next section, where the *cha* after *te pi* corresponds to the *cha* after *anuposatham* in l. 8. Cf. also above, p. 47, n. 9.

<sup>7</sup> In the form *posatha*, which occurs also in the *Jātaka* (ZDMG, 48. 63), the initial *u* of Skt. *upavasatha* has been dropped. Cf. *posaha* in Fischel's *Grammatik*, § 141, and the artificial form *poshadha* (Böhtlingk's two dictionaries, s.v.) in the language of the Northern Buddhists.

<sup>8</sup> With *visvaṃsayati* cf. *asvāsā[n]ijyā* in the Jaugada separate edict II, section J.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. above, p. 128, n. 3.

<sup>10</sup> Sections E to H do not add anything new to the king's order, of which two other specimens are preserved at Sārnath and Allahabad, but provide merely for the proper circulation of the edict among all the parties concerned. This the king tries to ensure (1) by communicating his edict to the monks and nuns, whom it chiefly concerns, and (2) by ordering that one copy of it should be retained by the *Mahāmātras* and another by the lay-worshippers, to be studied by both of them respectively at the fast-day services. The two last sections of the inscription contain further provisions for ensuring a still wider circulation to the king's edict. The preceding paragraphs had arranged for its publicity among the citizens of Pāṭaliputra. In sections I and J the king orders the *Mahāmātras* of Pāṭaliputra to make it known in the district surrounding Pāṭaliputra and in the jungle tracts beyond this district.

<sup>11</sup> Kern pointed out that *āhāla* (spelt *ahāla* at Rūpnāth) corresponds to the well-known territorial term *āhāra*, 'a district', see EI, 8. 170. The meaning 'food' is excluded here, because the words *tuphākam āhāle* are contrasted with *śavesu kota-vishavesu* in the next section. For other ancient inscriptions in which the word *āhāra*, 'a district', occurs, see Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* (EI, 10. Appendix), p. 214, s.v.

<sup>12</sup> As Thomas states (JA 10, 15. 517), the usual Pāli equivalent of *vivasati* is *vippavasati*; see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v. The verb *vivāsayaṭi* (*vivaseti* in the Rūpnāth edict, l. 5) is the causative, and *vivāsāpayati* in section J a double causative, of *vivasati*. Venis (JPASB, 3. 2) translated *vivāsayaṭi* by 'making known'; but this meaning is not supported by other instances. Thomas (JRAS, 1915. 112) renders it by 'expelling'. But it would be hazardous to assign to it a different meaning from *vivasati* at Rūpnāth. I supply the missing object of the verb from the first separate rock-edict (Dhaulī, Z-CC; Jaugada, AA-DD), viz. *mahāmātram*.

<sup>13</sup> Literally: 'by this letter'. The word *vyañjana* is used in Buddhist literature in the sense of

(J) In the same way cause (your subordinates) to dispatch (an officer) according to the letter of this (edict) in all the territories (surrounding) forts.<sup>1</sup>

### III. THE RUMMINDEI PILLAR

- 1 (A) देवानपियेन पियदसिन लाजिन वोसतिवसाभिस्सिणेन
- 2 अतन आगाच महीयिते हिद बुधे जाते सक्कमुनी ति
- 3 (B) सिल्ला विगडभी चा कालापित सिल्लाभे च उसपापिते
- 4 हिद भगवं जाते ति (C) लुमिनिगामे उबलिके कटे
- 5 अठभागिये च
- 1 (A) Devāna[pi]yena Piyadasina lājina visati-vasābhissitena
- 2 atana āgācha mahiyite hida Budhe jāte Sakkyamuni ti
- 3 (B) silā vigadabhī chā kālāpita silā-thabhe cha usapāpite
- 4 hida Bhagavañ jāte ti (C) Lummīni-gāme ubalike kaṭe
- 5 aṭṭha-bhāgiye cha

### TRANSLATION

(A) When king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin had been anointed twenty years, he came himself and worshipped (this spot), because the Buddha Śākyamuni was born here.<sup>2</sup>

(B) (He) both caused to be made a stone bearing a horse (?)<sup>3</sup> and caused a stone pillar to be set up, (in order to show) that the Blessed one was born here.<sup>4</sup>

'letter' as opposed to 'sense' (*attha*); see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *vyāñjanam*. In the rock-edict III, E, it is coupled with *hetu*, 'reason'. A number of Pāli sentences in which it occurs, were collected by the late Dr. Neumann (ZDMG, 67. 345 f.), who rendered it by 'specification'. Senart (CR, 1907. 36) translates: 'with the text of my instructions', i.e. he takes the instrumentals *etena viyañjanena* in the sense of the sociative; cf. Speyer's *Sanskrit Syntax* (Leyden, 1886), § 59.

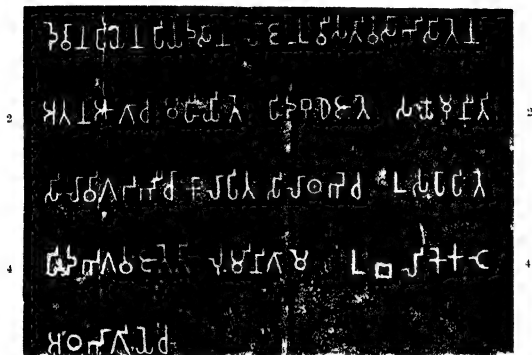
<sup>1</sup> This seems to refer to outlying jungle tracts (perhaps in the Nepalese Tarāi) which were not fully pacified, but were held by means of military posts, such as the 'forests' mentioned in the Shāhbāzgarhi edict XIII, M.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* (JRAS, 1876. 241), the Buddha himself is reported to have said: 'āgamissanti kho Ānanda saddhā bhikkhu-bhikkhunyo upāsaka-upāsikāyo idha Tathāgato jāto ti.' In accordance with this quotation I connect the words from *hida* to *ti* with section A, while Fleet (JRAS, 1908. 486) joined them to B.

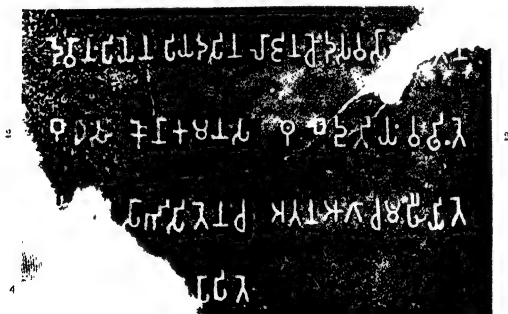
<sup>3</sup> This is Charpentier's explanation of the obscure and much-distussed word *vigadabhī*; see IA, 43. 19 f. The syllable *-bhi* might certainly represent Skt. *-bhrit*; but, that *vigada* means 'a horse', remains to be proved by more substantial evidence. Sir R. Bhandarkar (JBRRAS, 20. 366, n. 14) and Fleet (JRAS, 1908. 477, 823) joined *bhichā* into one word, and explained it by Skt. *\*bhittikā*, 'a wall'. As, according to Pischel's *Grammatik*, §§ 49, 219, *vigada* is an Ardhmagadhi form of Skt. *vikṛita*, *silā-vigada bhichā* might mean 'a (brick) wall decorated with stone'. But, as Charpentier (IA, 43. 17) remarks, the change of *\*bhittikā* to *bhichā* 'is wholly improbable from a linguistic point of view, as consonants were not dropped to such an extent at that early stage of Prākṛit dialects.'

<sup>4</sup> With the words *hida Bhagavañ jāte* cf. *Divyavadāna*, p. 389: 'asmīn mahārāja praditā Bhagavañ jātaḥ.'

RUMMINDEI PILLAR-INSCRIPTION



NIGALI SAGAR PILLAR-INSCRIPTION





Ç (He) made the village of Lushmini<sup>1</sup> free of taxes,<sup>2</sup> and paying (only) an eighth share (of the produce).<sup>3</sup>

## IV. THE NIGALI SAGAR PILLAR

- 1 (A) देवानंपियेन पियदसिन लाजिन चोदसवसाभिसितेन  
 2 बुधस कोनाकमनस पुबे दुतियं वदिते  
 3 (B) ..... साभिसितेन च अतन आगाव महीयिते  
 4 ..... पापिते  
 1 (A) Devānāmpiyena Piyadasina lājina chodasa-vasā[bh]h[ai]t[ā]n[ā]  
 2 Budhasa Konākamanasa thube dutiyaṃ vadhite  
 3 (B) ..... sābhisitena<sup>4</sup> cha atana āgācha mahiyite  
 4 ..... pāpite<sup>5</sup>

## TRANSLATION

(A) When king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin had been anointed fourteen years, he enlarged the *Stūpa* of the Buddha Kōnākamana<sup>6</sup> to the double (of its original size).<sup>7</sup>

(B) And when he had been anointed [twenty] years, he came himself and worshipped (this spot) [and] caused [a stone pillar to be set up].

<sup>1</sup> In the *Nidānakathā* (*Jātaka*, vol. I, pp. 52 and 54), the site of the Buddha's birth is called Lumbini-vana. For other forms of the name see Charpentier in IA, 43. 18. The word Lushmini survives in the modern designation Rummindēi; see V. A. Smith in IA, 34. 1.

<sup>2</sup> For *ubālita* = Skt. \**udbalika* see Barth, *Journal des Savants*, 1897, p. 73, n. 2; Bühler, EI, 5. 5; Fleet, JRAS, 1908. 478 f.; Sir Charles Lyall, id. 850 f.; and Thomas (id. 1909. 466 f.), who quotes the similar term *uchchhulka* from the *Kautiliya*.

<sup>3</sup> The *Dīyavadāna* (p. 390) reports that Aśoka spent at Lumbini-vana 100,000 (gold pieces). In accordance with this legend, Barth (loc. cit.), Bühler (EI, 5. 5), and Neumann (ZDMG, 68. 721 f.) took *aṣṭa* = Skt. *artha* and translated *atha-bhāgiya* by 'partaking of riches'. Fleet (JRAS, 1908. 479 f.) explained *aṣṭa-bhāga* by Skt. *aṣṭa-bhāga*, 'an eighth share', which the king is permitted by Manu (VII, 130) to levy on grains. In the *Kautiliya* (p. 116, l. 2 from bottom) *chaturtha-paṇcha-bhāgika* is actually used with the meaning 'paying a fourth or a fifth share (of the produce)'. I therefore agree with Thomas (JRAS, 1914. 391 f.) in believing that *-bhāgiya* must mean 'paying a share', and not, as Fleet thought, 'entitled to a share'. In the case of the village of Lushmini, bureaucracy prevailed against charity. For the affix *-iya* (= Skt. *-ika*) see above, p. 124, n. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Bühler restored *visati-vasābhisitena*, as on the Rummindēi pillar, l. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Bühler restored *siṭā-thakhe cha usapāpite* on the strength of l. 3 of the same inscription.

<sup>6</sup> This mythical Buddha is called Kōnāgamana by the Southern Buddhists (*Konāgamana* at Bharaut; IA, 21. 229, No. 30), and Kanakamuni or Kōnākamuni by the Northern ones; see Kern's *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 64.

<sup>7</sup> With *dutiyān vadhite* cf. *dīyadhīyān vadhisati* (or *vadhisati*) at Sahasrām, section I, and in the corresponding sections of the other minor rock-edicts. Previous translators rendered *dutiyān* by 'for the second time'.

## FOURTH PART: MINOR ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS

## I. THE RUPNATH ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये हेवं आहा (B) सातिरकेकानि अढतियानि व य सुमि प्रकास  
सके (C) नो चु बाढि पकते (D) सातिलेके चु छवछरे य सुमि हकं  
सष उपेते
  - 2 बाढि च पकते (E) या इमाय कालाय जंबुदिपसि अमिसा देवा हुसु ते  
दानि मिसा कटा (F) पकमसि हि एस फले (G) नो च एसा महत्ता  
पापोतवे खुदकेन
  - 3 पि पकममिनेना सकिये पिपुले पा स्वगे आरोधेवे (H) एतिय अठाय च  
सावने कटे खुदका च उडाला च पकमतु ति अता पि च जानंतु इय  
पकरा व
  - 4 किति चिरठितिके सिया (I) इय हि अठे वढि वढिसिति विपुल च वढिसिति  
अपलधियेना दियडिय वढिसत (J) इय च अठे पवतिसु लेखापेत वालत  
(K) हध च अयि
  - 5 सालाठमे सिलाठंभसि लासापेतवय त (L) एतिना च वयजनेना यावतक  
तुपक अहाले सवर विवसेतवाय ति (M) व्युठेना सावने कटे (N) २००  
५० धं स-
  - 6 त विवासा त
- 1 (A) Devānampiye heva[r̥n] āhā (B) sāti[r̥a]kēkāni<sup>1</sup> aḍhati[y]āni va<sup>2</sup> ya sumi  
prakāsa [Sa]k[e]<sup>3</sup> (C) no chu bāḍhi pakate (D) sātileke chu chhavachhare<sup>4</sup>  
ya sumi haka[r̥n] sagh[a] up[e]te
  - 2 bāḍhi ch[a]<sup>5</sup> pakate (E) yā<sup>6</sup> [i]māya kalāya Jambudipasi amisā devā husu te dāni  
m[i]s[ā] kaṭa (F) pakamasi<sup>7</sup> hi [e]sa phale (G) no cha eśa mahatātā [l̥ā]potave  
khudakena<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> sāti[l̥e]kāni Senart and Bühler; read *sātirekani*.

<sup>2</sup> This seems to be an abbreviation for *vasāni*, which is the reading of the Bairāt, Brahmagiri, and Siddāpura rock-inscriptions.

<sup>3</sup> The first *akshara* of *prakāsa* looks like *pa*; but cf. above, p. 9, l. 10. There is a vacant space after this word. Bühler read *pākā* (which he considered a mistake for *hakā*, i.e. *hakāni*) {*savakhe*. The reading [Sa]k[e] was suggested to me by the new Maski rock-inscription, which reads *Ru[dha]-Sake*.

<sup>4</sup> As the Brahmagiri and Siddāpura versions prove, this is a clerical mistake for *savachhare*; see IA, 37, 23, and JRAS, 1910, 145 f.

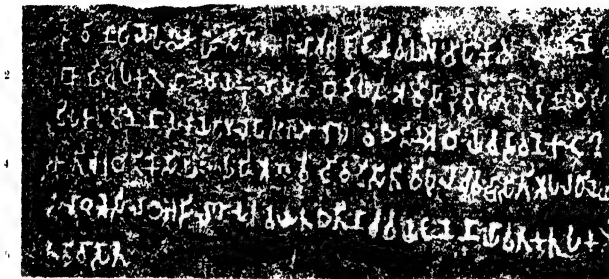
<sup>5</sup> *chu* Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> *y[i]* Bühler.

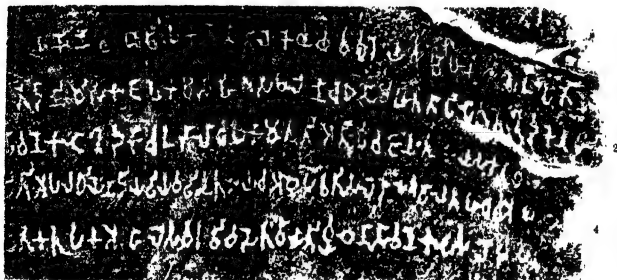
<sup>7</sup> Three other versions of this edict read *pakamasa*.

<sup>8</sup> Senart and Bühler add the two syllables *hi ka*. I believe these are in reality meaningless scratches, beyond the proper area of the inscription.

## LEFT HALF



## RIGHT HALF



- 3 pi pa[ka]mam[i]nenā<sup>1</sup> sakiye pipule<sup>2</sup> pā<sup>3</sup> svage ārodheve<sup>4</sup> (H) etiya āthāya cha  
sāvane kaṭe kh[u]dakā cha uḍālā cha pakamatu<sup>5</sup> ti atā pi cha jānamtu iya<sup>6</sup>  
paka[rā<sup>7</sup> va]
- 4 kiti chira-ṭhitike siyā<sup>8</sup> (I) iya hi aṭhe vaḍhi vaḍhisiti vipula cha vaḍhisiti apaladhiyenā  
diyaḍhiya vaḍhisata<sup>9</sup> (J) iya cha aṭhe pavatis[u] lekḥapeta vālata (K) hadha<sup>10</sup>  
cha athi
- 5 salā-ṭh[abh]e<sup>11</sup> silā-ṭha[rh]bhasi lākḥapetavaya<sup>12</sup> ta<sup>13</sup> (L) etinā cha vayajanenā  
yāvataka tupaka<sup>14</sup> ahāle savara<sup>15</sup> vivasetavā[ya]<sup>16</sup> ti (M) vy[u]ṭhenā sāvane  
kaṭe (N) 200 50 6 sa-
- 6 ta vivāsā ta<sup>17</sup>

## TRANSLATION

(A) *Dēvānāmpriya* speaks thus.

(B) Two and a half years<sup>17</sup> and somewhat more (have passed) since I am  
openly a *Śākya*.<sup>18</sup>

(C) But (I had)<sup>19</sup> not been very zealous.<sup>20</sup>

(D) But a year and somewhat more (has passed) since I have visited<sup>21</sup> the  
*Samīgha*<sup>22</sup> and have been very zealous.

<sup>1</sup> *parumaminena* Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> Read *vipule*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *pi*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> *ārodhave* Bühler; read *ārodhe[ta<sup>2</sup>]ve*.

<sup>5</sup> *pakamamtu* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> *iyam* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>7</sup> Senart proposes to read *pakame*; cf. the Śiddāpura and Sahasrām rock-inscriptions.

<sup>8</sup> Read *vaḍhisiti*.

<sup>9</sup> Bühler and Senart correct *hidha*. Instead of it, the context seems to require *yata* (= Skt. *yatra*), but this change would be so violent that it cannot be seriously entertained.

<sup>10</sup> Read *silā*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler; -*ṭhubhe* Bühler.

<sup>11</sup> Read *likhā*.

<sup>12</sup> Read *ti*.

<sup>13</sup> Read perhaps *tuphākavi*, as on the Sārṇāth pillar, l. 9.

<sup>14</sup> Read *savata*, as on the Sārṇāth pillar, l. 10.

<sup>15</sup> *viya* Senart, *vi[ya]* Bühler; read *vivāsetaviye* and cf. *vivāsayaṭha* at Sārṇāth, l. 10.

<sup>16</sup> Read *ti*.

<sup>17</sup> As was first remarked by Oldenberg (*Vinaya-piṭaka*, Introduction, p. xxxviii, note, and ZDMG, 35. 474, note), *adḍhatya* is the Pāli *adḍhatiya*, 'two and a half'.

<sup>18</sup> Instead of this, the Sahasrām, Bairāt, and Śiddāpura versions read *upāsake*, 'a lay-worshipper', but the Maski version reads *Bu[dha]-Śake*. On the Rumindēt pillar the Buddha himself receives his well-known epithet *Śākyamuni*. Varāhamihira uses the tribal name *Śākya* in the sense of 'a Buddhist'; see Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary, s.v. In the *Kāntiliya* the word *Śākya* has the same meaning; see Shama Sastrī's Translation, p. 251, n. 2. As Professor Jolly kindly informs me the Munich MS. reads *यस्माजीवकादीन्*, which is meant for *यस्माजीवकादीन्*; the *editio princeps* (p. 199, l. 3 f.) has *यस्मा: जीवकादीन्*.

<sup>19</sup> The word *hnsam* is inserted in the Mysore versions.

<sup>20</sup> The Mysore versions add 'for one year'. Thomas (JA (10), 15. 515 f.) and Sylvain Lévi (id. 17. 121 f.) take *pakamati* in the sense of 'travelling about'. But the various readings of the Sahasrām and Bairāt edicts suggest that *pakamati* has to be understood as a synonym of *palekamati*, 'to exert one's self, to be zealous'; see Fleet's remarks in JRAS, 1909. 993, and cf. the rock-edict VI, L and N, and X, C and E. In section G the participle *pa[ka]mam[i]nenā* (Rūpnāth) or *palakamaminenā* (Sahasrām) corresponds to *dhama-yut[ta]*, 'devoted to morality', at Maski, E.

<sup>21</sup> Bühler translated *up[et]* by 'entered'; see IA, 6. 156, and FI, 3. 140. I adopt Senart's very cautious rendering, which is more natural and supported by Buddhist tradition; see IA, 20. 234.

<sup>22</sup> i.e. the Buddhist clergy.

(E) Those gods who during that time had been unmingled (with men)<sup>1</sup> in Jambudvīpa,<sup>2</sup> have now been made (by me) mingled (with them).<sup>3</sup>

(F) For this is the fruit of zeal.

(G) And this cannot be reached by (persons of) high rank<sup>4</sup> (alone), (but) even a lowly (person) is able to attain even the great heaven if he is zealous.<sup>5</sup>

(H) And for the following purpose has (this) proclamation been issued,<sup>6</sup> (that) both the lowly and the exalted may be zealous, and (that) even (my) borderers<sup>7</sup> may know (it), (and) that this same zeal may be of long duration.

(I) For, this matter<sup>8</sup> will (be made by me to) progress,<sup>9</sup> and will (be made to) progress considerably; it will (be made to) progress to at least one and a half.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sylvain Lévi (JA (10), 17, 124 f.) first showed that *misā* represents Skt. *miśrāḥ*; but his translation of *devā* by 'kings' is inadmissible. The word *deva* is not used anywhere else in the Aśoka edicts except in the title *Devānampiya*, where it certainly does not mean 'a king', for which the word *vājā* is regularly employed; see JRAS, 1911, 1114. Senart (JA (11), 7, 438 ff.) still upholds Bühler's view that *misā* stands for Skt. *miśhā*, which is represented by *musā* in Pāli, in Ardhamaḡadhi (Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 78), and in the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription, 1. 6. Granted that this explanation might account for the curious compounds *miśam-deva* and *ammiśani-deva* at Sahasrām,—the nasalized final occurring also in the Ardhamaḡadhi form *musam*,—it would create two serious difficulties: (1) the compound *miśbhūtā* at Maski would offend against the *Vārttika* on Pāṇini, VII, 4, 32, which prohibits the change of the final *ā* of indeclinables to *i* (cf. *Mahābhāṣya* on I, 1, 41), and (2) it forces Senart (loc. cit., p. 441) to render the words *misā devuḥi*, 'mingled with the gods', in the Mysore edicts, by 'ont été réduits à apparaître comme) faussement (*mis au nombre) des dieux*', and to consider the instrumental *devuḥi* an ablative partitive (?).

<sup>2</sup> i.e. in India.

<sup>3</sup> As I have shown in JRAS, 1913, 652 f., this enigmatical sentence can be explained by comparing a similar, but more explicit statement in the fourth rock-edict. It refers to certain religious shows at which Aśoka had exhibited to his subjects *in effigie* the gods whose abodes they would be able to reach by the zealous practice of *Dharma*. The word *devā* corresponds to *divyāni rūpāni* in the Gimār edict IV, B.

<sup>4</sup> As the Brahmagiri version suggests, *mahatātā* corresponds to Skt. *mahātmatvāt*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the parallel passage in the rock-edict X, E.

<sup>6</sup> Fleet (JRAS, 1909 1014) and Thomas (JA (10), 15, 510) were of opinion that the few following words: 'let both the lowly and the exalted be zealous' represent the text of an address delivered by Aśoka himself on a previous occasion, and quoted succinctly by him here. But a glance at the parallel passages collected by Thomas himself on the next page (511) will suffice to show that Senart was right in believing that the following words are rather referred to by *etiya athāya*, and that here, as well as in section M, the word 'proclamation' refers to the whole of the Rūpnāth edict itself.

<sup>7</sup> According to the Kālsī and Shāhbāzgarhi rock-edict XIII, Q, these borderers were Antiochus II of Syria and four other Greek kings (in the west), and the Chōḡas and Pāṇḍyas in the south. Cf. also the rock-edict II, A, and V, J.

<sup>8</sup> i.e. apparently the subject-matter or contents of Aśoka's proclamation, viz. the Buddhist propaganda; see section J.

<sup>9</sup> With *vadhī[mā]* *vadhīsiti* cf. *dharmma-vadhī vadhītā* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, JJ and NN.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. above, p. 165, n. 7.

(J) And cause ye this matter<sup>1</sup> to be engraved on rocks where an occasion presents itself.<sup>2</sup>

(K) And (wherever) there are stone pillars here,<sup>3</sup> it must be caused to be engraved on stone pillars.<sup>4</sup>

(L) And according to the letter of this (proclamation)<sup>5</sup> (you) must dispatch (an officer)<sup>6</sup> everywhere, as far as your district<sup>7</sup> (extends).

(M) (This) proclamation was issued by (me) on tour.<sup>8</sup>

(N) 256 (nights)<sup>9</sup> (had then been) spent on tour.<sup>10</sup>

## II. THE SAHASRAM ROCK-INSRIPTION

- 1 (A) देवानाधिपे हव आ ..... यिनि सबल्लानि । अं उपासके  
सुमि । (C) न चु बाळं पलकंते  
2 (D) सबल्ले साधिके । अं ..... ते (E) एतेन च अंतलेन । जंबुदीपसि ।  
अमिसंदेवा । संत

<sup>1</sup> Instead of the nominative *iya cha aṭṭa* we should have expected the accusative *ima cha aṭṭam*, as at Sahasrām, I. 7. The nominative would be in its proper place if we adopt Senart's conjecture *lekkhāpetaviṭṭi* for *lekkhāpetā vāṭata*; but this change is so extensive that it must be pronounced doubtful.

<sup>2</sup> Literally: 'in consequence of an occasion' (*vārataḥ*); see JRAS, 1911. 1116.

<sup>3</sup> viz. 'in my territory'. Cf. above, p. 2, n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, SS.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 163, n. 13.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 163, n. 12. Fleet (JRAS, 1911. 1106) translated *vivaseti* by 'spending a night in worship'. I have shown that this meaning is rendered improbable by the context of the corresponding passage of the Sārnāth edict; see JRAS, 1912. 1053 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. above, p. 163, n. 11.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the rock-edict VIII. For the two terms *vyutha* and *vivāsa*, which have greatly exercised all earlier interpreters, see now Thomas, JA (10), 15. 512 ff. The instrumental *vy[ut]thenā*, which depends on *sāvane kaṭṭe*, must refer to Aśoka himself, because the preceding text of the proclamation shows the latter to have been the edict of a king to his officers, who are addressed in the second person plural (*tupaka*, I. 5); see JRAS, 1909. 729. I therefore follow Thomas (IA, 37. 22) in supplying *mayā*.

<sup>9</sup> The three figures '256' were explained by Bühler as a date after the *Nirvāna* of the Buddha. Other scholars interpreted them in different ways (see Fleet, JRAS, 1908. 817), until in 1910 (JA (10), 15. 507 ff.) Thomas showed that the Sahasrām version of the Rūpnāth edict combines with them the word *lāti* = Skt. *rātri*, 'a night'. On the (redundant) word *sata*, 'a hundred', see Thomas, *ibid.*, p. 521, and Fleet, JRAS, 1911. 1104, n. 2. Since the publication of Thomas' discovery of the word *lāti* at Sahasrām, the '256 nights' have been discussed by Fleet (JRAS, 1910. 1301 ff., 1911. 1091 ff., and 1913. 655 ff.), Sylvain Lévi (JA (10), 17. 119 ff.), D. R. Bhandarkar (IA, 41. 170 ff.), Neumann (translation of the *Dīgha-nikāya*, 2. 225 f., and *R. Accademia dei Lincei, Rendiconti*, 22. 695 ff.), Thomas himself (JRAS, 1916. 113 ff.), and Senart (JA (11), 7. 434 f.), who takes *lāti* = Skt. *rati*, as at Kāśī, VIII, F.

<sup>10</sup> In JRAS, 1910. 1309, I interpreted the word *vivāsā*, which corresponds to *vivutthā* at Sahasrām, as an ablative singular. But it seems more natural to follow Thomas, who considers it a nominative plural.

- 3 सुमिसा मिसदिव फटा । (F) पल ..... इयं फले (G) नो ..... यं  
महतता व चकिये पावतवे । खुदकेन पि पल-
- 4 कमनीनेना विपुले पि सुखग .. किये झाला ..... वे । (H) से एतावे  
झटावे इयं सावाने । खुदका च उडाला चा प-
- 5 लकमंतु अंता पि च जानंतु । चिलठितीके च पलाकमे होतु । (I) इयं च अठे  
वडिसति । विपुलं पि च वडिसति
- 6 दियादियं अवलधियेना दियादियं वडिसति । (J) इयं च सबने विवुथेन (K) दुवे  
सपंना लाति-
- 7 सता विवुषा ति २०० ५० ६ (L) इम च अठं पवतेसु लिखापयाथा (M) य ..  
वा अ-
- 8 चि हेता सिलाचंभा तत पि लिखापयथ ति

- 1 (A) Devānāmpiye he[vaṃ] [[ā]]<sup>1</sup> ..... [[iyāni savaohhalā]]ni । a]m  
upāsake sumi । (C) na chu bādham [palaka]m[t]e
- 2 (D) sav[a]hhalā<sup>2</sup> sādhi[ke] [[i] am] ..... [[te]] (E) [ete][ina cha amta]]lena ।  
Jambudīpaṣa । amisaṃ[de]vā<sup>3</sup> । sarita<sup>4</sup>
- 3 munisā [m]isaṃ-deva [[kaṭā । (F) pala]] ..... [[iyam phale (G) [n]o]] ....  
[[yam]] mahatata va chakiye pāv[a]t[va]ve । khudakena pi pala-
- 4 kamamīnenā vipule pi s[u]aj ... [k]iye<sup>5</sup> [[ā][lā]] ..... [[ve]] [y] (H) se etāye  
ath[ā]iye iyaṃ sāvāne<sup>6</sup> । khudakā cha udālā chā pa-
- 5 (I) lakamāntu amta pi ch[a] jānamtu । chila-ṭhiṭ[ike]<sup>7</sup> cha p[a]j[ā]kame<sup>8</sup> hotu । (I)  
iya[m] cha [at]he vadhisati । vipulaṃ pi cha vadhisati
- 6 diya[dhiyaṃ aval[a]dhiyenā diya[dhiyaṃ vadhisati । (J) iyaṃ [[cha savane]]  
[v]ivuthena (K) duve sapamānā lāti-
- 7 satā vivuthā ti 200 50 6 (L) ima cha aṭham pavatesu [[i]k[hā]]palyāthā (M)  
ya . .<sup>9</sup> [vā] a-
- 8 th[ī] hetā silā-tham[bh]ā tata pi<sup>10</sup> [likhāpayatha t]

<sup>1</sup> The letters enclosed in double brackets are now broken away, but are still visible on an old photograph of the rock which I owe to the kindness of Sir John Marshall.

<sup>2</sup> The top of *va* is damaged by a slanting cross-line, and there happens to be a faint vertical stroke behind it which gave rise to the imaginary syllable *vin* in Cunningham's copy. A later idea of Bühler's (IA, 22. 299), the group *qva*, is equally non-existent; as stated by Fleet (JRAS, 1910. 147), it is already impossible because the *q* would then have to stand on the level of the line, but not above it, and the *va* would have to be entered below, but not on the level of the line. These tedious details have to be noted here because the fanciful reading *savavachhale*, combined with the actual blunder *chhavachhare* at Rūpnāth, is the starting-point of a (now exploded) theory which has obscured the chronology of Aśoka's inscriptions for a long time.

<sup>3</sup> Read *amisaṃ*.

<sup>4</sup> *sam[tā]* Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> Restore *suage chakiye*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *sāvane*.

<sup>7</sup> *ṭhiṭik*. Bühler.

<sup>8</sup> *palakame* Senart and Bühler.

<sup>9</sup> Restore *yata*.

<sup>10</sup> The syllable *pi* was entered above the line.

## TRANSLATION

- (A) *Dēvānāthpriya* [speaks] thus.  
 (B) . . . . . years since I am a lay-worshipper (*upāsaka*).  
 (C) But (I had) not been very zealous.  
 (D) A year and somewhat more (has passed) since . . . . .  
 (E) And men in *Jambudvīpa*, being during that time unmingled with the gods, have (now) been made (by me) mingled with the gods.  
 (F) [For] this is the fruit [of zeal].  
 (G) . . . . . cannot<sup>1</sup> be reached by (persons of) high rank alone, (but) even a lowly (person) is able to attain even the great heaven if he is zealous.  
 (H) Now, for the following purpose (has) this proclamation (been issued), (that) both the lowly and the exalted may be zealous, and (that) even (my) borderers may know (it), and (that this) zeal may be of long duration.  
 (I) And this matter will (be made by me to) progress, and will (be made to) progress even considerably; it will (be made to) progress to one and a half, to at least one and a half.  
 (J) And this proclamation (was issued by me) on tour.  
 (K) Two hundred and fifty-six nights (had then been) spent on tour,<sup>2</sup>—(in figures) 256.<sup>3</sup>  
 (L) And cause ye this matter to be engraved on rocks.  
 (M) And where there are stone pillars here (in my dominions), there also cause (it) to be engraved.

## III. THE BAIRAT ROCK-INSRIPTION

- 1 (A) देवानांप्रिये आहा (B) सति . . . . .  
 2 वसति य हकं उपासके (C) नो चु बाढं . . . . .  
 3 अं ममया सपे उपयाते बाढ च . . . . .  
 4 जंबुद्विपसि अमिसा न देवेहि . . . . . मि . . . . . कमस एस . . . ले  
 5 (G) नो हि एसे महत्तनेव चकिये . . . . . कममिनेना  
 6 विपुले पि चगे चक्ये आलापेतवे (H) . . . . . का च उडाला चा  
 पलकमतु ति

<sup>1</sup> For *chak*, a variant of the root *śak*, see above, p. 97, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas (JA (10), 15. 520, note) compares the word *vivuthā* (corresponding to *vivāsa* at Rūpnāth) with *vyushtam*, a division of time which is mentioned in the *Kaustilya*, p. 60, l. 3 from bottom. His suggestion that the latter may have the sense of *νυχθημερον*, 'a night and a day', is perhaps correct. At any rate, in Aśoka's time both *vivutha* and *vivāsa* apparently meant 'a civil day spent in travelling, an absence of twenty-four hours from headquarters'.

<sup>3</sup> The actual purport of this important passage was cleared up by Thomas (JA (10), 15. 520), who discovered in it the word *lasi*, 'a night', which had escaped the attention of his predecessors for thirty-three years. He pointed out, at the same time, that *panna* is a recognized Prākṛit form of *pañchāśat*, and that expressions like *dve śatpañchāśate rātri-śat* are used in archaic Sanskrit as well. Cf. *ekam rātriṃ vipavasati*, 'to spend a night away from home', in Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*, p. 581.



- 7 अन्ता पि च जानंतु ति चिलठित ..... लं पि वदिसति .....  
 8 दिग्दियं वदिसति .....  
 1 (A) Devānāmpīye āh[ā] (B) s[ā]ti .....  
 2 vasān[i] ya hakaṁ<sup>1</sup> upāsake (C) [no chu] bādhaṁ .....  
 3 aṁ mamayā saghe<sup>2</sup> [u]payāte [bā]dha cha .....  
 4 Jambūdpasi<sup>3</sup> amisā<sup>4</sup> na devehi ..... [m]i ..... [ka]masa esa .. [e]  
 5 (G) [no] hi e[s]e ma[ha]taneva chakiye ..... kamaminēā  
 6 vipule pi śvage [cha]kye [ā]lādhetā[v]e (H) ..... kā cha [u]d[ā]lā cha<sup>5</sup>  
     [pala]kamatu [i]i  
 7 [aṁ]tā pi cha jānamtu ti [ch]lā-thit ..... laṁ pi vaḍhisati .....  
 8 diyaḍhiyaṁ vadhi[sā]ti .....

#### IV. THE CALCUTTA-BAIRAT ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) प्रियदसि लाजा मागधे संधं अभिवादेतूनं आहा अपावाधतं च फासु-  
 विहालतं चा  
 2 (B) विदिते वे भन्ते आवतके हमा बुधसि धंससि संधसी ति गालवे चं प्रसादे च  
 (C) ए केचि भन्ते  
 3 भगवता बुधेन भासिते सर्वे से सुभासिते वा (D) ए चु खो भन्ते हमियाये दिसैया  
 हेवं संधमे  
 4 चिलठितकी होसती ति अलहामि हकं तं वातवे (E) इमान् भन्ते धंस-  
 पलियायानि विनयसमुक्से  
 5 अलियवसाणि अनागतभयानि मुनिगाथा मोनेयसूते उपतिसपसिते ए चा  
 लाघुलो-  
 6 वादे मुसावादं अधिगिच्य भगवता बुधेन भासिते एतानि भन्ते धंसपलियायानि  
 इच्छामि  
 7 किंति बहुके भिखुपाये चा भिखुनिये चा अभिखिनं मुनेयु चा उपधालयेयू चा  
 8 (F) हेवंमेवा उपासका चा उपासिका चा (G) एतेनि भन्ते इमं लिखापयामि  
 अभिप्रेतं मे जानंतु ति

- 1 (A) Pr[i]yadas[i]<sup>1</sup> l[ā]jā Māgadho<sup>2</sup> saṁghaṁ abhivade[tū]nam<sup>3</sup> āhā ap[ā]bādhatam  
 cha phāsu-vihālatam chā  
 2 (B) vidiṭe v[e] bhamte āvatake h[a]mā Budhasi dhammasi saṁghasi ti gālave<sup>4</sup>  
 chaṁ prasāde<sup>5</sup> cha (C) e kechi<sup>6</sup> bhamte

<sup>1</sup> haka Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> sa[su]ghe Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> °dipasi Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> The syllable *mi* was entered above the line.

<sup>5</sup> cha Bühler.

<sup>6</sup> Piya<sup>6</sup> Senart.

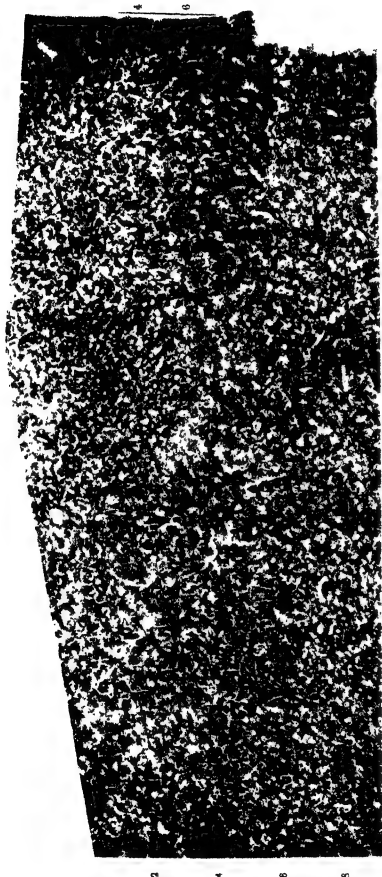
<sup>7</sup> Māgadham Senart; but the *e* of *dhe* is quite distinct, and what has been taken for an Anusvāra is in reality a horizontal dash.

<sup>8</sup> abhivādanam Senart; but see JKRAS, 1909. 727.

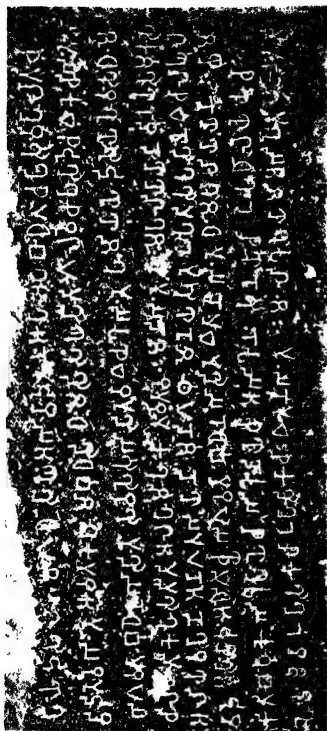
<sup>9</sup> galavi Senart.

<sup>10</sup> prasāde Senart.

<sup>11</sup> keichhi Senart.



SCALE ONE-NINTH



SCALE ONE-FOURTH

- 3 bhagavatā Budhe[na] bhāsite sarve<sup>1</sup> se subhāsīte vā (D) e chu kho bhaṁte  
hamiyāye diseyā hevaṁ sadhamme  
4 chi[ā-thi]tke hosatī ti alahāmi hakam ta[m] v[ā]tave<sup>2</sup> (E) imāni bhaṁt[te dha]ṁma-  
paliyāyāni Vinaya-samukase  
5 Aliya-vasāni<sup>3</sup> Anāgata-bhayāni Muni-gāthā Moneya-sūte Upatisa-pasine e chā  
Lāghulo-  
6 vāde musā-vādam adhigichya<sup>4</sup> bhagavatā Budhena bhāsite etāni<sup>5</sup> bhaṁte  
dhamma-paliyāyāni icchāmi  
7 kinti bahuke bhikhu-[p]āye chā bhikhuniye<sup>6</sup> ch[ā] abhikhinam sun[e]lyu<sup>7</sup> chā  
upadhāl[a]jeyū<sup>8</sup> chā  
8 (F) hevaṁmevā upāsakā chā upāsikā chā (G) eteni<sup>9</sup> bhaṁte imam likhā[pa]lyāmi  
abhipretam<sup>10</sup> me jānamtū<sup>11</sup> ti

## TRANSLATION

(A) The **Māgadha king Priyadarśin**,<sup>12</sup> having saluted the *Saṅgha*,<sup>13</sup> hopes they are both well and comfortable.<sup>14</sup>

(B) It is known to you, Sirs, how great is my reverence and faith in the **Buddha**, the *Dharma*,<sup>15</sup> (and) the *Saṅgha*.<sup>16</sup>

(C) Whatsoever, Sirs, has been spoken by the blessed **Buddha**, all that is quite well spoken.

(D) But, Sirs, what would indeed appear to me<sup>17</sup> (to be referred to by the words of the scripture): 'thus the true *Dharma* will be of long duration',<sup>18</sup> that I feel bound to declare.

(E) The following expositions of the *Dharma*, Sirs, (viz.) (1) the *Vinaya-samukasa*, (2) the *Aliya-vasas*,<sup>19</sup> (3) the *Anāgata-bhaya*s, (4) the *Muni-gāthās*, (5) the *Moneya-sūta*,

<sup>1</sup> *sarve* Senart.

<sup>2</sup> *vātave* Senart.

<sup>3</sup> *-vasāni* Senart.

<sup>4</sup> This word is quite distinct, and the reading *adhigichya* proposed by Michelson (IF, 27, 194 f) is impossible.

<sup>5</sup> *etāna* Senart.

<sup>6</sup> *bhikhuniye* Senart.

<sup>7</sup> *sunayū* Senart.

<sup>8</sup> *upadhāleyeyū* Senart.

<sup>9</sup> Read *etena*.

<sup>10</sup> *abhipretam* Senart; but the horizontal stroke attached to *pa* is probably intended for *r*. Cf. *aparakarāṇamhi* in the Gīrān edict XII, l. 3.

<sup>11</sup> *ma jānamta* Senart.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. e.g. *rājā Māgadho Seniya Bimbisāro* in the *Vinaya-pitaka* (passim); *rājā Māgadhu Ajātasattu* at the beginning of the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* (JRAS, 1875, 49); and *rājā Pasenajit Kosala* in a Bharaut inscription (IA, 21, 232, No. 58).

<sup>13</sup> i.e. the Buddhist clergy.

<sup>14</sup> Literally: 'pronounces both (their) being in good health and (their) being (in the enjoyment) of pleasant life'. Cf. at the beginning of the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*: '*appābādham appātāṇkam lahuṭṭhānam balam phūsu-vhāram pucchha*', and see Neumann's translations of the *Majjhima-nikāya* (2, 617, note) and *Digha-nikāya* (2, 216, n. 3).

<sup>15</sup> i.e. the Buddhist doctrine.

<sup>16</sup> These are the so-called 'three jewels'; see Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v. *rajanam*.

<sup>17</sup> Kern (IA, 5, 257) explained *diseyā* as the optative of the Pāli *dissati* = Skt. *drīyatī*; cf. JRAS, 1904, 728.

<sup>18</sup> As suggested by the late Professor Hardy (JRAS, 1901, 314), these words seem to contain a quotation from the Buddhist scriptures.

<sup>19</sup> *vasa* is a defective spelling for *vanisa*; see IA, 41, 39.

(6) the *Upatisa-pasina*, and (7) the *Laghulovāda* which was spoken by the blessed Buddha concerning falsehood,<sup>1</sup>—I desire, Sirs, that many groups of monks and (many) nuns may repeatedly listen to these expositions of the *Dharma*, and may reflect (on them).

(F) In the same way both laymen and laywomen (should act).

(G) For the following (purpose), Sirs, am I causing this to be written, (viz.) in order that they may know my intention.

## V. THE MASKI ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) देवानंपियस असोकस ..... अदति-
- 2 .. नि वचानि । अं सुमि बुधश्चे (C) ..... तिरे .....
- 3 .. मि संघं उपगते उठ ..... मि उपगते (D) पुरे जंबु-
- 4 .... सि ये अमिसा देवा हुसु ते दानि मिसिभूता (E) इय अठे खुद-
- 5 केन पि धम्मयुतेन सके अपिगतये (F) न हेवं दक्षितविये उडा-
- 6 लके च इम अपिगळेया ति (G) खुदके च उडालके च वत-
- 7 विवा हेवं वे कल्लंत भदके से अ ..... तिके च बढि-
- 8 सिति वा दियदियं हेवं ति
- 1 (A) Dev[ā]na[m]piyasa Asok[a]sa .....<sup>2</sup> [a]dh[a]t[i]-
- 2 .. ni<sup>3</sup> vachā[ni] । aṃ sum[i] Bu[dha]-Śake<sup>4</sup> (C) ..... [t]ire .....
- 3 .. [m]i<sup>5</sup> [s]aṃgha[m] u[pa]gate u[ṭh] ..... m[i] u[pa]gate<sup>7</sup> (D) pure Jambū-
- 4 .... a[ṭ]i<sup>8</sup> ye amisā devā husu te [dā]n[i] misibhūta (E) iya a[ṭ]he khu[ḍa]-

<sup>1</sup> For identifications of these texts see Oldenberg, *Vinaya-piṭaka*, Introduction, p. xi, n. 1; Sylvain Lévi, JA (9), 7. 475 ff.; Neumann, VOJ, 11. 159 f.; Rhys Davids, JRAS, 1898. 639 f.; Oldenberg, ZDMG, 52. 634 ff.; Bloch, id., 63. 325 ff. As the late lamented Mr. V. A. Smith kindly informed me, No. 1, *Vinaya-samukasa*, is identified by A. J. Edmunds (*Buddhist Bibliography*, San Francisco, 1904) with Buddha's First Sermon. According to Dharmananda Kosambi (IA, 41. 40), Nos. 2 and 3 occur in the *Āṅguttara-nikāya*, Nos. 4-6 in the *Sutta-nipāta*, and No. 7 in the *Majjhima-nikāya*.

<sup>2</sup> Senart fills up this break by *vachanena adhiṭṭhāni*. As the instrumental *vachanena* would require a verb, for which there is no room on the stone, I suggest reading *sāvane* (or *sāsane*) (B) *adhiṭṭhāni*.

<sup>3</sup> Restore *adhatiyāni*.

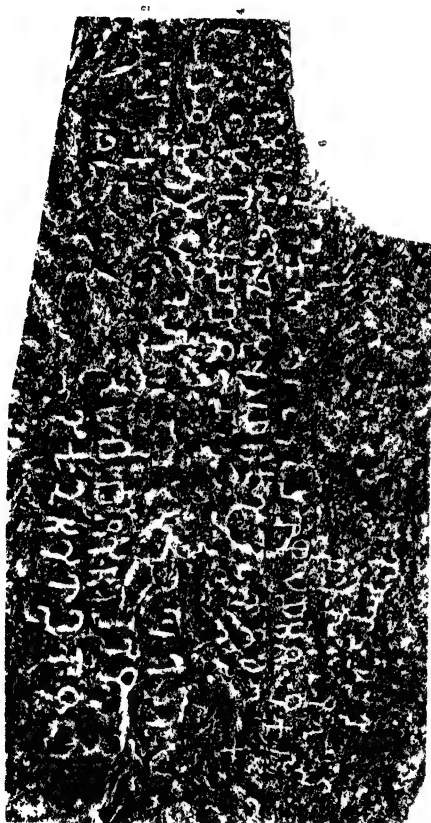
<sup>4</sup> *vasāmi* [ya]nī am Krishna Sastri.

<sup>5</sup> *bumi* [pā]śake K.S. The point after *bu* does resemble an Anusvāra, but it stands on a higher level than the other Anusvāras of this inscription. Besides, an Anusvāra would make no sense here. Krishna Sastri remarks that 'the letter *pā* appears to have been corrected from some other', and Senart (JA (11), 7. 428) suggests that the writer may have wavered between *upāsake* and *Budhupāsake*. I agree with him in believing that the writer originally wanted to write *upāsake*, which is the reading of Sahasrām, Bairāt, and Siddhāpura. On second thoughts he changed *upā* to *Budha* and added *Śake*, which corresponds to [Sa]k[ṣ]e at Rūpnāth. The abnormal shape of the *dha* cī *Budha* is due to its having been corrected from *pā*.

<sup>6</sup> Restore *sāṭireke am sumi* and, before these three words, perhaps *samvachhāre*.

<sup>7</sup> Restore perhaps *upāṇāni cha sumi upagate*, which would convey the same meaning as the corresponding passage at Brahmagiri: *bādhanā cha me pakāṭhe*. Krishna Sastri and Senart restore *bādhanā cha sumi upagate*.

<sup>8</sup> Restore *Jambudīpasi*. Of the four next words faint traces are visible.



SCALE ONE-EIGHTH

- 5 ke[na pi]<sup>1</sup> dhama-yute[na] sake adhigatave (F) na hevañ dakhitaviye [uḍā]-  
 6 lake va ima adhigachh[e]yā ti (G) [khudak]e [cha uḍ]ālake cha vata-  
 7 viyā hevañ ve kalamāñ bha[dak]e [se a]<sup>2</sup> . . . . . [i]k[e]<sup>3</sup> cha va[dhi]-  
 8 siti chā diya[dhi]yañ he[vañ] ti<sup>4</sup>

## TRANSLATION

(A) [A proclamation] of *Dēvānāmpriya Aśoka*.

(B) Two and a half years [and somewhat more] (have passed) since I am a *Buddha-Sākya*.<sup>5</sup>

(C) [A year and] somewhat more (has passed) [since] I have visited the *Saṃgha* and have shown zeal.

(D) Those gods who formerly had been unmingled (with men) in *Jambudvīpa*, have now become mingled (with them).

(E) This object can be reached even by a lowly (person) who is devoted to morality.<sup>6</sup>

(F) One must not think thus,—(viz.) that only an exalted (person) may reach this.

(G) Both the lowly and the exalted must be told: 'If you act thus,' this matter (will be) prosperous and of long duration, and will thus progress to one and a half<sup>7</sup>.

## VI. THE BRAHMAGIRI ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) सुवर्णगिरीते अथपुत्तस महामाताय च वचनेन इसिलसि महामाता आरेगिं  
 वतविया हेवं च वतविया (B) देवाणंपिये अणययति  
 2 (C) अधिकाणि अढातियानि वसानि य हवं . . . . सके (D) नो तु खो वाढं  
 प्रकंते हुसं एकं सवद्धरे (E) सातिरेके तु खो संवद्धरे  
 3 यं मया संघे उपयीते वाढं च मे पकंते (F) इमिना चु कालेन अमिसा समाना  
 मुनिसा जंबुदीपसि  
 4 मिसा देवेहि (G) पकमस हि इयं फले (H) नो हीयं सखे महापणेन पापोत्तवे  
 कामं तु खो खुदकेन पि  
 5 पकमि . . खेष विपुले स्वगे सखे आराधेतवे (I) एतायदाय इवं साखे  
 सावापिते  
 6 . . . . . महात्मा च इमं पकमेयु ति क्कंता च मे जानेयु चिरद्वितीके  
 च इयं

<sup>1</sup> [k]i K. S.

<sup>2</sup> Restore perhaps *se aṭṭe chira-thitike*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, p. 167, n. 18.

<sup>4</sup> [the ti] K. S.

<sup>5</sup> *diyaḍhiya k[e]sati* K. S.

<sup>6</sup> Instead of this, the other versions of the short edicts read 'if he is zealous'. This correspondence is valuable, because it confirms indirectly the meanings which I have assigned to *pra-kram* or *para-kram* and to *dharma-yukta*; cf. above, p. 167, n. 20, and p. 124, n. 6.

<sup>7</sup> For the nominative singular absolute *kalamāñ* see above, p. 35, n. 9. Its subject, *av* (= Skt. *va*), is originally an oblique case of the plural.

- 7 पक् ..... (J) इयं च अदे वडिसिति विपुलं पि च वडिसिति अवरधिया  
दियडियं  
8 वडिसिति (K) इयं च सावणे सावापिते व्यूषेन (L) २०० ५० ई (M) से हेवं  
देवाणंपिये  
9 आह (N) मातापितिसु सुसूतितविये हेमेव गस्सु प्राणेषु दृष्टितथं सचं  
वतवियं से इमे धम्मगुणा पवतितविया (O) हेमेव अन्तेवासिना  
10 आचरिये अपचायितविये जातिकेसु च कं य . . रहं पवतितविये  
11 (P) एसा पोराणा पकिती दीघावसे च एस (Q) हेवं एस कटिविये  
12 (R) चपडेन लिखिते लिपिकरेण

- 1 (A) [S]uv[a]m̐pagirite<sup>1</sup> ayaputasa mahāmātāṇaṃ cha vachan[e]ṇa Isilasi  
mahāmātā ārogiyaṃ vataviyā hevaṃ cha vataviyā (B) Devāṇampīye  
āṇapayati  
2 (C) adhikāni adhātīyani v[a]sāni ya hakaṃ . . . sa[ke]<sup>2</sup> (D) no tu kho  
bādhaṃ prakamte<sup>3</sup> husaṃ ekaṃ savachcharaṃ (E) sātīreke tu kho  
sahvachchareṃ<sup>4</sup>  
3 yaṃ mayā saṅghe upayīte bādhaṃ cha me pakamte (F) iminā chu kālena amisā  
samānā munisā Jambudīpasi  
4 mi[s]ā devehi (G) pakamasa hi iyaṃ phale (H) no hiyaṃ sakyē mahātpeneva  
pāpotave kāmaṃ tu kho khudakena pi  
5 paka[m]i . . . ṇeṇa<sup>5</sup> vipule svage sakyē ārādhetaṃ (I) e[t]āyathāya iyaṃ sāvaṇe  
sāvāpīte  
6 . . . . .<sup>6</sup> mahā[p]ā cha imaṃ pakame[ya t]i amā cha mai<sup>7</sup> jāneyu chira-  
tthitike cha iyaṃ  
7 [paka] . . . . .<sup>8</sup> (J) iyaṃ cha aṭṭhe vadhisiti vipulaṃ pi cha vadhisiti avaradhiyā  
diyadhiyaṃ  
8 [vad]h[isiti] (K) iyaṃ cha sāvaṇ[e] sāv[ā]p[i]te vyūṭhena (L) 200 50 6 (M) se hevaṃ  
Devāṇampīye  
9 āha (N) mātā-pitisu susū[ti]taviye hemeva garu[su]<sup>9</sup> prāṇesu drahayitavyaṃ  
sachaṃ  
10 vataviyaṃ se ime dhamma-guṇā pavatitaviyā (O) hemeva amtevāsina  
11 āchariye apachāyitaviye nātikesu cha [ka]ṃ<sup>10</sup> ya . . rahaṃ<sup>11</sup> pavatitaviye

<sup>1</sup> This word looks almost like *Suvem̐ṇa*<sup>9</sup>, but the Śiddhāpura version reads *Suvam̐ṇa*<sup>9</sup> distinctly.

<sup>2</sup> Restore *upāsake*, as at Śiddhāpura.

<sup>3</sup> *pakamte* Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> Read *sahvachchare*; *sa[m]vachhar[a]ṃ* Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> *paka[mami]ṇeṇa* Bühler; read *pakamamiṇeṇa* and cf. the Sahasrām edict, L 3 f.

<sup>6</sup> The Śiddhāpura version reads *yathā khu[dakā cha]*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *me*.

<sup>8</sup> The Śiddhāpura version reads *pakame hoti* (*hotu* at Sahasrām).

<sup>9</sup> *garu[vaṃ]* Bühler.

<sup>10</sup> *k[ṣu]* Bühler; see above, p. 31, n. 6.

<sup>11</sup> Restore *yathārahaṃ* and cf. the Śiddhāpura version, L 20, and the Jaṅginga-Rāmdevāra version, L 18.



- 12 (P) esā porā[n]ā pa[k]iti d[igh]āvuse<sup>1</sup> cha esa (Q) hevaṃ esa kaṭiiviye<sup>2</sup>  
 13 (R) Chapaḍena likhite<sup>3</sup> li[pi]karena<sup>4</sup>

TRANSLATION

(A) From Suvarṇagiri,<sup>5</sup> at the word of the prince (Aryaputra)<sup>6</sup> and of the Mahāmātras, the Mahāmātras at Isila must be wished good health<sup>7</sup> and be told this:

(B) Dēvānāmpriya commands (as follows).

(C) More than two and a half years (have passed) since I (am)<sup>8</sup> a lay-worshipper (*upāsaka*).

(D) But indeed I had not been very zealous for one year.<sup>9</sup>

(E) But indeed a year and somewhat more (has passed) since I have visited the Saṃgha and have been very zealous.

(F) But men in Jambudvīpa, being during that time unmingled, (are now) mingled with the gods.<sup>10</sup>

(G) For this is the fruit of zeal.

(H) For this cannot be reached by (a person) of high rank alone, but indeed even a lowly (person) can at liberty attain the great heaven if he is zealous.

(I) For the following purpose has this proclamation been issued,<sup>11</sup> [that both the lowly] and those of high rank may be zealous in this manner,<sup>12</sup> and (that even) my borderers may know (it), and (that) this zeal may be of long duration.

(J) And this matter will (be made by me to) progress, and will (be made to) progress even considerably; it will (be made to) progress to at least one and a half.

(K) And this proclamation was issued by (me) on tour.

<sup>1</sup> d[igh]āvuse Buhler.

<sup>2</sup> Read kaṭaviye.

<sup>3</sup> li[kh]it[am] Bühler.

<sup>4</sup> This word is written in Kharoṣṭhi characters.

<sup>5</sup> This place seems to have been the capital of the province administered by the Aryaputra and his Mahāmātras. Bühler (EI, 3 137) compared the second separate edict at Dhauli, according to which a Kumāra and his Mahāmātras resided at Tōsali. The separate edicts of Dhauli and Jaugaḍa were addressed by the king to the local authorities themselves, while in the Mysore edicts the king commands the authorities of the Suvarṇagiri province to communicate his orders to their subordinates at Isila. In Fleet's opinion the Mysore edicts were issued from Suvarṇagiri by Aśoka himself; and he identified this place with one of the hills, still known as Sōnagiri, near Rājagriha in Bihār; see JRAS, 1909. 99<sup>8</sup>. H. Krishna Sastri connects Suvarṇagiri, i.e. 'the gold mountain', with the country around Maski, which abounds in ancient gold-workings; see his remarks on the Maski edict, p. 1. Perhaps it may be identified with its synonym Kanakagiri, south of Maski and north of the ruins of Vijayanagara; see Constable's *Hand-Atlas of India*, plate 34, C, b.

<sup>6</sup> Bühler (VOJ, 12. 75 f.) traced the word *aryaputra*, 'a prince', in the *Jātaka*, vol. VI, p. 146 f.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the preamble of the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription.

<sup>8</sup> The word *sumi* is added in the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Maski edicts.

<sup>9</sup> The words 'for one year' are missing at Rūpnāth and Sahasrām. As Senart (JA (8), 19. 481 f.) has shown, they are of great importance for the chronology of the Aśoka inscriptions, because they imply that the period of 'more than two and a half years', for which, at the time of the Sahasrām, Bairāt, and Siddāpura edicts, Aśoka had been an *upāsaka* (or Sākyā, as the Rūpnāth and Maski edicts read), must be subdivided into two shorter periods, viz. (1) one year (with, no doubt, a little more) during which he had not been very zealous, and (2) a year with the balance of the whole period, during which he displayed great zeal, and which commenced from his visit to the Saṃgha. Cf. chapter IV of the Introduction.

<sup>10</sup> For the meaning of this section see above, p. 168, n. 3.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, K and M, and above, p. 168, n. 6.

<sup>12</sup> With *imam* supply *pakamanā*; cf. *vaḍhi*[m\*] *vaḍhi* in the Rūpnāth edict, section I, and above, p. 168, n. 9.

(L) 256 (nights had then been spent on tour).<sup>1</sup>

(M) Moreover, *Dēvānāmpriya* speaks thus.<sup>2</sup>

(N) Obedience must be rendered to mother and father, likewise to elders; firmness (of compassion) must be shown towards animals; the truth must be spoken: these same moral virtues must be practised.

(O) In the same way the pupil must show reverence to the master, and one must behave in a suitable manner towards relatives.

(P) This is an ancient rule, and this conduces to long life.

(Q) Thus one must act.<sup>3</sup>

(R) Written by *Chapāda* the writer.

## VII. THE SIDDAPURA ROCK-INSRIPTION

- 1 (A) सुवर्णगिरि ते अयपुतस महामाता-
- 2 यं च वचनेन इसिलसि महामाता
- 3 आरोगियं वतविया (B) देवानंपिये हेवं
- 4 आह (C) अधिकाणि अढातियानि वसानि
- 5 य ह्वं उपासके (D) नो तु खो बाढ पक्कंते हुसं एकं सबद्ध ..
- 6 (E) सातिरेके तु खो संबद्धरे यं मया संघे उपयीते बाढं
- 7 च मे पक्कंते (F) इमिना चु कालेन अमिसा समाना मु
- 8 ..... जंबुद ..... मिसा देवेहि (G) पक्कमस हि इयं फले H) नो हि इ-
- 9 य सके म ..... नेव पापोतवे कामं तु खो खुदकेन
- 10 पि प ..... न विपुले स्वगे सके आरोपेतवे
- 11 (I) से ..... य इयं सावणे साविते यथा खु-
- 12 द्वा च महात्पा च इमं पक्कमेयु ति अता च
- 13 ..... चिरठितीके च इयं पक्कमे होति
- 14 (J) ..... वडिसिति विपुलं पि च वडिसिति अ
- 15 ..... यडियं वडिसिति (K) इयं च सावणे
- 16 ..... (L) २०० ५० ६ (M) मा ..... सितविये
- 17 ..... क्षित्तयं शचं वत .. यं इमे धम्मगु
- 18 ..... (N) हेमेव अं ..... आचरिये अपचायितविये सु
- 19 ..... (O) एसा पोराणा .. किती दीपावसे च (P) हेमेव ..
- २० तेविसिने च
- 20 आचरिये ..... पारहं पवतितव ..... म ..
- 21 ..... स तथा कटविये (B) चप .....
- 22 ..... ए

<sup>1</sup> Cf. section J of the Sahasram edict.

<sup>2</sup> This section is omitted in the Siddapura and Jātīnga-Rāmēśvara versions.

<sup>3</sup> At the beginning of the section, the Jātīnga-Rāmēśvara version inserts, 'This is the morality of *Dēvānāmpriya*'.

- 1 (A) *Suvamṇagiri*te ayaputasa mahāmātā-  
 2 ṇaṁ cha vachanena I[s]lasi mahāmātā  
 3 ārogiyaṁ vata[v][yā] (B) [Dev]ā[na]mṇiye hevaṁ  
 4 āha (C) adhikāni a[dhā]t[i]y[āni] vasāni  
 5 ya ha[karṇ u]pāsake (D) no tu kho bādha pakamite husaṁ ek[aṁ] sa[vachha] . .<sup>1</sup>  
 6 (E) [sātire]ke tu kho saṁvachhare [yaṁ mayā saṁ]ghe upayite bādhaṁ  
 7 [cha me] p[akam]te (F) i[m]inā chu kālena [a]misā samā[nā] mu  
 8 . . . . Jarḥbu[d] . . . . [mi]sā devehi (G) pakamasa hi iyaṁ phale (H) no [h]i i-<sup>2</sup>  
 9 ya sake [ma] . . . . [ne]va pāpo[ta]ve kāmāṁ tu kho khudakena  
 10 pi [pa] . . . . . na [v]iṇu[e] svage sak[e] ārādhetaṇe  
 11 (I) [s]e . . . . . ya [iya]ṁ sāvaṇe sāvite yathā khu-  
 12 [dakā cha mā]hātpā cha imāṁ [pa]kameyu ti atā<sup>3</sup> cha  
 13 . . . . . [chira]-thi[t]ik[e]<sup>4</sup> cha iyaṁ pakame hoti<sup>5</sup>  
 14 (J) . . . . . va[dh]isiti vipu[la]ṁ p[i] cha vadhisiti [a]  
 15 . . . . . [yadhiya]ṁ vadhisiti (K) i[ya]ṁ [cha] sā[va]ṇe  
 16 . . . . . (L) [200] 50 8 (M) [mā] . . . . . [si]taviye  
 17 . . . . . [hyi]tavyaṁ śa[cha]ṁ va[ta] . . [ya]ṁ im[e] dhamma-gu  
 18 . . . . . (N) [heme]va [a]ṁ . . . . . [ācha]riye apachāyitaviye su  
 19 . . . . . (O) [es]ā [p]o[r]ā[ṇa] . . [ki]ti di[ghā]vu[se] cha (P) heme[va]  
 . . . m[t]evisine<sup>6</sup> cha  
 20 āchariy[e] . . . . . thārahaṁ pavatitav . . . . . m . . .  
 21 . . . . . sa<sup>7</sup> [ta]thā kaṭaviye (B) Chapa . . . . .  
 22 . . . . . [ṇa]<sup>8</sup>

## VIII. THE JATINGA-RAMESVARA ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) . . . . . तान च व . . . . .  
 2 इसि . . . . . विया (B) देवान . . . . .  
 3 . . . . . य हकं . . . . .  
 4 सो बाद . . . . . (E) . . . तिरेके . . . . .  
 5 यं . . . या . . . . .  
 6 य . . . . .  
 7 हि इयं . . . . .  
 8 . . . . .  
 9 . . . . .  
 10 . . . . . च . . . . . दिस . . .  
 11 . . . पुलं पि . . . . . यदियं . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> *saṁva* . . . Bühler.<sup>4</sup> *-thitike* Bühler.<sup>7</sup> *[de]vāsine* Bühler. Read *amtevasine*.<sup>6</sup> This syllable is in the Khariṣṭhi alphabet.<sup>2</sup> Bühler omitted *i*.<sup>5</sup> *ho[u]* Bühler.<sup>8</sup> *śa* Bühler.<sup>3</sup> *anitā* Bühler.

- 12 (K) इ . . . . . सावणे . . . . . येन (L) २०० ५० ६ (M) हेमेव  
 13 मातापितुसु . . . . . सितविये हेमेव . . . . . न - १-सु  
 14 . . . . . क्षित्थं सच्चं वतवियं से इमे . . . . .  
 15 हेवं पवत्तितविया (N) स्वच्चं न ते सतवस . . . . .  
 16 तविय हेमेव आचरिये अन्तेवासिना . . . . .  
 17 . . . . . राणा पक्किती . . . . . सितविया . . . . . विये  
 18 . . . . . चरिये अ . . . . . आचरियश्चात्तिका ते . . . . . यथारहं पव-  
 19 तितविये (O) एसा पोराणा पक्किती दीया . . . . . च (P) हेमेव श . . . . . १ . . .  
 20 च य . . . . . वत्तितविये (Q) हेवं धंमे देवाणंमिय . . .  
 21 . . . . . वं कटविये (R) . . . . . डेन लिखितं  
 22 . . . . . पिकरेण

- 1 (A) . . . . . [t]āna [cha va] . . . . .  
 2 Isi . . . . . [vi]yā (B) Dev[ā]n[a] . . . . .  
 3 . . . . . ya hakaṁ . . . . .  
 4 kho bādha . . . . . (E) . . . . . ti[reke] . . . . .  
 5 [ya]m . . . . . [yā] . . . . .  
 6 [ṇa] . . . . .  
 7 [h]i i[yam] . . . . .  
 8 . . . . .  
 9 . . . . .  
 10 . . . . . [cha] . . . . . [dhi]s . . . . .  
 11 . . . . . [p]ulāṁ pi . . . . . [ya]dhiyaṁ . . . . .  
 12 (K) i . . . . . s[āvaṇe] . . . . . [th]e[na] (L) 200 50 6 (M) {heme}ya  
 13 [mā]t[ā]-pitusu . . . . . [s]itav[i]y[e] he[m]e[va] . . . . . [na] . . . . . e[su]  
 14 . . . . . hy[ita]v[yam] sachaṁ vataviyaṁ [se]¹ i[me] . . . . .  
 15 hevaṁ pa[va]titaviyā (N) [svaa]m na te s . . . . . t . . . . . va[s] . . . . .  
 16 taviya² hemeva āchari[ya] amteva[sin]ā . . . . .  
 17 . . . . . [r]āṇa paki[tū] . . . . . sita[v]iy[ā] . . . . . [v]i[y]e³  
 18 . . . . . chari[ya] a⁴ . . . . . [ā]char[i]yaśa nātika te . . . . . ya[thāraha]m [pava]-  
 19 titaviye (O) eśā [po]rā[ṇa] pa[kiti]⁵ d[igh]ā . . . . . cha (P) [he]me[va] śa . . . . . e . . . . . ā .  
 20 [cha] ya . . . . . vat[i]tav[i]ye (Q) hevaṁ [dha]m[m]e⁶ Devāṇāṁpiy . . . . .  
 21 . . . . . [va]m kaṭaviye (R) . . . . . d[ona] [likhita]m  
 22 . . . . . [pika]reṇa⁷

¹ e Bühler.

² I am unable to make out the meaning of the opening words of this section.

³ . . . [v]e Bühler.

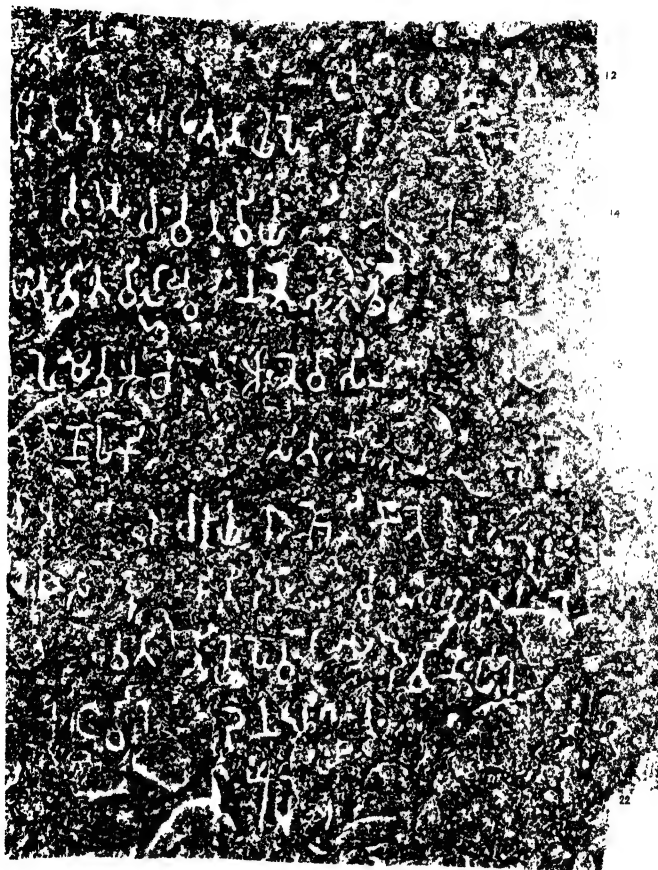
⁴ am Bühler.

⁵ [pak]iti Bühler.

⁶ Devaṇā [m]e Bühler.

⁷ °p[ī]y[e] Bühler. Restore °piyasa.

⁸ This word is written in Kharoṣṭhī characters.



SCALE ONE-EIGHTH

## IX. THE BARABAR HILL CAVE-INSRIPTIONS

## FIRST CAVE-INSRIPTION: BARABAR HILL

- 1 लाजिना पियदसिना दुवाडसवसाभिसितेना
- 2 इयं निगोहकुभा दिना आजीबिकेहि

1 *lājina Piyaḍasinaṁ duvāḍasa-[vasābhisaṭena]*<sup>1</sup>

2 [*iyam Nigoha*]-*kubhā*<sup>1</sup> *dī[nā ājivikehī]*<sup>1</sup>

## TRANSLATION

By king Priyadarśin, (when he had been) anointed twelve years, this Banyan-cave<sup>2</sup> was given to the Ājivikas.<sup>3</sup>

## SECOND CAVE-INSRIPTION: BARABAR HILL

- 1 लाजिना पियदसिना दुवा-
- 2 डसवसाभिसितेना इयं
- 3 कुभा खलतिकपवतसि
- 4 दिना आजीबिकेहि

1 *lājina Piyaḍasinaṁ duvā-*

2 *ḍasa-vasābhisaṭenaṁ iyam*

3 *kubhā Khalatika-pavatasī*

4 *dinaṁ [ājivi]kehi*<sup>4</sup>

## TRANSLATION

By king Priyadarśin, (when he had been) anointed twelve years, this cave in the *Khalatika* mountain was given to the Ājivikas.

<sup>1</sup> The bracketed letters are more or less injured. Evidently an attempt has been made to efface them.

<sup>2</sup> This seems to have been the name of the cave. Cf. the other names of caves at the beginning of the three cave-inscriptions of Daśaratha (IA, 20. 364 f.).

<sup>3</sup> The Ājivika sect was founded by Gōśāla, a contemporary of both Gautama and Mahāvira. Kern, with whom Bühler sided, considered the Ājivikas to have been a Vaishṇava sect; see IA, 20. 361 f. This view was combated by D. R. Bhandarkar, JBBRAS, 21. 399 ff., and IA, 41. 90, 286 ff. Cf. Neumann's translation of the *Dīgha-nikāya*, 2. 248, n. 139, and Charpentier in JRAS, 1913. 669 ff. For full information see the late Dr. Hoernle's learned article 'Ājivikas' in Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*.

<sup>4</sup> The bracketed letters are effaced; cf. above, n. 1. In the first of the three Nāgarjūni Hill cave-inscriptions of Daśaratha also an attempt has been made to chisel away the word *ājivikehi*; see the plate in IA, 20. 365, D.

## THIRD CAVE-INSCRIPTION: BARABAR HILL

- 1 लाजः पियदसो एकुनवी-
- 2 सतिवसाभिस्ति जलघो-
- 3 सागमपात मे इयं कुभा
- 4 सुपिमे ख ..... दि-
- 5 ना

- 1 lāja Piyadasi ekunavi-
- 2 sati-vasā[bh]iśi[t]e ja[lagh]o-
- 3 [sāgama]thāta [me] i[yam] kubhā
- 4 su[p]i[y]c Kha .....<sup>1</sup> [di]-
- 5 nā<sup>2</sup>

## TRANSLATION

When king Priyadarśin had been anointed nineteen years, this cave in the very pleasant Kha[latika mountain] was given by me<sup>3</sup> for (shelter during) the rainy season.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Restore *K'halatika-pavatasī* in accordance with the second inscription on p. 181, above.

<sup>2</sup> The end of the inscription is marked by a *svastika* and a dagger, and by a fish below them.

<sup>3</sup> This pronoun may refer to an unnamed donor or, with a clumsy change in the construction, to the king himself. In either case the words *lāja* to *site* are nominatives absolute.

<sup>4</sup> Literally: 'for the sake (*athāta* = Skt. *arthataḥ* in the sense of *arthāya* ?) of the approach of the roar of waters'. Cf. *vāsha-nishidiyāye*, 'for a dwelling during the rainy season', in the three cave-inscriptions of Daśaratha (IA, 20. 364 f., and EI, 2. 274).

# APPENDIX: SYNOPTICAL TEXTS

## I. THE FOURTEEN ROCK-EDICTS

### FIRST ROCK-EDICT

|              |               |                 |                 |           |                          |                  |
|--------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------|--------------------------|------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | (A) iy[am̐]   | dhamma-lipī     |                 |           |                          | Devānampriyena   |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | (A) iyaṁ      | dhamma-lipi     |                 |           |                          | Devānampiyenā    |
| <i>Shāk.</i> | (A) [aya]     | dhrama-dipi     |                 |           |                          | Devanapriasa     |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | (A) ayi       | dhra[ma]-dip[i] |                 |           |                          | Devanam[priye]na |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (A) . . . . . |                 | [si             | pava]tasi | [D]e[v]ā[na]mp[iy] . . . |                  |
| <i>Jau.</i>  | (A) iyaṁ      | dhamma-lipī     | Khepi[m̐]galasi | pavatasi  |                          | Devānampiyena    |

|              |                |        |             |            |    |         |        |             |
|--------------|----------------|--------|-------------|------------|----|---------|--------|-------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | Priyadasinā    | rāñā   | lekh[ā]pitā | (B) [i]dha | na | kirnchi | jivaṁ  | ārabhitpā   |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | Piyadas[i]nā   |        | [lekhit]a   | (B) [h]ida | no | kichhi  | jive   | ālabhitu    |
| <i>Shāk.</i> |                | rañō   | likhapitu   | (B) hida   | no | kich[i] | jive   | ara[bhitsu] |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | Priya[draśi]na | rajina | li[kh]apita | (B) hi[da] | no | kichhi  | ji[ve] | ara[bhitsu] |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | . . . . . [nā  | lājina | li[khā]     | . . . . .  |    |         | [i]vaṁ | ālabhitu    |
| <i>Jau.</i>  | Piyadasinā     | lājina | likhāpitā   | (B) hida   | no | kichhi  | jivam  | ālabhi[t]u  |

|              |                     |        |     |        |           |             |              |            |
|--------------|---------------------|--------|-----|--------|-----------|-------------|--------------|------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | prajūhitavyaṁ       | (C) na | cha | samājo | katavyo   | (D) bahukaṁ | hi           | dosam      |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | pajohitaviye        | (C) no | pi  | ch[ā]  | samāje    | kaṭaviye    | (D) bahuk[ā] | hi dosā    |
| <i>Shāk.</i> | [p]rayuhotave       | (C) no | pi  | ch[a]  | sama[ja]  | kaṭava      | (D) ba[hu]ka | [hi] dosha |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | pra[johi]taviye     | (C) no | pi  | [cha]  | sama[je]  | kaṭaviye    | (D) bahu[kā] | hi [dosha] |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | pajoh[hi] . . . . . | (C) no | pi  | cha    | sam[jā]je | . . . . .   |              |            |
| <i>Jau.</i>  | pajohitaviye        | (C) no | pi  | cha    | samāje    | kaṭaviye    | (D) bahukarṁ | hi dosam   |

|              |                  |           |                |            |       |             |             |
|--------------|------------------|-----------|----------------|------------|-------|-------------|-------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | samājamhi        | pasati    | Devānampriyo   | Priyadasi  | rājā  |             | (E) asti    |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | samājasā         |           | Devān[am̐]piye | Pi[ya]dasī | lājā  | dakhati     | (E) athi    |
| <i>Shāk.</i> | sa[maya]spi      |           | Devanapriy[e]  | Priadraśi  | ray[a | da]khati    | (E) [a]stī  |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | [samajasa        |           | Devanampriye]  | Priyadraśi | raja  | [da]kha[tī] | (E) asti    |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [samā]ja . . [d] | . . . . . |                |            |       |             | (E) . . . . |
| <i>Jau.</i>  | samājasa         | drakhati  | Devānampiye    | Piyadasi   | lājā  |             | (E) athi    |

|              |     |       |                 |            |              |                |
|--------------|-----|-------|-----------------|------------|--------------|----------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | pi  | tu    | ekachā          | samājā     | sādhū-matā   | Devānampriyasa |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | pi  | ch[ā] | ekatiyā         | samājā     | sādh[u]-matā | Devānampiyasā  |
| <i>Shāk.</i> | pi  | chu   | ekatia          | samaye     | sasu-mate    | Devanapiasa    |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | [pi | chu   | eka]tiya        | samaja     | sa[dhu]-mata | Devanapriyasa  |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [pi | chu]  | . . . . [t][y]ā | [sam]ā[jā] | s[ā]dhu-matā | Dev . . . . .  |
| <i>Jau.</i>  | pi  | chu   | ekatiyā         | samājā     | sādhū-matā   | Devānampiyasa  |



|              |                |           |               |                 |                   |
|--------------|----------------|-----------|---------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | Priyadasino    | rāño      | (F) purā      | mahānas[amhi]   | Devānāmpriyasa    |
| <i>Kal.</i>  | Piyadasis[ā]   | lājine    | (F) [p]ule    | mahānasasi      | Devānāmpiyasā     |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | Priadraśisa    | raño      | (F) pura      | mahana[sas]i    | [Devana]pr[i]asa  |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | Priyadraśi[sā] | rajine    | (F) pura      | maha[nasa]si    | [Devana]pri[ya]sa |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [Piyadasine    | lā]j[ine] | (F) . . . . . | [mah] . . . . . |                   |
| <i>Yau.</i>  | Piyadrasine    | lājine    | (F) puluvañ   | mahā[nasa]si    | Devānāmpiyasa     |

|              |                |          |            |          |                          |
|--------------|----------------|----------|------------|----------|--------------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | Priy[a]dasino  | rāño     | anudivasam | bahūni   | prāṇa-sata-sahasrāni     |
| <i>Kal.</i>  | Piyadasisā     | lājin[c] | anudivasam | bahuni   | pāta-sahasāni            |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | Priadraśisa    | raño     | anudivaso  | bahuni   | pra[ṇa]-śata-sahasani    |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | Pri[yadra]śisa | rajine   | anudiva[sa | ba]huni  | praṇa-śa[ta]-sahas[r]ani |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | Piy[a]         |          |            | [n]i     | [p]āna-[sa]ta . . . . .  |
| <i>Yau.</i>  | Piyadasine     | lājine   | anudivasam | bah[ū]ni | pāna-sata-sah[a]sāni     |

|              |                |              |          |           |        |       |                 |
|--------------|----------------|--------------|----------|-----------|--------|-------|-----------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | ārabhisu       | sūpāthāya    | (G) se   | aja       | yadā   | ayam  | dha[m]ma-lip[i] |
| <i>Kal.</i>  | alambhiyisu    | supathāy[e]  | (G) se   | i[d]ān    | ya[dā] | iyam  | dhamma-lipi     |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | [arabhi]yis[u] | supathāy[e]  | (G) s[o] | i[dani    | yada   | aya   | dhrama-dipi     |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | [arabhi]su     | supa[thra]ye | (G) s[e] | . . . . . | ..[da] | ayi   | dhrama-dipi     |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [ā]labhiyisu   | sūpāthāy[e]  | (G) se   | a[ja]     | adā    | [iyam | dha]m[r]a-lipi  |
| <i>Yau.</i>  | ālabhiyisu     | sūpa[th]āye  | (G) se   | aja       | adā    | iyam  | dhamma-lipi     |

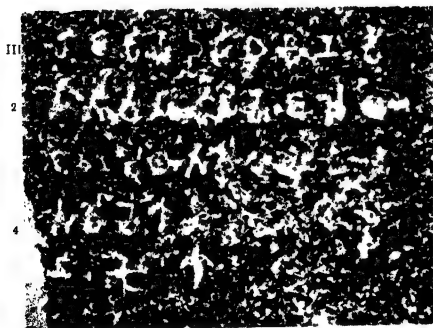
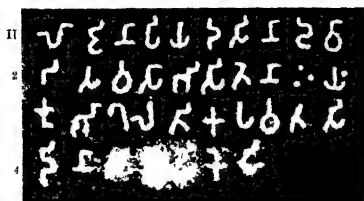
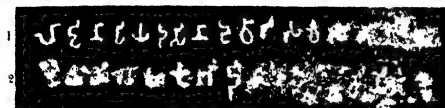
|              |           |        |           |           |                |                 |            |
|--------------|-----------|--------|-----------|-----------|----------------|-----------------|------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | likhitā   | ti     | eva       | prāṇā     | ārabhare       | sūpāthāya       | dvo        |
| <i>Kal.</i>  | lekhitā   | tadā   | tiṃni     | yevā      | pānāni         | alabhi[yam]ti   | duve       |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | likhita   | tada   | trayo     | vo        | praṇa          | hamānti         | majura     |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | likhi[ta] | ta[da] | ti[ni]    | y[eva]    | pra[ṇa]ni      | [ara]bh[iyam]ti | du[v]e [2] |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | likhitā   | tim    | . . . . . | . . . . . | [āla]bh[iy]    | . . . . .       | . . . . .  |
| <i>Yau.</i>  | likhitā   | tiṃni  | yeva      | pānāni    | āla[m]bhiyamti |                 | duve       |

|              |          |         |           |      |      |       |         |    |           |
|--------------|----------|---------|-----------|------|------|-------|---------|----|-----------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | morā     | eko     | mago      | so   | pi   |       | mago    | na | dhruvo    |
| <i>Kal.</i>  | majūl[ā] | eke     | mige      | se   | pi   | [chū] | mige    | no | dhruve    |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | duv[i] 2 | mrugo   | 1         | so   | pi   |       | mrugo   | no | dhruva[n] |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | majura   | [e]k[e] | m[r]ig[e] | s[e] | μ[i] | chu]  | mrig[e] | no | dhruvam   |
| <i>Dhau.</i> |          |         |           |      |      |       |         |    |           |
| <i>Yau.</i>  | majulā   | eke     | mige      | se   | pi   | chu   | mige    | no | dhuva[m]  |

|              |     |         |    |       |         |          |        |                   |
|--------------|-----|---------|----|-------|---------|----------|--------|-------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | (H) | ete     | pi | tri   | prāṇā   | pachhā   | na     | ārabhisare        |
| <i>Kal.</i>  | (H) | e[t]ani | pi | ch[u] | tini    | pānā[n]i | no     | alābhi[y]isa[m]ti |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (H) | eta     | pi |       | praṇa   | trayo    | pacha  | na                |
| <i>Man.</i>  | (H) | [e]tani | pi | chu   | [tini]  | praṇani  | pacha  | no                |
| <i>Dhau.</i> |     |         |    |       | [t]iṃni | pānāni   | pachhā | n[o]              |
| <i>Yau.</i>  | (H) | etāni   | pi | chu   | tiṃni   | pānāni   | pachhā | no                |

## SECOND ROCK-EDICT

|              |                |              |                    |              |              |
|--------------|----------------|--------------|--------------------|--------------|--------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | (A) sarvata    | vijitamhi    | Devānāmpriyasa     | Piyadasino   | rāño         |
| <i>Kal.</i>  | (A) sav[a]tā   | vijitasi     | Devānāmpiyas[ā]    | Piyadasis[ā] | lājine       |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (A) sav[r]atra | vijite       | [De]va[nam]priyasa | Priyadraśisa |              |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | (A) sa[vatra]  | vi[jitasi    | Devanapriyasa      | Priyadraśisa | rajine       |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (A) [sa]vata   | [v]i[ji]tasi | [D]e[v]ānāmpiyasa  | Piyadas[ine] | l] . . . . . |
| <i>Yau.</i>  | (A) savata     | vijitasi     | Devānāmpiyasa      | Piyadasine   | lājine       |



|              |           |             |        |           |           |                   |
|--------------|-----------|-------------|--------|-----------|-----------|-------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | evamapi   | prachamtesu | yathā  | Choḍā     | Paḍā      | Satiyaputo        |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | ye cha    | am̐tā       | [a]thā | Choḍā     | Paṁ[ḍi]yā | Sātiyaputo        |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | y[e] cha  | [a]ṁta      | yatha  | [Choḍā]   | Paṁḍiya   | Satiyaputro       |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | ye cha    | ata         | atha   | [Choḍā]   | Pa[ṁḍi]ya | Sa[t̪i]ya[p̪u]tra |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | . . . . . | . . . . .   | [athā] | . . . . . | . . . . . | . . . . .         |
| <i>Ṭau.</i>  | e vā pi   | am̐tā       | athā   | Choḍā     | Paṁḍiya   | Satiyapu[t̪e]     |

|              |              |               |               |        |             |                |
|--------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|--------|-------------|----------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | Ketalaputo   | ā Tambapam̐ni | Am̐tiyako     |        | Yona-rājā   | ye vā pi       |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | Ke[lala]puto | Tamba[pa]ṁni  | Am̐tiyoge     | [n]āma | Yona-lājā   | ye chā am̐ne   |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | Keraḍaputro  | Tambapam̐ni   | Am̐tiyo[k̪o]  | nama   | Yona-rajā   | ye cha am̐ne   |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | Keralaputra  | [Taṁ]bapaṁi   | [A]tiyoge     | nama   | Yona-[raja] | ye cha [a] . . |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | . . . . .    | . . . . .     | . . [t̪i]yoke | nāma   | Yo[na]-lājā | [e] vā [p̪i]   |
| <i>Ṭau.</i>  | . . . . .    | . . . . .     | Am̐tiyoke     | nāma   | Yona-lājā   | [e] vā pi      |

|              |        |                  |            |          |            |                      |
|--------------|--------|------------------|------------|----------|------------|----------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | tasa   | Am̐tiy[a]kas[a]  | sāmip[am̐] | rājāno   | sarvatra   | Devānam̐priyasa      |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | taśā   | A[ṁti]yogasā     | sā[ma]m̐tā | lā[j]āno | [sa]vatā   | Devānam̐piyasā       |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | tasa   | Am̐tiyokasa      | samaṁta    | rajano   | savratra   | Devanam̐priyasa      |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | . . sa | . . . . . [gasā] | samata     | ra[jane] | sa[vratra] | . . . . . priyasa    |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [ta]sa | Am̐tiyo[k̪a]sa   | sāmaṁtā    | lājāne   | savat[̪a]  | D̪evā[nam̐p̪i]ye[na] |
| <i>Ṭau.</i>  | tasa   | Am̐tiyokasa      | sāmaṁtā    | lājāne   | savata     | Devānam̐piyena       |

|              |              |           |           |           |             |                  |     |
|--------------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|------------------|-----|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | Priyadasino  | rāño      | dve       | chikichha | katā        | manusa-chikichhā | cha |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | Piyadasisā   | lājine    | duve      | chikisakā | kaṭā        | manusa-chikisā   | chā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | Priyadraśisa | raño      | du[vi] 2  | chik[i]sa | [i:r̪i][ṭa] | manuśa-chikisa   | . . |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | Priyadraśisa | rajine    | [duve 2]  | chikisa   | [ka]ṭa      | manuśa-chik[isa] | cha |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | P[i]yadasinā | . . . . . | . . . . . | . . . . . | . . . . .   | [s]ā             | cha |
| <i>Ṭau.</i>  | Piyadasinā   | lāji      | . . . . . | . . . . . | . . . . .   | [ch]ikisā        | cha |

|              |                     |       |                    |     |       |                   |     |
|--------------|---------------------|-------|--------------------|-----|-------|-------------------|-----|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | pasu-chikichhā      | cha   | (B) osuḍhāni       | cha | yāni  | m[a]ṁusopagān[i]  | cha |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | pasu-chikisā        | chā   | (B) osadh̐n[i]     |     |       | manusopagāni      | chā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | pa[śu-ch]ikisa      | [cha] | (B) [o]sha[d̪ha]ni |     |       | manuśopakani      | cha |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | paśu-[chi]kisa      | cha   | (B) osha[d̪ha]ni   |     |       | manu . . . ka[ni] | cha |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | p[asu-ch̪i][k̪is̪ā] | cha   | (B) . . . dhāni    |     | ān[i] | m̪u[nisopa]gāni   |     |
| <i>Ṭau.</i>  | pasu-chikisā        | cha   | (B) osadhāni       |     | āni   | munisopagāni      |     |

|              |                   |     |          |       |           |           |              |     |
|--------------|-------------------|-----|----------|-------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | pasopagāni        | cha | yata     | yata  | nāsti     | sarvatrā  | hārāpitāni   | cha |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | pasopagāni        | chā | a[ta]tā  |       | n[a]th[i] | sa[vatā]  | [h̪]ālāpitā  | chā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | paśopakani        | cha | yat[r̪a] | yatra | nasti     | savatra   | harapita     | cha |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | pa . . . . [kani] | cha | atra     | atra  | nasti     | savrat̪ra | [ha]rapit̪a  | cha |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | pasu-opagān[i]    | cha | atata    |       | na[thi]   | savata    | hā[āl]āpit̪ā | cha |
| <i>Ṭau.</i>  | pasu-opagāni      | cha | atata    |       | nathi     | savata    | . . . . .    |     |

|              |               |           |           |           |           |           |           |       |               |
|--------------|---------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------|---------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | ropāpitāni    | cha       | (C)       |           | mūlāni    | cha       | phalāni   | cha   | yata yatra    |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | lo[p̪]āpit̪ā  | chā       | (C)       | [e]vamevā | mūlāni    | chā       | phalāni   | chā   | a[ta]t̪ā      |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | vuta          | cha       |           |           |           |           |           |       |               |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | ropa[pita]    | cha       | (C)       | e[va]meva | mulani    | [cha]     | phalani   | [cha] | a[tra] a[tra] |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [lo]pāp[i]t̪ā | [cha]     | (C)       |           | mūl̪i     |           |           |       |               |
| <i>Ṭau.</i>  | . . . . .     | . . . . . | . . . . . | . . . . . | . . . . . | . . . . . | . . . . . | cha   | atata         |

|              |                    |                |                  |                |                           |
|--------------|--------------------|----------------|------------------|----------------|---------------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | nāsti sarvata      | hārāpitāni cha | rop[ā]pitāṇi cha | (D)            | pañthesū kūpā             |
| <i>Kal.</i>  | nathi savatā       | hālāp[ī]tā chā | lopāpitā         | [ch]ā          | (D) ma[g]e[s]u [lu]khāni  |
| <i>Shāk.</i> |                    |                |                  |                |                           |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | [na]sti [savra]tra | harapita       | cha ro[pa]pita   | cha            | (D) ma[geshu] ruchhani    |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | . . . . . v[a]t[ā] | hālāpitā       | [cha] lo[p]āpitā | cha            | (D) ma[g]e[s]u udu[pānāni |
| <i>Fau.</i>  | nathi s[a]vatra    | hālāpitā       | cha lopāpitā     | cha            | (D) magesu udupānāni      |
| <i>Gir.</i>  | cha khānāpitā      | vrachhā        | cha ropāpit[ā]   | paribhogāya    | pasu-manusānaṁ            |
| <i>Kal.</i>  | lopitāni           | ud[u]pānā[n]i  | chā khānāpitāni  | paṭibhogāye    | pasu-munis[ā]naṁ          |
| <i>Shāk.</i> | (C)                | kupa           | cha khanapita    | pratibh[o]gaye | pasu-manusānaṁ            |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | [ropa]pi[tani]     | . . . . .      | [pi]tani         | paṭibhogaye    | pasu-m[uni]śanaṁ          |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | khānāpitāni        | lukhāni        | cha lopā[p]itāni | p[a]tibhogāye  | . . . . . [na]ṁ           |
| <i>Fau.</i>  | khānāpitāni        | lukhāni        | cha              |                |                           |

## THIRD ROCK-EDICT

|              |     |               |            |        |         |       |     |             |
|--------------|-----|---------------|------------|--------|---------|-------|-----|-------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | (A) | Devānampiyo   | Piyadasi   | r[ā]jā | evam    | āha   | (B) | dbādasa-    |
| <i>Kal.</i>  | (A) | De[vā]nampiye | Piyadasi   | lājā   | h[e]vam | āhā   | (B) | du[v]ādasa- |
| <i>Shah.</i> | (A) | Devanāmpiyo   | Priyadraśi | raja   |         | ahati | (B) | badaya-     |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | (A) | Devanapiye    | Priyadraśi | raja   | eva     | a[ha] | (B) | duva[da]śa- |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (A) | Devānampiye   | Piyadasi   | lājā   | hevam   | āhā   | (B) | duvādasa-   |
| <i>Fau.</i>  | (A) | Devā[na]mpiyē | Piyadasi   | lājā   | hevam   | āhā   | (B) | duvādasa-   |

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|              |                    |           |              |               |         |             |               |         |
|--------------|--------------------|-----------|--------------|---------------|---------|-------------|---------------|---------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | vāsābhisitena      | mayā      | idam         | ān[a]pitaṁ    | (C)     | sarvata     | vijite        | mama    |
| <i>Kal.</i>  | v[a]śābhisitena    | me        | iyam         | ānapayite     | (C)     | savatā      | vijitasi      | [mama]  |
| <i>Shah.</i> | vashabh[ī]śi[tena] | . . . . . | [a]napi[tam] | (C)           | savatra | ma[a]       | vijite        |         |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | vashabhisetena     | me        | iyam         | [anapayit]e   | (C)     | savrat[r]a  | vijitasi      | . . . . |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | vasābhisitena      | me        | iy[a]m       | ānāp[ay]i . . | (C)     | . . . . [ta | v[ī]j[it]a]śi | m[e]    |
| <i>Fau.</i>  | vasābhisitena      | me        | iyam         | [ā]           |         |             |               |         |

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|              |           |     |            |            |             |          |              |             |              |
|--------------|-----------|-----|------------|------------|-------------|----------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | yutā      | cha | rājūke     | cha        | prādesike   | cha      | pañchasu     | pañchasu    | vāsesu       |
| <i>Kal.</i>  | yutā      |     | laj[ū]k[e] |            | pādesike    |          | pa[m]cha[s]u | pañchasu    | vasesu       |
| <i>Shah.</i> | yuta      |     | rajuko     |            | pradeśi[ka] |          | pañcha[shu]  | pañchashu   | 5 vasheshu   |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | . . . ta  |     | [ra]ju . . |            | pradeśike   |          | [pañ]chashu  | pañ[chashu] | 5 vashesh[u] |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | yut[ā]    |     | laj[ū]k[e] | . . . . .  |             |          | pañchasu     | pañchasu    | vasesu       |
| <i>Fau.</i>  | . . . . . |     | cha        | pād[e]sike | cha         | pañchasu | pañchasu     |             | vasesu       |

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|              |                 |              |  |          |          |       |                   |  |
|--------------|-----------------|--------------|--|----------|----------|-------|-------------------|--|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | anusamy[ā]nā[m] | n[j]yātu     |  | etāyeva  | athāya   | imāya | dha[m]mānusastiya |  |
| <i>Kal.</i>  | [a]nusa[m]yānaṁ | nikham[am]tu |  | etāye vā | a[th]āye | imāya | dha[m]manusathiya |  |
| <i>Shah.</i> | anusamyanaṁ     | nik[r]amatu  |  | etisa vo | karana   | imisa | dhrāmmanusastiye  |  |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | anusa[m]yana[m] | nikramatu    |  | etaye va | athraye  | imaye | dhramanusastiye   |  |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | anusayānaṁ      | nikhamāvū    |  |          |          |       |                   |  |
| <i>Fau.</i>  | anusayānaṁ      | nikhamāvū    |  |          |          |       |                   |  |

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|              |         |          |    |             |       |         |                         |  |
|--------------|---------|----------|----|-------------|-------|---------|-------------------------|--|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | yathā   | añāya    | pi | ka[m]māy[a] |       |         |                         |  |
| <i>Kal.</i>  | yathā   | am[nāye] | pi | ka[m]māye   |       |         |                         |  |
| <i>Shah.</i> | [tha]   | añāye    | pi | krāmāye     |       |         |                         |  |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | ya[tha] | añāye    | pi | krama[ne]   |       |         |                         |  |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | athā    | amnāye   | pi | [ka]m[ma]ne | hevam | imā[y]e | [dha]m[mānu]s[am]māy[e] |  |
| <i>Fau.</i>  | athā    | amnāye   | pi | ka[m]ma[n]e |       |         |                         |  |

|              |   |   |
|--------------|---|---|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | (D) [s]adhū māṭari cha pitari cha susrūsā | mitra-saṁstuta-ñātināṁ                      |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | (D) sādhu māta-pitisu                     | susūsā mita-saṁstuta-nāṭikyā[āṁ] chā        |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (D) sadhu mata-pitushu                    | suśrūsha mitra-saṁst[ū]ta-ñāṭikanāṁ         |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | (D) [sadhū mata]-pi[tu]shu                | [s]u[śrūsha mitra]-sa[ñ]stuta-ñāṭikanāṁ cha |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (D) [s]adh[u] mā[tā]-p[i]t[i]su           | su[s]ūsā m] . . . . . nāṭisu cha            |
| <i>Yau.</i>  | . . . . .                                 | [s]ā mita-saṁstute[s] . . . nāṭisu ch[a]    |

|              |                            |                                       |
|--------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | bāmbhāṇa-samañānaṁ         | sādhu d]ānaṁ prāñānaṁ sādhu anāraṁbho |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | bāmbhāṇa-sama[nā]naṁ [chā] | sādhu d[ā]ne pāñānaṁ anāraṁbh[e]      |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | bramaṇa-[śra]maṇa[nāṁ]     | . . . . . [pra]ñānaṁ [anaraṁ]bho      |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | bra[ma]ṇa-śramaṇana[ñ]     | sādhu dane prañāna [anara]bhe         |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | bāmbhāṇa-samanehi          | sādhu dāne jivesu anāraṁbhe           |
| <i>Yau.</i>  | bāmbhāṇa-samanehi          | sādhu dāne jivesu [a]nāraṁbhe         |

|              |   |                                       |
|--------------|---|---------------------------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | apa-vyayātā apa-bhāḍatā                   | sādhu (E) parisā pi yute              |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | sādhu [a]pa-v[i]yātā [a]pa-[bha]ṇ[da]t[ā] | sādhu (E) palisā pi cha yutāni        |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | sadhu apa-vayata apa-bhaṇḍata             | sadhu (E) pari [pi] yutani            |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | sadhu apa-[va]yata apa-bha[ḍata]          | sadhu (E) parisha pi cha yutau        |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | sādhu apa-viy[a]t[ā] apa-bh[āṇ]datā       | sādhu (E) p[a]lisā pi cha . . . [nas] |
| <i>Yau.</i>  | sādhu . . . . .                           | . . . . .                             |

|              |                              |                                    |
|--------------|------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | āṇapayisati gaṇanāyaṁ        | hetuto cha vyamjanato cha          |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | [ga]ṇanasi anap[a]yisanti    | hetuvatā chā viyamjanat[e] chā     |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | [ga]ṇanasi anapeśanti        | hetuto cha varṇjanato cha          |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | ga[ṇ]anasi [a]ṇapa[yi]sā[ti] | hetute cha vi[yam]janate cha       |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | y[ā]t[ā]ṇi ā[ṇa]p[ay]is[ā]ti | [he]tut[e] ch[a] vi[yam]ja . . . . |
| <i>Yau.</i>  | . . . . . [y]i . . . .       | hetute cha viyamjanate cha         |

## FOURTH ROCK-EDICT

|              |                 |                                |                |
|--------------|-----------------|--------------------------------|----------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | (A) atikātaṁ    | am[tā]raṁ bahūni vāsa-satāni   | vadhito eva    |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | (A) atika[r]taṁ | a[r]ta[ra]ṁ bahuni vasa-satāni | v[adh]it[e] vā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (A) atikratam   | amtarām bahuni vasha-śatani    | vadhito vo     |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | (A) atikratam   | ata[raṁ] bahuni vasha-śa[ta]ni | vadhite vo     |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (A) atikamtaṁ   | amtalām bahūni vasa-satāni     | vadhite va     |
| <i>Yau.</i>  | (A) a[t]ikamtaṁ | amtalām bahūni vasa-satāni     | vadhite va     |

|              |                      |                       |                         |
|--------------|----------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | prāñāraṁbho          | vihiṁsā cha bhūtānaṁ  | nāṭisu a[s]ampratipati  |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | pā[nā]raṁbhe         | vi[h]isā chā bhūtānaṁ | nāṭinā asaṁ[pa]tip[a]ti |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | prañāraṁbho          | vihiṣa cha bhuta[nā]ṁ | ñāṭina asaṁpatipati     |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | prañāraṁ[bh]e        | vihi[ṣa] cha bhutanaṁ | ñāṭina asaṁpa[t]ipati   |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | pānā[ra]ṁbhe         | vihiṣā cha bhūtānaṁ   | nāṭisu asaṁpatipati     |
| <i>Yau.</i>  | pānāraṁbhe . . . . . | . . . . .             | . . . . .               |

|              |                     |                       |                     |
|--------------|---------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | brā[ṁ]ṇa-samañānaṁ  | asaṁpratipati (B) ta  | aja Devāṁpriyasa    |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | samana-b[āṁ]ṇānaṁ   | asaṁpatipati (B) s[e] | ajā Devāṁmpiyasā    |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | śramaṇa-bramaṇa[nā] | a[sam]patipati (B) so | aja Devanaṁpriyasa  |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | śrama[ṇa]-bramaṇana | asa[r]patipati (B) se | aja [De]vanapriyasa |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | samana-bābha[ne]ṁ   | asaṁpatipati (B) se   | aja Devāṁmpiyasa    |
| <i>Yau.</i>  | . . . . .           | (B) se                | aja Devāṁmpiyasa    |

|              |              |        |                      |               |       |
|--------------|--------------|--------|----------------------|---------------|-------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | Priyadasino  | rāño   | dhamma-charaṇena     | [bhe]ri-ghoso | aho   |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | Piyadasine   | lājine | dhamm[a]-chal[an]enā | bheli-ghose   | aho   |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | Priyadrasīsa | [rāño] | dhrama-charaṇena     | bheri-ghosha  | aho   |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | Priyadrasīne | rajine | dhrama-[cha]ra[ṇe]na | bheri-ghoshe  | aho   |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | Piyadasine   | lājine | dhamma-chalanena     | bheli-ghosam  | a[h]o |
| <i>Fau.</i>  | Piyadasine   | lājine | dhamma-chalanena     | bhe[l]        | .     |

|              |                 |                     |                    |                      |
|--------------|-----------------|---------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | dhamma-ghoso    | vimāna-darsaṇā      | cha hasti-da[sa]nā | cha agi-kh[a]m dhāni |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | dhamma-ghose    | vimana-dasan[a]     | [ha]thini          | agi-kamdh[ā]ni       |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | dhrama-ghosha   | vimanana[m]draṣanaṁ | [a]stina           | joti-kamdhani        |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | dhamma-ghoshe   | vimana-draṣana      | asti[ne]           | agi-kamdhani[i]      |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | dhamma-[gho]sam | vimāna-dasanam      | hathini            | [a]gi-kamdhāni       |
| <i>Fau.</i>  | .               | .                   | .                  | .                    |

|              |             |                  |        |           |           |             |
|--------------|-------------|------------------|--------|-----------|-----------|-------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | cha [a]ñāni | cha divyāni      | rūpāni | dasayitpā | janam     | (C) yārise  |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | aṁnāni      | chā divyāni      | lupāni | dasayitu  | jana[sa]  | (C) [ā]disā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | añani       | cha divani       | rupani | draṣayitu | janasa    | (C) yadiśam |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | añā[ni]     | cha di[vani]     | rupani | draṣeti   | janasa    | (C) [a]diśe |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | aṁnāni      | cha [di]vi[y]āni | lūpāni | dasayitu  | munisānam | (C) ādi[se] |
| <i>Fau.</i>  | .           | divi[y]āni       | lūpāni | drasayitu | munisānam | (C) ādise   |

|              |            |                 |    |                |        |       |           |
|--------------|------------|-----------------|----|----------------|--------|-------|-----------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | bahūhi     | v[āsa]-satchi   | na | bhūta-puve     | tārise | aja   | vaḍhite   |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | ba[h]u[hi] | v[asa]-[sa]tchi | nā | huta-puluve    | tādise | ajā   | vaḍhite   |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | bahuhi     | vasha-ṣatchi    | na | bhuta-pruve    | tadiśe | aja   | vaḍhite   |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | bahuhi     | vasha-ṣa[tehi]  | na | [hu]ta-pr[u]ve | tadiśe | [a]ja | vaḍhite   |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | b[a]hūhi   | vasha-sa[t]jeli | no | hūta-puluve    | tādise | aja   | va[ḍ]hite |
| <i>Fau.</i>  | bahūhi     | vasa-satc       | .  | .              | .      | .     | .         |

|              |                 |              |          |                       |              |
|--------------|-----------------|--------------|----------|-----------------------|--------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | Devānampiyasa   | Priyadasino  | rāño     | dhammānusastīyā       | anāram[bh]o  |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | Devānampiyasā   | Piyadasine   | [l]ājine | dhammanusathiye       | a[n]ālam bhe |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | Devanampiyasa   | Priyadrasīsa | rāño     | dhrāmmanuśa[sti]ya    | anarambho    |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | [De]vanapriyasa | Priyadrasīne | rajine   | dhramanuśastiya       | anarabhe     |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [De]vānampiyasa | Piy[a]ksine  | lājin[e] | dham[m]ānus[a]thi[y]ā | an[ā]lam bhe |
| <i>Fau.</i>  | .               | .            | .        | dhammānusathiya       | anālam bhe   |

|              |            |         |          |           |               |                        |
|--------------|------------|---------|----------|-----------|---------------|------------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | prāñānam   | avihiśā | bhūtānam | ñātīnam   | sampañipati   | brahmaṇa-samañānam     |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | pāñānam    | avihiśā | bhutānam | nāti[nam] | sampañipati   | barimbha[na-sa]manānam |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | prapa[nam] | avihiśa | bhutanam | ñatīna[m] | sampa[ti]pati | [bra]maṇa-śramaṇana    |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | praṇana    | avihiśa | bhutana  | ñatina    | sampañipati   | bamaṇa-śramaṇana       |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | pāñānam    | avihiśā | bhūtānam | nātisu    | sampañipa[ti] | sama[na-b[ā]]bhanesu   |
| <i>Fau.</i>  | pāñānam    | avihiśā | bhūtānam | nātisu    | [sampa]       | .                      |

|              |                |                |            |                   |           |          |
|--------------|----------------|----------------|------------|-------------------|-----------|----------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | sampañipati    | mātari pitari  | [s]usrusā  | thaira-susrusā    | (D) esa   | añe      |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | sampañipati    | mātā-pitusu    | sususā     |                   | (D) ese   | chā aṁne |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | sampañipati    | mata-pitushu   |            | vudhana[m]suśrusa | (D) e[ta] | añam     |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | sa[rh]pañipati | mata-pitushu   | suśru[sha] | vudhrana          | [su]śrusa | (D) eshe |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | sampañipati    | m[ā]d[i]-pitu- | susūsā     | vu[dha]-susūsā    | (D) esa   | aṁne     |
| <i>Fau.</i>  | .              | .              | .          | .                 | (D) esa   | aṁne     |

|              |     |              |                  |           |                            |        |
|--------------|-----|--------------|------------------|-----------|----------------------------|--------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | cha | bahuvudhe    | [dha]ṁma-charaṇe | va[dhi]te | ( <i>Ḥ</i> ) vadhayisati   | cheva  |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | chā | ba[h]juvidhe | dhaṁma-chalane   | vadh[i]te | ( <i>Ḥ</i> ) vadhiyisati   | chevā  |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | cha | bahuvudham   | dhrama-charaṇam  | vadhitaṁ  | ( <i>Ḥ</i> ) vadhiṣati     | cha yo |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | cha | bahuvudhe    | dhrama-charaṇe   | vadhrīte  | ( <i>Ḥ</i> ) vadhrayisati  | yeva   |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | cha | ba[h]juvidhe | dh[a]ṁma-chalane | vadhite   | ( <i>Ḥ</i> ) vadhayis[a]ti | cheva  |
| <i>Ṭau.</i>  | cha | bahuvudhe    | dhaṁma-chalane   | vadhite   | ( <i>Ḥ</i> ) vad[ḥay]i     | .      |

|              |                |                |        |        |                   |        |
|--------------|----------------|----------------|--------|--------|-------------------|--------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | Devānaṁpriyo   | [Pri*]ya[d]aṣi | rāja   |        | dhaṁma-[cha]raṇam | idam   |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | Devānaṁpiy[e]  | Piyadasi       | lāja   | ima[m] | dha[m]ma-chalanaṁ |        |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | Devanaṁpriyasa | Priyadrasīsa   | raño   |        | dhrama-charaṇam   | ima[m] |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | Devanapriye    | Priyadrasī     | raja   |        | dhama-[cha]raṇa   | ima[m] |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | Devānaṁpiye    | Piyada[s]i     | l[a]ja |        | dhaṁma-chalanaṁ   | imaṁ   |
| <i>Ṭau.</i>  | .              | .              | .      | .      | .                 | .      |

|              |                      |     |         |        |          |           |                 |
|--------------|----------------------|-----|---------|--------|----------|-----------|-----------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | ( <i>F</i> ) putrā   | cha | [p]otrā | cha    | prapotrā | cha       | Devānaṁpriyasa  |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | ( <i>F</i> ) putā    | cha | kaṁ     | natāle | chā      | panātikyā | ch[ā]           |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | ( <i>F</i> ) putra   | pi  | cha     | kaṁ    | nataro   | cha       | Devanaṁpriya[s] |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | ( <i>F</i> ) [putra] | pi  | cha     | ka     | natare   | cha       | De[va]napriyasa |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | ( <i>F</i> ) putā    | pi  | chu     | nati   | [panati] | [cha]     | Devānaṁpiyasa   |
| <i>Ṭau.</i>  | .                    | .   | .       | .      | .        | .         | .               |

|              |              |        |                    |          |      |                   |
|--------------|--------------|--------|--------------------|----------|------|-------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | Priyadasino  | raño   | [pra*]vadhayisaṁti |          | idam | [dha]ṁma-charaṇam |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | Piyadasine   | lājine | [pa]v[a]dhayisaṁti | ch[ev]a  |      | dhaṁma-chalanaṁ   |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | Priyadrasīsa | raño   | pra[va]k[ḥ]eṣaṁti  | [yo]     |      | dhrama-charaṇam   |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | Priyadaśine  | rajine | pavaḍhayisaṁti     | yo       |      | dhrama-charaṇa    |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | Piyadasine   | lājine | pavaḍhayisaṁti     | yeva     |      | dhaṁma-chalanaṁ   |
| <i>Ṭau.</i>  | Piyadasine   | lājine | pavaḍhayi[s]aṁti   | [y]e[va] |      | dhaṁma-cha[la]    |

|              |        |             |           |          |          |               |
|--------------|--------|-------------|-----------|----------|----------|---------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | āva    | savaṭa-kapā | dhaṁmamhi | silamhi  | tisatṁto | [dha]ṁmam     |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | i[mam] | āva-kapa[m] | dhammasi  | s[i]lasi | chā      | chithit[u]    |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | ima[m] | ava]-kapa   | dhrame    | śile     | cha      | tithiti       |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | imaṁ   | [a]va-kapaṁ | dhrame    | śile     | cha      | [chi]thitu    |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | imaṁ   | ā-k[a]paṁ   | dhammasi  | [s]ilasi | ch[a]    | ch[i]th[ḥ]itu |
| <i>Ṭau.</i>  | .      | .           | .         | .        | .        | [dhaṁmam]     |

|              |                  |                    |      |           |            |      |                     |
|--------------|------------------|--------------------|------|-----------|------------|------|---------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | anusāsisaṁti     | ( <i>G</i> ) [e]sa | hi   | seṭṭe     | kaṁme      | ya   | dhaṁmānusāsanaṁ     |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | anusāsisaṁti     | ( <i>G</i> ) ese   | hi   | seṭṭe     | kaṁm[am]   | am   | dhaṁmānusāsanaṁ     |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | anuśāsisaṁti     | ( <i>G</i> ) eta   | h[i] | s[re]ṭṭam | k[r]ama[m] | yaṁ  | dhrama[nu]śāsana[m] |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | anu[śa]śisaṁti   | ( <i>G</i> ) eshe  | hi   | seṭṭe     |            | a[m] | dhramaṇuśāsana      |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [a]nus[ā]sisaṁti | ( <i>G</i> ) esa   | h[i] | se[ṭṭe]   | kaṁme      | yā   | dhaṁmānusāsana      |
| <i>Ṭau.</i>  | .                | .                  | .    | .         | .          | .    | .                   |

|              |                                 |    |       |           |         |                   |                           |
|--------------|---------------------------------|----|-------|-----------|---------|-------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | ( <i>H</i> ) dhaṁma-charaṇe     | pi | na    | [bha]vati | asilasa | ( <i>I</i> ) [ta] | imamhi                    |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | ( <i>H</i> ) dhaṁma-chalane     | pi | chā   | no        | hoti    | asilasā           | ( <i>I</i> ) se im[a]s[ā] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | ( <i>H</i> ) dhrama-charaṇa[m]  | pi | cha   | na        | bhoti   | aśilasa           | ( <i>I</i> ) so imisa     |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | ( <i>H</i> ) dhrama-[cha]ra[ṇe] | pi | [cha] | na        | hoti    | aśi[la]sa         | ( <i>I</i> ) se imasa     |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | ( <i>H</i> ) dhaṁma-chalane     | pi | chu   | no        | hoti    | asilasa           | ( <i>I</i> ) se imasa     |
| <i>Ṭau.</i>  | ( <i>H</i> ) dhaṁma-chalane     | pi | chu   | no        | ho[t]i  | .                 | .                         |





|              |       |          |       |        |      |         |                   |                  |
|--------------|-------|----------|-------|--------|------|---------|-------------------|------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | cha   | param    | cha   | tena   | y[a] | me[a]   | pacham            | āva samvata-kapā |
| <i>Kal.</i>  | [chā] | palam    | [chā] | tehi   | [ye] | apatiye | [m]e              | āva-kapam        |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | cha   | para[rh] | cha   | [tena  | y]e  | me      | apacha vrakshamti | ava-kapam        |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | cha   | para     | cha   | t[ē]na | ye   | apatiye | me                | [a]va-[ka]pam    |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [va]  | ... rh   | cha   | t[ē]na | ye   | apatiye | me                | āva-kapam        |
| <i>Fau.</i>  | va    | palam    | cha   | te     | .    | .       | .                 | .                |

|              |             |                   |      |              |             |     |          |        |            |
|--------------|-------------|-------------------|------|--------------|-------------|-----|----------|--------|------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | anuvatisare | tathā             | so   | sukatarh     | kāsati      | (F) | yo tu    | eta    | desam      |
| <i>Kal.</i>  | tathā       | anuvatisa[m]ti    | s[e] | s[u]katarh   | kachham[t]i | (F) | e chu    | het[ā] | desam      |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | tatha       | ye an[u]vatisamti | te   | s[u]kiṭa[rh] | kashamti    | (F) | yo chu   | ato    | ... karh   |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | tatha       | anuvatisati       | se   | sukaṭa       | ka[sha]ti   | (F) | ye [chu] | atra   | deśa       |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | tathā       | anuvatisamti      | s[e] | sukaṭam      | kachh[am]ti | (F) | e        | heta   | d[ē]sa[rh] |
| <i>Fau.</i>  | .           | .                 | .    | .            | .           | .   | .        | .      | .          |

|              |    |                |      |            |          |     |         |      |                   |
|--------------|----|----------------|------|------------|----------|-----|---------|------|-------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | pi | hāpesati       | so   | [du]katarh | kāsati   | (G) | sukaram | hi   | pāpa[rh]          |
| <i>Kal.</i>  | pi | hāpa[y]i[sat]i | s[e] | dukaṭam    | kachhati | (G) | p[ā]pe  | hi   | nāmā supadālaye   |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | pi | hapesadi       | so   | dukaṭam    | kashati  | (G) | papam   | h[i] | sukaram           |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | pi | hāpesati       | se   | dukaṭa     | kashati  | (G) | pape    | hi   | nama supadarave   |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | pi | hāpayisat[i]   | se   | dukaṭam    | kachhati | (G) | pā[p]e  | hi   | [nāma] supadālaye |
| <i>Fau.</i>  | .  | .              | .    | .          | .        | .   | .       | .    | s[u]padālaye      |

|              |     |                    |               |    |               |                     |      |
|--------------|-----|--------------------|---------------|----|---------------|---------------------|------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | (H) | atikatarh          | amtarah       | na | bhūta-pruvarh | dhamma-mahāmātā     | nāma |
| <i>Kal.</i>  | (H) | se atikatarh       | amtarah       | no | huta-puluva   | dham[ma]-mahāmātā   | nāmā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (H) | sa atikatarh       | atarā         | no | bhuta-pruva   | dhrām-ma[ha]ma[tra] | nama |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | (H) | s[e] atikara[rh]   | a[t]h[ra]r[h] | na | bhuta-pruva   | dhrama-[ma]hamatra  | nama |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (H) | s[e] at[ī]karh[am] | amtarah       | no | huta-puluvā   | dhamma-mahāmātā     | nāma |
| <i>Fau.</i>  | (H) | se [a]             | .             | .  | .             | .                   | .    |

|              |     |                          |                          |                             |                   |           |
|--------------|-----|--------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|-----------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | (J) | ta                       | m[a]yā                   | traidasa-vāsābh[i]s[ī]tena] | dhamm[a]-mahāmātā | katā      |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | (J) | t[ē]dasa-vasābh[i]sitenā | mamayā                   |                             | dhamma-mahāmāṭā   | ka[t]ā    |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (J) | so                       | todaśa-vashabhisitena    | maya                        | dhrama-mahamatra  | kita      |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | (J) | se                       | treḍaśa-va[sha]bhisitena | maya                        | dhrama-mahamatra  | kaṭa      |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (J) | se                       | tedasa-va[sā]bhisitena   | me                          | dhamma-mahāmātā   | nāma kaṭā |
| <i>Fau.</i>  | .   | .                        | .                        | .                           | .                 | .         |

|              |     |      |                        |              |                       |     |         |   |
|--------------|-----|------|------------------------|--------------|-----------------------|-----|---------|---|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | (Y) | te   | sava-pāsam[de]su       | -vyāpatā     | dhāmadhiṭṭhānāya      | .   | .       | . |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | (Y) | [te] | sav[a]-pāsam[de]su     | viyā[pa]tā   | dham[m]adhithā[nā]ye  | chā | dhamma- |   |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (Y) | te   | savra-prasham[de]sh[u] | vapata       | dhammadhiṭṭhanaye     | cha | dhrama- |   |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | (Y) | te   | savra-pa[sha]k[de]sha  | vaputa       | dhammadhiṭṭha[nā]ye   | cha | dhrama- |   |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (Y) | te   | sava-pāsam[de]su       | v[i]y[ā]pata | dhammadhiṭṭhā[nā]ye   | .   | dhamma- |   |
| <i>Fau.</i>  | .   | .    | .                      | .            | [dha]m[m]a[dh]iṭṭhānā | .   | .       | . |

|              |           |                |       |   |                   |     |                 |
|--------------|-----------|----------------|-------|---|-------------------|-----|-----------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | .         | .              | .     | . | [dha]mma-yutasa   | cha | Yona-K[a]mboja- |
| <i>Kal.</i>  | vaḍhiyā   | hi[da]-sukhāye | vā    |   | dhamm[a]-yutas[ā] |     | Yona-Kamb[o]ja- |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | vaḍhiya   | hida-sukhaye   | cha   |   | dhrama-yutasa     |     | Yona-Kamboya-   |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | vadhriya  | hida-sukhaye   | cha   |   | dh[r]ama-yutasa   |     | Yona-Kamboja-   |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [va]ḍhiye | hita-sukhāye   | [cha] |   | dhamma-yutas[a]   |     | Yona-Kambocha-  |
| <i>Fau.</i>  | .         | .              | .     | . | .                 | .   | .               |

|              |              |                        |    |    |      |            |          |
|--------------|--------------|------------------------|----|----|------|------------|----------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | Garṁdhārānaṁ | Ristika-P[ē]ṭenikānaṁ  | ye | vā | pi   | a[r̥n]n[e] | ā]parātā |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | Garṁdhālānaṁ |                        | e  | vā | [pi] | amne       | apalaṁtā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | Garṁdharanaṁ | Raṭhikanaṁ Pitinikanaṁ | ye | va | pi   |            | aparaṁtā |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | Gadharana    | Raṭhika-Pitinikana     | ye | va | pi   | añe        | aparata  |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | Garṁdhālesu  | Laṭhika-[P]itenikesu   | e  | vā | pi   | amne       | āpalaṁtā |
| <i>Ṭau.</i>  |              |                        |    |    |      |            |          |

|              |                     |                    |           |              |     |          |         |
|--------------|---------------------|--------------------|-----------|--------------|-----|----------|---------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | (K') bhaṭamayesu    | va                 |           |              |     |          |         |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | (K') bhaṭamayesu    | baṁbhaniḥhesu      | anathesu  | [v]udhesu    |     |          | hida-   |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (K') bhaṭamayeshu   | bramaṇiḥhesu       | anatheshu | vudheshu     |     |          | [hita]- |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | (K') bha[ṭa]mayeshu | bramaṇiḥyeshu      | anatheshu | vudhreshu    |     |          | hida-   |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (K') bhaṭi[mayesu]  | bābha[n]iḥhi[yes]u | anāthesu  | ma[hāla]kesu | cha | h[i]ṭ[a] |         |
| <i>Ṭau.</i>  |                     | bhanibhi           |           |              |     |          |         |

|              |            |                  |                |            |    |                   |
|--------------|------------|------------------|----------------|------------|----|-------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | [su]khā[ya | dhamma-yutānaṁ   | apar[i]godhāya | vyāpatā    | te | (L) ba[r̥n]dhana- |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | sukhāye    | dhamma-yutāye    | apalibodhāye   | viyapātā   | te | (L) baṁdha[na]-   |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | sukhaye    | [dhr̥a]ma-yutasa | apaliḡ[o]dha   | vaṭ[a]ṭa   | te | (L) badhan-       |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | su[khaye]  | dharma-yuta-     | apalibodhaye   | viya[p]uta | te | (L) badhana-      |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | sukhaye    | dhamma-yutāye    | a[pa]libodhāye | viyā[pā]ṭā | se | (L) baṁdhana-     |
| <i>Ṭau.</i>  |            |                  |                |            |    |                   |

|              |             |                   |                |            |     |        |             |
|--------------|-------------|-------------------|----------------|------------|-----|--------|-------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | badhasa     | paṭividhānāya     |                |            |     |        |             |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | [badha]sā   | paṭividhānāy[e]   | apalibodhāye   | mokh[ā]ye  | chā | eyam   | anubadh[ā]  |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | badhasa     | paṭividhanay[e]   | apalibodhaye   | mo[kshay]c | ayi | anubā  |             |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | badha[sā]   | paṭivi[dhanay]e   | apalibodhaye   | mokshay[e  | cha | iyam]  | anubadha    |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [ba]dhas[ā] | p[ā]ṭi[vidhānā]ye | apaliḡ[o]dhāye | mokhāye    | cha | iyā[m] | anubāndh[a] |
| <i>Ṭau.</i>  |             |                   |                | mokhāye    |     |        |             |

|              |         |                        |    |          |              |          |            |
|--------------|---------|------------------------|----|----------|--------------|----------|------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | [p]rajā | katābhikāresu          | vā | thairesu | vā           | vyāpatā  | te         |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | pajāva  | ti v[ā] kaṭābhikā]e    | ti | vā       | m[ah]ā[la]ke | ti v[ā]  | viy[ā]patā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | prajava | kiṭābhikaro            | va | mahalake | va           | viyapaṭa | [t]e       |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | p[ra]jā | t[i] va kaṭrabhikara   | ti | va       | mahalake     | ti       | viyapraṭa  |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | p[ra]jā | [t]i [va ka]ṭābhikā[e] | ti | va       | māhālake     | ti       | viyāpātā   |
| <i>Ṭau.</i>  |         |                        |    |          |              |          | se         |

|              |              |            |          |             |            |                 |              |
|--------------|--------------|------------|----------|-------------|------------|-----------------|--------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | (M) Pāḷipute | cha        | bāhirasu | cha         |            |                 |              |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | (M) hiḍ[ā]   | bā[h]ilesu | chā      | naga[l]esu  | s[a]ves[u] | olodha[n]esu]   |              |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (M) ia       | bahir-ṣhu  | cha      | nagareshu   | savreshu   | orodhaneshu     |              |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | (M) hida     | bahiresu   | cha      | nagaresh[u] | savreshu   | [o]rodhaneshu   |              |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (M) hida     | cha        | bāhilesu | cha         | nagalesu   | savesu s[a]vesu | olodhanes[u] |
| <i>Ṭau.</i>  |              |            |          |             |            |                 |              |

|              |        |            |     |            |               |            |    |        |        |
|--------------|--------|------------|-----|------------|---------------|------------|----|--------|--------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  |        |            |     |            | [y]e          | vā         | pi | me     | añe    |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  |        | bhā[tina]m | cha | ne         | bb[agi]ni[nā] | e          | vā | [pi]   | amñ[e] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> |        | bhratuna   | cha | me         | spasana       | cha        | ye | va     | pi     |
| <i>Mān.</i>  |        | bhatana    | cha |            | spas[u]na     | [cha]      | ye | va     | pi     |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [me] e | vā         | pi  | bhāt[i]naṁ | me            | bhagininaṁ | va | amnesu | vā     |
| <i>Ṭau.</i>  | e      | [v]ā       |     |            |               |            |    |        |        |

|              |            |          |            |    |     |      |      |                 |    |    |
|--------------|------------|----------|------------|----|-----|------|------|-----------------|----|----|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | ñatikā     | sarvata  | vyāpatā    | te | (N) | yo   | ayaṃ | dhaṃma-nisrito  | ti | va |
| <i>Kā.</i>   | nāṭikye    | savatā   | viyāpaṭā   |    | (N) | e    | iyaṃ | dhaṃma-nisite   | ti | va |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | ñatika     | savatra  | viyapuṭa   |    | (N) | y[e] | ayaṃ | dh[r]ama-nisite | ti | va |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | ñatike     | savratra | viyapaṭa   |    | (N) | [e]  | iyaṃ | dhrama-nisito   | to | va |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [nāt]i[su] | sava[r]a | v[i]yāpaṭā |    | (N) | e    | iyaṃ | dhaṃm[a-n]isite | ti | va |
| <i>Ṭau.</i>  | .          | .        | .          | .  | .   | .    | .    | .               | .  | .  |

|              |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|--------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Kā.</i>   | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Ṭau.</i>  | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |

|              |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|--------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Kā.</i>   | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Ṭau.</i>  | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |

|              |        |             |                  |         |         |     |      |         |               |   |
|--------------|--------|-------------|------------------|---------|---------|-----|------|---------|---------------|---|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | lipī   | likhitā     | .                | .       | .       | .   | .    | .       | .             | . |
| <i>Kā.</i>   | lipi   | lekhitā     | ch[i]lā-thitikyā | hotu    | [tathā] | cha | me   | [pa]jā  | [a]nuva[ta]tu |   |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | dipi   | nipista     | ch[i]ra-thitika  | bhot[u] | ta[tha] | cha | [m]e | p[r]aja | anuvata       |   |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | dipi   | likhita     | chira-thitika    | hotu    | tatha   | cha | me   | praja   | anuvatu       |   |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | lip[i] | l[i]kh[i]tā | chila-thitikā    | ho]tu   | tathā   | cha | me   | pa]jā   | anu]vatu      |   |
| <i>Ṭau.</i>  | .      | .           | .                | .       | .       | .   | .    | .       | .             | . |

## SIXTH ROCK-EDICT

|              |     |                 |            |      |          |       |     |             |            |   |
|--------------|-----|-----------------|------------|------|----------|-------|-----|-------------|------------|---|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | (A) | [Devā].         | .          | .    | .        | .     | .   | .           | .          | . |
| <i>Kā.</i>   | (A) | Dev[ā]nampi[y]e | Piyadas[i] | lājā | hevaṃ    | āhā   | (B) | atikarātā   | aṃtara[m]  |   |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (A) | Devanaṃpiyo     | Priyadraśi | raya | eva      | ahati | (B) | atikratā    | aṃtara     |   |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | (A) | Devanaṃpriye    | Priyadraśi | raja | [e]va[m] | aa    | (B) | atikrataṃ   | ataraṃ     |   |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (A) | Dev[ānaṃp]iye   | Pi[yada]si | lājā | [he]vaṃ  | [ā]hā | (B) | atikar[ā]tā | a[m]ta[r]a |   |
| <i>Ṭau.</i>  | (A) | ... [na]ṃpiye   | Piyadasī   | lājā | hevaṃ    | āhā   | (B) | atikarātā   | aṃtalan    |   |

|              |    |                 |          |         |               |      |             |                |            |    |
|--------------|----|-----------------|----------|---------|---------------|------|-------------|----------------|------------|----|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | na | bhūta-pru[v].   | [s].     | [v].    | ..            | [l]. | atha-karṃme | va             | paṭivedanā | vā |
| <i>Kā.</i>   | no | huta-puluve     | sav[a]ṃ  | kalaṃ   | aṭha-ki-ṃ     | me   | [v]ā        | [pa]ṭi]        | [veda]nā   | vā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | na | bhuta-pruvaṃ    | sava[m]  | kala[m] | aṭha-ka-ṃ     | aṃ   | va          | paṭivedana     | va         |    |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | na | huta-pruve      | [sa]vraṃ | kala    | athra-[k-ana] | a    | va          | [pa]ṭivedana   | va         |    |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | no | [h]ū[ta]-puluve | s[a]vaṃ  | kālaṃ   | aṭha-ka[ṃ]    | me   | va          | [pa]ṭiveda[n]ā | va         |    |
| <i>Ṭau.</i>  | no | bhūta-puluve    | savaṃ    | kālāṃ   | aṭha-kar iṃ   | [e]  |             | paṭivedanā     | va         |    |

|              |     |       |          |        |         |         |         |       |                |    |
|--------------|-----|-------|----------|--------|---------|---------|---------|-------|----------------|----|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | (C) | ta    | mayā     | evaṃ   | kataṃ   | (D)     | s[a]ve  | kāle  | bhuṃj[a]mānasa | me |
| <i>Kā.</i>   | (C) | s[e]  | ma[may]ā | hevaṃ  | kaṭe    | (D)     | s[a]vaṃ | kālāṃ | adamaṇasa      | me |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (C) | ta[m] | maya     | eva[m] | kiṭa[m] | (D)     | savraṃ  | kalaṃ | aśamaṇasa      | me |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | (C) | ta    | maya     | evaṃ   | kiṭaṃ   | (D)     | savra   | kalaṃ | aśatasa        | me |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (C) | se    | mamaya   | kaṭe   | (D)     | sa[va]ṃ | [kālāṃ] | ...   | [māna]sa       | me |
| <i>Ṭau.</i>  | (C) | se    | mamaya   | kaṭe   | (D)     | savaṃ   | kālāṃ   | ...   | [sa m]e        |    |

|              |             |                |               |           |            |     |               |
|--------------|-------------|----------------|---------------|-----------|------------|-----|---------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | orodhanamhi | gabhāgāramhi   | vachamhi      | va        | vinītamhi  | cha | uyānesu       |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | olodhanasi  | gabhāgālas[i]  | va[chas]i     |           | vin[itasi] |     | u[y]ānasi     |
| <i>Shah.</i> | orodhanaspi | grabbhagaraspi | vachaspi      |           | vinitaspi  |     | uyanaspī      |
| <i>Man.</i>  | orodhane    | grabbhagarasi  | vachaspi      |           | vinitaspi  |     | uyanaspī      |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | amhte       | olodh[a]nasi   | ga[bhā]g[ā]si | v[achas]i | [v]inītasi |     | [u]y[ā]n[asi] |
| <i>Yau.</i>  | amhte       | olodhanasi     | gabhāgālasī   | vachasi   | vinītas[i] |     | uyānasi       |

|              |       |            |                  |       |         |       |          |                    |
|--------------|-------|------------|------------------|-------|---------|-------|----------|--------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | cha   | savatra    | paṭivedakā       | ṣṭitā | athe    | me    | [ja]nasa | paṭivedetha        |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  |       | [sava]t[ā] | paṭive[dakā]     |       | aṭha[m] |       | janasā   | vedetu             |
| <i>Shah.</i> |       | savatra    | paṭivedaka       |       | aṭham   |       | janasa   | paṭivedetu         |
| <i>Man.</i>  |       | savatra    | pa[tī][ve]da[ka] |       | athra   |       | janasa   | paṭivedetu         |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [cha] | sa]vata    | paṭivedakā       |       | janasa  | aṭham |          | [pa]ṭived[a]yāritu |
| <i>Yau.</i>  | cha   | savata     | paṭivedakā       |       | janasa  | aṭham |          | praṭivedayaṃtu     |

|              |      |     |     |          |       |          |         |          |
|--------------|------|-----|-----|----------|-------|----------|---------|----------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  |      | iti | (E) | savatra  | cha   | janasa   | athe    | karomi   |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | [m]e |     | (E) | sa[va]tā | [ch]ā | ja[nas]ā | aṭham   | kachhāmi |
| <i>Shah.</i> | me   |     | (E) | savatra  | cha   | ja[na]sa | ath[r]a | karomi   |
| <i>Man.</i>  | me   |     | (E) | savatra  | cha   | janasa   | athra   | kar[o]mi |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | m[e] | ti  | (E) | sava[ta] | ch[a] | j[ā]nasa | aṭham   | kalāmi   |
| <i>Yau.</i>  | me   | ti  | (E) | savata   | cha   | janasa   |         | [ka]m    |

|              |     |       |     |        |           |              |             |         |           |
|--------------|-----|-------|-----|--------|-----------|--------------|-------------|---------|-----------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | (F) | ya    | cha | kiṃchi | mukhato   | ānapayāmi    | svayam      | dāpakam | vā        |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | (F) | yam   | pi  | ch[ā]  | k[ī]chhi  | m]u[kha]t[e] | ānapaya[m]  | [ha]kam | dā[paka]m |
| <i>Shah.</i> | (F) | ya[m] | pi  | cha    | kī[chi]   | mukhato      | anapayami   | a[ham]  | dapa[ka]  |
| <i>Man.</i>  | (F) | yam   | pi  | cha    | kichhi    | mukhato      | anapemi     | aham    | dapakam   |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (F) | am    | pi  | cha    | kī[m]chhi | mukh[a]te    | ānapay[ā]mi |         | dāpakam   |
| <i>Yau.</i>  | (F) | am    | pi  | cha    | kiṃchhi   | mukhate      | ānapayāmi   |         | dāpakam   |

|              |             |    |    |      |        |              |             |           |          |
|--------------|-------------|----|----|------|--------|--------------|-------------|-----------|----------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | śrāvāpakam  | vā | ya | vā   | puna   | mahāmātre    | śchāyī[ke]  | aropitam  | bhavati  |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | [śāvaka]m   | vā | ye | vā   | punā   | mahāmat[e]hi | a[tiyāyike] | ālopite   | h[o]t[i] |
| <i>Shah.</i> | śravaka     | va | ye | va   | p[a]na | mahamatrana  | a[cha]yika  | a[ro]pita | bhoti    |
| <i>Man.</i>  | śravakam    | va | ye | va   | puna   | mahamatrehi  | achayike    | aropite   | hoti     |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [śā]v[a]kam | vā | e  | vā   |        | mahām[āteh]  | atiyāyike   | ālopite   | hoti     |
| <i>Yau.</i>  | sāvaka[m]   | vā | e  | v[ā] |        | mah[ā]mātehi | a[tī]yāyike | [ā]lopite | hoti     |

|              |               |         |          |           |           |        |             |                 |
|--------------|---------------|---------|----------|-----------|-----------|--------|-------------|-----------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | tāya          | athāya  | vivādo   | nijhati   | v[a]      | s]amto | parisāyam   | ānaritaram      |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | ta[yeth]a[ye] |         | vivāde   | n[i]jhati | v[ā]      | samtam | palisāye    | anam[ta][i]yenā |
| <i>Shah.</i> | taye          | aṭhaye  | viva[de] | nijha[tī] | va        | satam  | parishaye   | anamtariyena    |
| <i>Man.</i>  | taye          | athraye | vivade   | nijati    | va        | samta  | par[isha]ye | a[na]taliyena   |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | tasi          | aṭhasi  | v[i]vāde | va        | [n]ijhati | vā     | palisāyā    | āna[m]taliyam   |
| <i>Yau.</i>  | tasi          | aṭhasi  | vivāde   | va        |           |        | lisāy[am]   | ānam[ta]liyam   |

|              |                      |                 |            |        |            |       |       |             |
|--------------|----------------------|-----------------|------------|--------|------------|-------|-------|-------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | paṭ[i]vedeta[v]yam   | me              | sa[r]vatra | sarve  | kāle       | (G)   | evam  | mayā        |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | paṭ[i]               | .....           | viye       | me     | sav[a]t[ā] | savam | kālam | (G) hevam   |
| <i>Shah.</i> | praṭivedetavo        | me <sup>1</sup> | savatra    | savam  | kala[m]    | (G)   | eva   | anapita[rh] |
| <i>Man.</i>  | paṭivedetaviye       | me              | savatra    | savra  | kala       | (G)   | evam  | anapita     |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | paṭi[ve]detav[i]y[e] | me              | ti         | savata | savam      | kālam | (G)   | heva[m]     |
| <i>Yau.</i>  | paṭivedetaviye       | me              | ti         | savata | savam      | kālam | (G)   | hevam       |

<sup>1</sup> The preceding passage from section E is repeated thus : (E) savatra cha aṭham janasa karomi a[ham] (F) yam cha kichhi mukhato anapemi aham dapa[ka]m va śravaka va ye va puna maha-

|              |          |     |         |    |     |        |            |                       |       |
|--------------|----------|-----|---------|----|-----|--------|------------|-----------------------|-------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | añapitañ | (H) | nāsti   | hi | me  | to[s]o | uṣṭānamhi  | atha-saṁtiraṇāya      | va    |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | m[a]mayā | (H) | nathi   | hi | me  | dose   | uṭhān[a]sā | aṭha-saṁtil[a]nāye    | chā   |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | mayā     | (H) | [na]sti | hi | me  | tosho  | uṭhanas[i] | aṭha-sa[m]tiraṇāye    | [cha] |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | mayā     | (H) | nasti   | hi | me  | toshe  | [uṭhanasi] | aṭh[r]a-sa[m]tiraṇāye | cha   |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | anusathe | (H) | nath[i] | hi | m]e | [tos]e | uṭhāna]si  | aṭha-saṁtilanāya      | cha   |
| <i>Yau.</i>  | anusathe | (H) | nathi   | hi | me  | tose   | uṭhānasi   | aṭha-saṁtilan[a]y[a]  | cha   |

|              |     |                 |       |    |                    |     |        |       |          |
|--------------|-----|-----------------|-------|----|--------------------|-----|--------|-------|----------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | (f) | katavya-mate    | hi    | me | sa[rva]-loka-hitam | (ʔ) | tasa   | cha   | puna     |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | (f) | kaṭ[a]viya-mute | hi    | me | s[a]va-loka-hi[te] | (ʔ) | t[asā] | ch[ā] | [p]u[n]ā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (f) | kaṭava-matañ    | hi    | me | sava-loka-hitam    | (ʔ) | ta[sa] | cha]  |          |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | (f) | kaṭaviya-mate   | hi    | me | sava-loka-h[i]te   | (ʔ) | [ta]sa | chu   | puna     |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (f) | kaṭaviya-m[at]e | hi    | me | sava-loka-hite     | (ʔ) | tasa   | cha   | pana     |
| <i>Yau.</i>  | (f) | .....           | ..... | me | sava-loka-hite     | (ʔ) | tasa   | cha   | pana     |

|              |       |      |            |     |                     |     |     |         |    |
|--------------|-------|------|------------|-----|---------------------|-----|-----|---------|----|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | esa   | mūle | uṣṭānam    | cha | atha-saṁtiraṇā      | cha | (K) | nāsti   | hi |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | es[e] | mule | uṭh[āne]   |     | [a]ṭha-saṁtilanā    | chā | (K) | [na]thi | hi |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | mulañ | etra | uṭhanam    |     | aṭha-saṁtiraṇa      | cha | (K) | na[sti] | hi |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | eshe  | mule | uṭhane     |     | athra-satiraṇa      | cha | (K) | nasti   | hi |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | iyam  | mūle | [u]ṭhān[e] | cha | a]ṭha-saṁtil[a]n[ā] | cha | (K) | nathi   | hi |
| <i>Yau.</i>  | iyam  | mūle | uṭhāne     | cha | aṭha-saṁtilanā      | cha | (K) | nathi   | hi |

|              |                |                      |     |       |       |          |               |
|--------------|----------------|----------------------|-----|-------|-------|----------|---------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | kaṁmataram     | sarva-loka-hitapā    | (L) | ya    | cha   | kiñchi   | parākramāmi   |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | kaṁ[ma]talā    | sava-lo[ka]-hitenā   | (L) | yam   | cha   | kichhi   | palakamāmi    |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | k[r]amatara[m] | sava-loka-hite[na]   | (L) | yam   | cha   | kichi    | parak[r]amami |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | kramatara      | sava-loka-hitena     | (L) | ya[m] | cha   | [kichhi] | pa[rakra]mami |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | kaṁmata . .    | [sa]va-lo[ka]-hitena | (L) | [aṁ]  | ch[a] | kichhi]  | p[a]lakamāmi  |
| <i>Yau.</i>  | k[aṁ]matalā    | sava-loka-hiten[a]   | (L) | aṁ    | cha   | kichhi   | p[a]lakamāmi  |

|              |       |          |            |            |             |       |          |        |
|--------------|-------|----------|------------|------------|-------------|-------|----------|--------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | aham  | kiñti    | bhūtānam   | ānamṇam    | gachheyam   | idha  | cha      | nāni   |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | hakam | kiti     | bhutānam   | [a]naniyam | ye[hām]     | hi]da | cha      | [kā]ni |
| <i>Shāh.</i> |       | kiti     | bhutanam   | anapiyam   | v[r]acheyam | ia    | cha      | sha    |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | aam   | k[i]t[i] | bh[u]tanam | anapiyam   | ye[hām]     | ia    | cha      | she    |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | hakam | kiñti    | bhūtānam   | a[na]niyam | yeha[m]     | ti    | [h]i[da] | cha    |
| <i>Yau.</i>  | hakam | .....    | .....      | [n]iyam    | yeham       | ti    | hida     | cha    |

|              |             |          |     |          |             |     |                 |
|--------------|-------------|----------|-----|----------|-------------|-----|-----------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | sukhāpayāmi | paratrā  | cha | svagam   | ārādhayaṁtu | (M) | ta <sup>1</sup> |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | sukhāyāmi   | palata   | chā | svagam   | ālādhayitu  | (M) | s[e]            |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | sukhayami   | paratra  | cha | spagram  | aradhetu'   | (M) |                 |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | sukhayami   | paratra  | cha | spagra   | a[ra]dhetu  | ti  | (M) se          |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | sukhāyāmi   | pal[a]ta | cha | svag[am] | ālādhayaṁtū | ti  | (M)             |
| <i>Yau.</i>  | su[kha]yāmi | palata   | cha | svagam   | ālādhayaṁtū | ti  | (M)             |

matranam achayā[ṭ]am aropita[m] bhōti s[e]ye aṭhaye [v]ivade sa[m]tañ nijati va parishaye  
anantariyena pavvedetavo me.

<sup>1</sup> On p. 12 above, l. 7, place *sa* after (M), and cancel foot-note a. On p. 13, l. 11, read '(M)  
Now, for the following purpose', &c.

|              |              |         |        |                |           |                   |        |         |
|--------------|--------------|---------|--------|----------------|-----------|-------------------|--------|---------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | etāya        | athāya  | ayaṁ   | dha[r̥]ma-lipi | lekhāpitā | kiṁti             | chiraṁ | tiṣṭeya |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | etā[y]ethāye |         | iyaṁ   | dhama-lipi     | lekhitā   | chila-ṭhitikā     |        | hotu    |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | etaye        | aṭhaye  | ayi    | dhrama         | nipista   | chira-ṭhitika     |        | bhotu   |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | etaye        | athraye | iyaṁ   | dhrama-dipi    | likhita   | chira-ṭhitika     |        | hotu    |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | et[ā]ye      | aṭhāye  | i[ya]ṁ | dharmma-lipi   | likhitā   | ch[i]la-ṭh[i]tikā |        | hotu    |
| <i>Ṭau.</i>  | etāye        | aṭhāye  | i[ya]ṁ | dharmma-lipi   | likhitā   | chila-ṭhitika     |        | hotu    |

|              |     |         |      |    |           |         |        |          |     |                  |
|--------------|-----|---------|------|----|-----------|---------|--------|----------|-----|------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | iti | tathā   | cha  | me | putrā     | potā    | cha    | prapotrā | cha | anuvataṛaṁ       |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  |     | tathā   | cha  | me | puta-dāle |         |        |          |     | palakamātu       |
| <i>Shāh.</i> |     | tatha   | cha  | me | putra     | nataro  |        |          |     | parakramaṁtu     |
| <i>Mān.</i>  |     | ta[tha  | cha] | me | pu[tra    | nata]re |        |          |     | para[kra]mate    |
| <i>Dhau.</i> |     | ta[th]ā | cha  |    | putā      |         | papotā | me       |     | palakama[r̥]ṭ[ṭ] |
| <i>Ṭau.</i>  |     |         |      |    |           |         | [t]ā   | me       |     | [pa]lakamaṁtu    |

|              |                     |     |          |       |       |        |          |
|--------------|---------------------|-----|----------|-------|-------|--------|----------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | sava-loka-hitāya    | (N) | dukaraṁ  | [t]ṭ  |       | idaṁ   | aṇatra   |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | sava-loka-hitā[ye]  | (N) | dukale   | ch[u] |       | iyaṁ   | anat[ā]  |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | sava-lo[ka-hita]ye  | (N) | [du]kara | tu    | [kh]o | imaṁ   | aṇat[ṛ]a |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | sa[vra-lo]ka-hitāye | (N) | dukare   | cha   | kho   |        | [a]ṇatra |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [sava-loka]-hitāye  | (N) | dukale   | chu   |       | iyaṁ   | aṇnat[ā] |
| <i>Ṭau.</i>  | sava-loka-hitāye    | (N) | dukale   | chu   |       | i[ya]ṁ | aṇnata   |

|              |          |               |
|--------------|----------|---------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | agena    | parākramena   |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | agenā    | palakam[e]nā  |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | agre     | parakramena   |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | a[g]rena | para[kra]mena |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | a[g]en[a | pa]lakamena   |
| <i>Ṭau.</i>  | agena    | palakamena    |

## SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT

|              |     |                 |            |      |          |           |                  |         |
|--------------|-----|-----------------|------------|------|----------|-----------|------------------|---------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | (A) | Devānaṁpiyo     | Piyadasi   | rājā | sarvata  | ichhati   | save             | pāsaṁdā |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | (A) | Devānaṁpiye     | Piyadasi   | lājā | [savat]ā | [i]chhati | sava-[pāsa]ṁdā   |         |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (A) | Devanaṁpriyo    | Priyaśi    | raja | savatra  | ichhati   | sava-[p]rashaṁda |         |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | (A) | Devanaṁpiyo     | Priyadraśi | raja | savratra | ichhati   | sava-pashaḍa     |         |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (A) | [D]evānaṁ[p]iye | Piy[a]dasi | lājā | savata   | ichhaḍi   | sava-p[āsa]ṁ[dā] |         |
| <i>Ṭau.</i>  | (A) | . . . . .       | da[sī]     | lājā | savata   | ichhati   | sava-p[ā]saṁdā   |         |

|              |            |      |        |        |         |            |                 |
|--------------|------------|------|--------|--------|---------|------------|-----------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | vaseyu     | (B)  | save   | te     | sayamaṁ | cha        | bhāva-sudhīm    |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | vas[e]vu   | (B)  | [sa]ve | hi     | te      | sayama[r̥] | bhāva-sudhi     |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | vaseyu     | (B)  | save   | hi     | te      | sayame     | bhava-sudhi     |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | vaseyu     | (B)  | savre  | hi     | te      | sa[ya]ma   | [bha]va-śu[dh]i |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [va]sevū   | ti   | (B)    | save   | h[i]    | t[ṛ]e      | sa[ya]maṁ       |
| <i>Ṭau.</i>  | va[s]e . . | [t]i | (B)    | [sav]e | hi      | te         | sa[ya]ma[r̥]    |

|              |      |           |     |          |       |                              |
|--------------|------|-----------|-----|----------|-------|------------------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | cha  | ichhati   | (C) | jano     | tu    | uchāvacha-chhaṁdo            |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | chā  | ichhaṁti  | (C) | jane     | [ch]u | uchāvuchā-chh[a]ṁde          |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | cha  | ichhaṁti  | (C) | jano     | chu   | uchavucha-chhaṁdo            |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | [cha | ichhaṁ]ti | (C) | jane     | chu   | uchavucha-chhade             |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | cha  | ichhaṁti  | (C) | mun[i]śā | ch[a  | u]ch[ā]v[ṛ]u]cha-[chha]ṁ[d]ā |
| <i>Ṭau.</i>  | cha  | ichhaṁti  | (C) | munisā   | cha   | uchāvucha-chhaṁdā            |

|              |                  |                  |                   |    |               |
|--------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|----|---------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | uchāvacha-rāgo   | (D) te sarvaṃ va | kāsaṃti eka-deśaṃ | va | kasa[ṃ]ti.    |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | uchāvucha-lā[g]e | (D) te savaṃ     | eka-deś[a]ṃ       | pi | k[a]chhaṃ[ṛ]i |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | uchavucha-rago   | (D) te savraṃ va | eka-deśaṃ         | va | pi kashaṃti   |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | uchavucha-rage   | (D) te savaṃ     | eka-deśaṃ         | va | pi kashati    |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | uchāvucha-lāgā   | (D) te savaṃ vā  | ek[a]-deśaṃ       | va | kachhaṃ[ṛ]i   |
| <i>Ṭau.</i>  | uchāvuch[a]-lāgā | (D) . . . . .    | [sa]ṃ             | va | kachhaṃti     |

|              |                |      |       |          |      |         |        |                 |
|--------------|----------------|------|-------|----------|------|---------|--------|-----------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | (E) vip[ul]e   | tu   | pi    | dāne     | yasa | nāsti   | sayame | bhāva-sudhitā   |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | (E) vipule     | pi   | chu   | dān[e]   | asā  | nathi   | sayame | bhā[va]-sudh[i] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (E) vipule     | pi   | chu   | dane     | yasa | nasti   | sayama | bhava-sudhi     |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | (E) vipule     | pi   | ch[u] | dane     | yasa | nasti   | sayame | bhava-śuti      |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (E) vipul[e]   | pi   | chā   | dāne     | asa  | n[athi] | sayame | [bh]āva-sudhi   |
| <i>Ṭau.</i>  | (E) [v]i[pul]e | [p]i | chā   | [d]ā[nē] | .    | .       | .      | [dhi]           |

|              |    |           |    |                  |     |         |           |
|--------------|----|-----------|----|------------------|-----|---------|-----------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | va | katamñatā | va | daḍha-bhati[ṛ]ā  | cha | nichā   | bādhaṃ    |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  |    | kiṭanātā  |    | d[ṛ]iḍha-bhatitā | chā | n[iche] | bādhaṃ    |
| <i>Shāh.</i> |    | kiṭrañata |    | driḍha-bhatita   |     | niche   | paḍhaṃ    |
| <i>Mān.</i>  |    | kiṭanata  |    | driḍha-bhatita   | cha | niche   | baḍhaṃ    |
| <i>Dhau.</i> |    |           |    |                  | cha | niche   | bādhaṃ    |
| <i>Ṭau.</i>  |    |           |    |                  | cha | niche   | [b]āḍt aṃ |

## EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT

|              |                   |           |               |                  |       |
|--------------|-------------------|-----------|---------------|------------------|-------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | (A) atikātaṃ      | aṃtaraṃ   | rājāno        | vihāra-yātāṃ     |       |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | (A) atikaṃtaṃ     | a[ṃ]talaṃ | Devānaṃpiyā   | [vihā]la-yātāṃ   | nāma] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (A) atikrataṃ     | ataraṃ    | Devanaṃpriya  | vihara-yatra     | nama  |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | (A) a[ti]krataṃ   | ataraṃ    | Devanapri[ya] | vihara-yatra     | nama  |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (A) [atika]ṃ[ta]ṃ | aṃt[ā]laṃ | lā[j]ā[n]e    | v[i]h[ā]la-yātāṃ | nāma  |
| <i>Ṭau.</i>  | .                 | .         | .             | .                | .     |
| <i>Sōp.</i>  | .                 | .         | .             | .                | .     |

|              |                   |             |             |          |       |               |
|--------------|-------------------|-------------|-------------|----------|-------|---------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | ñayāsu            | (B) eta     | magavyā     | añāni    | cha   | etārisani     |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | nikhamisu         | (B) hidā    | migaviyā    | aṃnāni   | chā   | hedisānā      |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | nikramishu        | (B) atra    | mrugaya     | añani    | cha   | edisāni       |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | nikramishu        | (B) ia      | mrigaviya   | añani    | cha   | edisāni       |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [n]i[kha]m[i]ś[u] | (B) . . [ta | miga]viy[ā] | a[ṃ]nāni | ch[a] | edisāni       |
| <i>Ṭau.</i>  | .                 | .           | [v]i[y]ā    | [a]ṃnāni | cha   | e[d]i . . . . |
| <i>Sōp.</i>  | .                 | .           | .           | .        | .     | .             |

|              |                  |          |          |                 |                |
|--------------|------------------|----------|----------|-----------------|----------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | abhiramakāni     | ahuṃsu   | (C) so   | Devānaṃpriyo    | Piyadasi       |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | abhiāmān[i]      | husu     | (C)      | Devānaṃpiye     | Piyadasi       |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | abhiramani       | abhuvasu | (C) so   | Devanaṃpriyo    | Priyadraśi     |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | abhiramani       | husu     | (C) ś[e] | Devanap[ri]y[e] | P[ri]yadraśi   |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | a[bh]i[ā]māni    | huvaṃti  | (C) se   | Devānaṃpiye     | P[ri]y[a]dasi  |
| <i>Ṭau.</i>  | . . . . . [m]āni | huvaṃti  | (C) se   | Devānaṃpiye     | [Piya] . . . . |
| <i>Sōp.</i>  | .                | .        | .        | .               | .              |

|              |      |                        |          |             |            |                |
|--------------|------|------------------------|----------|-------------|------------|----------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | rajā | dasa-varsābhisito      | saṁto    | ayāya       | Sambodhirā | (D) tenesā     |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | lājā | das[a]-vasābhisite     | saṁtaṁ   | nikhamithā  | Sambodhi   | (D) tenatā     |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | raja | dasa-vashābhisito      | sataṁ    | nikrami     | Sabodhi    | (D) tenada     |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | raja | dasa-vashābhisite      | saṁta[m] | nikrami     | Sabodhi    | (D) tenada     |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | lājā | d[a]sa-[vas]ābhisit[e] |          | [n]ikhami   | Sambodh[i] | (D) [t]e[n]atā |
| <i>Yau.</i>  | .... | [dasa]                 |          |             |            |                |
| <i>Sop.</i>  |      |                        |          | nikhamiṭṭha | Sa         |                |

|              |                |              |              |                    |              |
|--------------|----------------|--------------|--------------|--------------------|--------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | dhamma-yāta    | (E) etayam   | hoti         | bāmhāṇa-samañānam  | dasane       |
| <i>Kāḷ.</i>  | dhamma-yāta    | (E) [h]etā   | iyam         | samaṇa-bāmbhānānam | dasane       |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | dhamma-yatra   | (E) atra     | iyam         | śramaṇa-bramaṇanam | draśane      |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | dharma-yada    | (E) atra     | iya          | śamaṇa-bramaṇana   | dra[śa]ne    |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | dha[r]mma-yāta | (E) [ta]tesa | [ho]ti       | samaṇa-bābhanānam  | d[a]s[a]n[e] |
| <i>Yau.</i>  | .....          | [tā]         | (E) [ta]tesa | hoti               | [sa]         |
| <i>Sōp.</i>  | .....          | (E) heta     | iyam         | [ho]ti             | bam[bha]     |

|              |       |        |     |             |           |       |                         |       |
|--------------|-------|--------|-----|-------------|-----------|-------|-------------------------|-------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | cha   | dāne   | cha | thairānaṁ   | dasane    | ch[a] | hiraṇṇa-paṭividdhāno    | cha   |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | chā   | dāne   | cha | vudh[a]naṁ  | dasa[n]e  | ch[a] | hiraṇṇa-paṭi[v]iddhāne  | chā   |
| <i>Shāh.</i> |       | danaṁ  |     | vudhana[m]  | daśana    |       | hiraṇṇa-p[r]aṭividdhane | cha   |
| <i>Mān.</i>  |       | dane   | cha | vudhrana    | dra[śa]ne | [cha] | hiṇṇa-paṭividdhane      | cha]  |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | ch[a] | d[ā]ne | cha | v[u]ḍḍhānaṁ | dasane    | cha   | h[i]ṇṇa-p[a]ṭividdhāne  | cha]  |
| <i>Yau.</i>  | cha   | dāne   | cha | vudhānaṁ    | dasane    | cha   | hiraṇṇa-paṭiv[i]ddhāne  | [cha] |
| <i>Sop.</i>  |       |        |     | vudhānaṁ    | dasane    | [cha] | hiraṇṇa-paṭividdhāne    | cha   |

|              |              |     |            |          |                    |                       |
|--------------|--------------|-----|------------|----------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | jānapadasa   | cha | janasa     | daspanaṁ | dhammānusa[a]ṭṭi   | cha                   |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | [jā]napadasā |     | [ja]n[a]sā | das[a]ne | dhammanusathi      | chā                   |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | [jana]padasa |     | janasa     | draśana  | dhramanuṣasti      |                       |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | janapadasa   |     | janasa     | draśane  | dhramanuṣasti      | cha                   |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [jāna]padasa |     | janasa     | [dasa]ne | cha                | dhammānu[sath]i [cha] |
| <i>Yau.</i>  | .            | .   | .          | .        | .                  | .                     |
| <i>Sop.</i>  | .            | .   | .          | .        | [dha*]mmānusa[thi] | .                     |

|              |                         |            |           |              |          |        |
|--------------|-------------------------|------------|-----------|--------------|----------|--------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | dhama-paripucchā        | cha        | tadopayā  | (F) eṣā      | bhuya    | rati   |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | dhama-palipucchā        | chā        | tatopayā] | (F) [e]se    | bh[u]ye  | lāti   |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | dhrama-pa[r]i[p]ru]chha | cha        | tatopayaṁ | (F) eṣhe     | bhuy[e   | ra]ti  |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | dhrama-[pa]r[i]pucchha  | cha        | tatopaya  | (F) eṣhe     | bhuye    | rati   |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | .....                   | [p]u[chh]ā | cha       | [ta]d[o]payā | (F) e[sā | bhuy]e |
| <i>Yau.</i>  | [dha]ṁma-p[al]i[pucch]ā | .          | .         | .            | .        | ilāme  |
| <i>Sop.</i>  | dhamma                  | .          | .         | .            | ve       | [ra]ti |

|              |         |                 |              |        |           |           |
|--------------|---------|-----------------|--------------|--------|-----------|-----------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | bhavati | Devānampiyasa   | Priyadasino  | rāṇo   | bhā[g]e   | aṁñe      |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | hoti    | Devānampiyasā   | Piyadas[i]sā | lājine | bh[ā]g[e] | aṁne      |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | bhoti   | Devanāmpriyasa  | Priyadrasisa | raṇo   | bhago     | aṁñi      |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | hoti    | Devanapriyasa   | Priyadrasisa | rajine | bhage     | aṇe       |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | hoti    | Devānampiyasa   | Piyada[s]ine | lājine | bhāge     | [aṁ]ne    |
| <i>Yau.</i>  | hoti    | De[v]ānampiyasa | Piyadasine   | lājine | bhāge     | [a] . . . |
| <i>Sop.</i>  | hoti    | De              |              | n[e]   | bhāge     | aṁ .      |



## NINTH ROCK-EDICT

|              |     |               |             |        |       |       |     |        |       |
|--------------|-----|---------------|-------------|--------|-------|-------|-----|--------|-------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | (A) | Devānaṁpiyo   | Priyadasi   | rājā   | eva   | āha   | (B) | asti   | jano  |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | (A) | Devānaṁpiye   | Piy[a]da[s] | lā[jā] |       | āha   | (B) | jan[e] |       |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (A) | Devanaṁpriyo  | Priyadraśi  | r[a]ya | evam  | ahati | (B) | jano   |       |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | (A) | Devanaṁpriye  | Priyadraśi  | raja   | evam  | aha   | (B) | jane   |       |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (A) | Devānaṁpiye   | Piyadasi    | lājā   | hevam | āhā   | (B) | [athi  | ja]ne |
| <i>Yau.</i>  | (A) | Devān[am]piye | Piyadasi    | lā[jā] |       |       |     |        |       |

|              |              |            |          |          |    |                |              |  |  |
|--------------|--------------|------------|----------|----------|----|----------------|--------------|--|--|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | uchāvacham   | maṁgalaṁ   | karote   | ābādhesu | vā | āvāha-vivāhesu |              |  |  |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | uch[āv]ucham | maṁgalaṁ   | ka[l]eti | ābādhasi |    | av[āha]si      | vivāhasi     |  |  |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | uchavucham   | maṁgalaṁ   | karoti   | abadhe   |    | avahe          | vivahe       |  |  |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | uchavucha[m] | maṁgala[m] | karoti   | abadhasi |    | a[va]hasi      | vī[va]hasi   |  |  |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | uchāvucham   | maṁgalaṁ   | ka[l]eti | [āb]ādha |    |                | [vī][vāha].. |  |  |
| <i>Yau.</i>  |              |            |          |          |    |                |              |  |  |

|              |    |                |    |             |    |         |     |        |       |
|--------------|----|----------------|----|-------------|----|---------|-----|--------|-------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | vā | putra-lābhesu  | vā | pravāsaṁmhi | vā | etamhī  | cha | añamhi | cha   |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  |    | pajopadāne     |    | pavāsasi    |    | e[tā]ye |     | añnāye | chā   |
| <i>Shāh.</i> |    | pajupadane     |    | pravase     |    | ataye   |     | añaye  | cha   |
| <i>Mān.</i>  |    | prajopadaye    |    | pravasaspi  |    | etaye   |     | añaye  | [cha] |
| <i>Dhau.</i> |    | . . [ju]padāye |    | pavās[a]si  |    | etāye   |     | añnāye | ch[a] |
| <i>Yau.</i>  |    | [pa]jupadāye   |    | pavāsasi    |    | etāye   |     | añnāye | cha   |

|              |            |          |             |            |              |     |         |       |  |
|--------------|------------|----------|-------------|------------|--------------|-----|---------|-------|--|
| <i>Gir.</i>  |            | jano     | uchāvacham  | maṁgalaṁ   | karote       | (C) | eta     | tu    |  |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | edisāye    | jane     | bahu        | magala[m]  | k[a]leti     | (C) | heta    | [ch]u |  |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | ediśiye    | jano     | ba          | maṁgalaṁ   | karoti       | (C) | atra    | tu    |  |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | [ed]iśa[ye | jane]    | bahu        | maṁga[la]m | ka[rōt]i     | (C) | atra    | tu    |  |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | hedisāye   | j[a]n[e] | bahukam     | maṁgalaṁ   | k[a] . . . . | (C) | . . . . | [chu] |  |
| <i>Yau.</i>  | hedisāye   | jane     | [ba]hu[ka]m |            |              |     |         |       |  |

|              |                |           |     |                  |      |          |       |  |  |
|--------------|----------------|-----------|-----|------------------|------|----------|-------|--|--|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | mahiḍāyo       | bahukam   | cha | bahuvidham       | cha  | chhudam  | cha   |  |  |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | abaka-jani[yo] | bahu      | chā | bahuvidham       | chā  | khudā    | [ch]ā |  |  |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | striyaka       | bahu      | cha | bahuvidham       | cha  | putika   | cha   |  |  |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | abaka-janika   | bahu      | cha | bahuvidha        | cha  | khuda    | cha   |  |  |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | ithi           | b[ahuka]m | cha | [ba]hu[v]i[dh]am | ch[a | kh]ud[am | cha]  |  |  |
| <i>Yau.</i>  |                |           |     |                  |      |          |       |  |  |

|              |              |      |           |           |     |    |             |          |      |
|--------------|--------------|------|-----------|-----------|-----|----|-------------|----------|------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | nirath[am]   | cha  | maṁgalaṁ  | karote    | (D) | ta | katavyameva | tu       |      |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | nilathiya    | chā  | magalaṁ   | ka[la]nti | (D) | se | kaṭavi      | cheva    | kho  |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | nirathiyam   | cha  | maṁgalaṁ  | karoti    | (D) | so | kaṭavo      | cha [va] | kho  |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | nirathriya   | cha  | magalaṁ   | karoti    | (D) | se | ka[ṭaviye   | ch]eva   | kho  |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [nilathī]yam | cha  | maṁgalaṁ  | kaleti    | (D) | se | ka[ṭa]viye  | che[va   | kh]o |
| <i>Yau.</i>  | . . . . .    | [cha | ma]m[ga]m | k[a]leti  | (D) | se | kaṭaviye    | cheva    | kho  |

|              |           |     |              |       |       |          |          |           |           |
|--------------|-----------|-----|--------------|-------|-------|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | magalaṁ   | (E) | apa-phalaṁ   | tu    | kho   | etarisam | maṁgalaṁ |           |           |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | maṁgale   | (E) | apa-phale    | [ch]u | kho   | [e]a[e]  |          |           |           |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | maṁgala   | (E) | apa-phala[m] | tu    | kho   | eta      |          |           |           |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | magale    | (E) | apa-phale    | chu   | [kho  | e]ahe    |          |           |           |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | m[a]mgale | (E) | [a]pa-phale  | chu   | kho   | esa      | h[e]dise | maṁ[ga].. |           |
| <i>Yau.</i>  | maṁgale   | (E) | apa-[pha]le  | chu   | [kh]o | e[sa]    | he[d]ise | ma        | . . . . . |

|              |     |          |       |     |                |         |    |                  |
|--------------|-----|----------|-------|-----|----------------|---------|----|------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | (F) | ayaṁ     | tu    |     | mah[ā]-phale   | maṁgale | ya | dhaṁma-maṁgale   |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | (F) | [i]yaṁ   | chu   | kho | mah[ā]-ph[a]le |         | ye | dhaṁma-magale    |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (F) | imaṁ     | [t]u  | kho | maha-phala     |         | ye | ma-maṁgala       |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | (F) | iyaṁ     | chu   | kho | maha-phale     |         | ye | dhrama-magale    |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (F) | .. [ya]ṁ | [ch]u | kho | mah[ā]-ph[a]le |         | e  | [dha]ṁma-maṁgale |
| <i>Yau.</i>  | (F) | [i]yaṁ   | [chu] |     |                |         |    |                  |

|              |     |            |      |                   |                    |           |            |
|--------------|-----|------------|------|-------------------|--------------------|-----------|------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | (G) | ta[te]ta   |      | dāsa-bhatakamhi   | samya-pratipati    | gurūnaṁ   | apachiti   |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | (G) | he[tā]     | iyaṁ | dāsa-bhatakasi    | s[a]myā-paṭip[a]ti | gulunā    | apachiti   |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (G) | [a]tra     | ima  | dasa-bhatakasa    | samma-paṭipati     | garuna    | apachiti   |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | (G) | atra       | iyaṁ | dasa-bhatakasi    | samya-paṭipati     | guruna    | a[pachit]i |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (G) | [ta]te[sa] |      | d[sa]-bhatakas[i] | sammyā-paṭipat[i]  | gulū[na]ṁ | [a]pa].... |
| <i>Yau.</i>  |     |            |      | [sa-bha]takasi    | sammyā-paṭipati    | gulūnaṁ   | apachiti   |

|              |       |               |            |       |                         |       |
|--------------|-------|---------------|------------|-------|-------------------------|-------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | sādhū | pānesu        | sayamo     | sādhū | bamhaṇa-samaṇānaṁ       | sādhū |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  |       | [p]ā[n]ān[am] | samīyame   |       | s[a]man[a]-bamhanānaṁ   |       |
| <i>Shāh.</i> |       | praṇanaṁ      | sa[m]īyamo |       | samaṇa-bramaṇana        |       |
| <i>Mān.</i>  |       | pra[nā]na     | [sa]īyame  |       | śramaṇa-bramaṇana       |       |
| <i>Dhau.</i> |       | ..... [me]    |            |       | samana-bābhan[ā]naṁ     |       |
| <i>Yau.</i>  |       | pānesu        | say[a]me   |       | saman[a]-bābha[n]ā[nam] |       |

|              |          |       |     |         |       |          |                    |       |
|--------------|----------|-------|-----|---------|-------|----------|--------------------|-------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | dānaṁ    | e[ā]  | cha | añ[ā]   | cha   | etārisaṁ | dhaṁma-maṁgalaṁ    | nāma  |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | dāne     | ese   |     | añne    | chā   | heḍise   | dhaṁma-magale      | nāmā  |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | dana     | etaṁ  |     | añāṁ    | cha   |          | dhrama-maṁga[laṁ]  | nama  |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | [dane]   | eshe  |     | aṇe     | cha   | ediḥe    | dhrama-magale      | nama  |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | dāne     | esa   |     | añne    | ch[a] | .....    | [dhaṁma]-maṁga[le] | nāma] |
| <i>Yau.</i>  | [d]ā[n]e | [esa] |     | a]ñ[n]e |       |          |                    |       |

|              |     |      |            |            |    |          |    |           |    |               |
|--------------|-----|------|------------|------------|----|----------|----|-----------|----|---------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | (H) | ta   | vataṁyaṁ   | pitā       | va | putena   | vā | bhātrā    | vā | svāmikena     |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | (H) | se   | vata[v]iye | pitinā     | pi | putena   | pi | bh[ā]tinā | pi | suṁvāmiken[a] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (H) | [s]o | vataṁ      | pituna     | pi | putrena  | pi | bhratana  | pi | spamik[e]na   |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | (H) | se   | vataṁiye   | pi[tu]na   | pi | putrena  | pi | bhratuna  | pi | spamikena     |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (H) | [se] | vata[viye] | p[i]t[inā] | pi | pute[na] | pi | bhātinā   | pi | suṁvāmike[na] |
| <i>Yau.</i>  |     |      |            | [pi]tinā   | pi | putena   | pi | bhātinā   | pi | suṁvāmike[na] |

|              |      |                    |       |               |      |      |       |        |      |
|--------------|------|--------------------|-------|---------------|------|------|-------|--------|------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | vā   |                    |       |               |      |      | idaṁ  | sādhū  | idaṁ |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | pi   | mita-saṁthuten[ā]  | ava   | paṭivesiyenā  | [p]i | iyaṁ | sādhū | iyaṁ   |      |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | pi   | mitra-sastutena    | ava   | pratīveśiyena |      | imaṁ | sadhū | [imaṁ] |      |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | pi   | mitra-sa[m]stutena | [a]va | paṭīveśiyena  | pi   | iyaṁ | sadhū | iyaṁ   |      |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [p]i |                    |       |               |      |      |       |        |      |
| <i>Yau.</i>  | pi   |                    |       |               |      | iyaṁ | sādhū | iyaṁ   |      |

|              |            |            |       |        |          |             |            |
|--------------|------------|------------|-------|--------|----------|-------------|------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | katavya    | maṁgalaṁ   | āva   | tasa   | athasa   | niṣṭānāya   | (I) asti   |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | kaṭaviye   | [ma]g[a]le | āva   | [ta]sā | athas ā  | ni[v]utiya  |            |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | kaṭa[vo]   | maṁgala[m] | yava  | tasa   | aṭhrasa  | nivūṭiya    | nivūṭaspi  |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | kaṭaviye   | magale     | ava   | tasa   | aṭhrasa  | nivūṭiya    | nivūṭasi   |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | ..... [I]e |            | [ā]va | tasa   | aṭhas[a] | niphatiy[ā] | (I) [a]thi |
| <i>Yau.</i>  | kaṭaviye   |            |       |        |          |             |            |

*Gir.* cha pi vutaṃ sādhu dana iti (ḡ) na tu etārisaṃ astā  
*Kāl.* imaṃ kachhāmi ti (I) e hi i[ta]le magale  
*Shāh.* va p[u]na imaṃ kashaṃ (I) ye hi etake magale  
*Mān.* va puna ima [ka]shami ti (I) e hi [i]tare maga[le]  
*Dhau.* [cha heva]ṃ v[u]ṭe dāne s[ā]dh[ū] ti (ḡ) [s]e [na]thi . . . . .  
*ḡau.* . . . . . [s]e

*Gir.* dānaṃ va ana[ga]ho va yārisaṃ dhamma-dānaṃ va dhamanugaho va  
*Kāl.* sa[r̥]ṇsayikye se (ḡ) siyā va taṃ aṭhaṃ nivaṭṭe[ā] siyā punā no  
*Shāh.* saśayike taṃ (ḡ) siya vo taṃ aṭhaṃ nivaṭṭeyati siya puna no  
*Mān.* śa[śa]yike se (ḡ) s[i]ya va taṃ aṭhaṃ nivaṭṭeya s[i]ya pana no  
*Dhau.* . . . . . [anu]ga[h]e v[ā] ād[i]se dha[r̥]ma-dāne dham[mānuga]he . . .  
*ḡau.* dāne anugah[e] vā ādi[s]e dhamma-dāne dhammānugahe cha

*Gir.* (K) ta tu kho mitrena va suhadayena [v]ā ṇatikena va sahāyana va  
*Kāl.* (K) hīda]okike chev[a] se (L) iyaṃ punā dhamma-magale akāliky[e]  
*Shāh.* (K) ialoka cha vo taṃ (L) ida puna dhrama-magalaṃ akalikaṃ  
*Mān.* (K) hida[ō]kike cheva se (L) iyaṃ puna dhrama-magale akalike  
*Dhau.* (K) . . . . . [m]i . . . . . [t]i[k]ena sahāye[na p]i  
*ḡau.* (K) se chu kho mitena . . . . .

*Gir.* ovāditavyaṃ tamhi tamhi pakaraṇe [i]daṃ kachaṃ idaṃ sādha iti  
*Kāl.* (M) haṃche pi taṃ aṭhaṃ no niteti hida aṭhaṃ palata anantaṃ  
*Shāh.* (M) yadi puna taṃ aṭhaṃ na nivaṭṭe[ā] ia aṭha paratra anantaṃ  
*Mān.* (M) [ha]che pi taṃ aṭhaṃ no nivaṭṭeti [hi]da a[tha] paratra anata  
*Dhau.* viyovadita . . . . . i [tasi] pak[alana]si [iya]ṃ . . . . .  
*ḡau.* . . . . . yaṃ sād[h]ū

*Gir.* iminā sak[a] svagaṃ ārādhetu iti (L) ki cha iminā katavyataṃ  
*Kāl.* punā pavasati (N) haṃche puna taṃ aṭhaṃ nivaṭṭeti hida tato  
*Shāh.* puṇaṃ prasavati (N) haṃche puna taṃ aṭhaṃ nivaṭṭeti tato  
*Mān.* puṇa prasavati (N) haṃche puna ta[r̥]ṇ aṭhaṃ nivaṭṭe[ā]ti hida tato  
*Dhau.* . . . . . [l]ādhayitave (L) . . . . . ṭa[v] . . . . .  
*ḡau.* imena sakiye svage ālādhayitave (L) kim hi inena kaṭaviyatālā

*Gir.* yathā svagāradhī  
*Kāl.* ubhaye[saj̥]ṇ ladhe hoti hida chā se aṭhe palata chā anantaṃ  
*Shāh.* u[bha]j̥[e]sa ladhaṃ bhoti ia cha so aṭho paratra cha anantaṃ  
*Mān.* ubhayaesaṃ [ara]dhe hoti hida cha se athre paratra cha anata  
*Dhau.* . . . . . [svagasa] āl[adh]i  
*ḡau.* . . . . .

*Kāl.* punā pasavati tenā dhamma-magalen[ā]  
*Shāh.* puṇaṃ prasavati tena dhrama[m]galena  
*Mān.* puṇaṃ prasavati tena dhramagalena

## TENTH ROCK-EDICT

|              |     |               |             |      |         |      |        |    |    |
|--------------|-----|---------------|-------------|------|---------|------|--------|----|----|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | (A) | Devānāmpiyo   | Priyadasi   | rājā | yaso    | va   | kiti   | va | na |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | (A) | Devā[nām]piye | Piy[a]dashā | lājā | y[a]sho | vā   | kiti   | vā | no |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (A) | Devanapriye   | Priyadraśi  | raya | yaśo    | va   | kiṭri  | va | no |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | (A) | [Devana]priye | Priyadraśi  | raja | yaśo    | va   | kiṭi   | va | no |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (A) | [Devānām]piye | Piyad[a]śi  | lājā | yaso    | v[ā] | [k]iṭi | vā | n. |
| <i>Jau.</i>  |     |               |             |      |         |      |        |    |    |

|              |  |               |          |         |       |    |        |    |             |
|--------------|--|---------------|----------|---------|-------|----|--------|----|-------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  |  | mahāthāvah[ā] | mañate   | añata   |       |    |        |    |             |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  |  | [ma]hathāvā   | mañati   | an[a]tā | [ya]m | pi | yaso   | vā | ki[t]i vā   |
| <i>Shāh.</i> |  | mahathavaha   | mañati   | añatra  | yo    | pi | yaśo   |    | kiṭri va    |
| <i>Mān.</i>  |  | mahathravaham | mañati   | añatra  | yam   | pi | ya[śo] | va | kiṭi va     |
| <i>Dhau.</i> |  | ..... [ha]m   | mañ[ate] | .....   | ..... | i  | [yaso] | vā | k[iṭ]i [v]ā |
| <i>Jau.</i>  |  |               |          |         |       |    | [ya]so | vā | ki[t]i vā   |

|              |  |           |           |           |       |        |        |                   |  |
|--------------|--|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------|--------|--------|-------------------|--|
| <i>Gir.</i>  |  |           | tadātpano | dighāya   | cha   | me     | [ja]no | dhamma-susru[m]sā |  |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  |  | ichh[at]i | tadatvāye | ayatiye   | chā   | jane   |        | dhamma-susushā    |  |
| <i>Shāh.</i> |  | ichhati   | tadatvaye | ayatiya   | cha   | jane   |        | dharma-susrusha   |  |
| <i>Mān.</i>  |  | ichhati   | tadatvaye | ayatiya   | cha   | jane   |        | [dhra]ma-susrusha |  |
| <i>Dhau.</i> |  | ichhati   | tadatvāye | [ā]       | ..... | [ja]ne | .....  | [sūsa]m           |  |
| <i>Jau.</i>  |  | ichh[a]ti | tadatvāye | ā[ya]tiye | cha   | jane   |        | dhamma-susūsam    |  |

|              |  |  |              |      |              |              |               |                 |       |
|--------------|--|--|--------------|------|--------------|--------------|---------------|-----------------|-------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  |  |  | susrusatā    |      | dhamma-vutam | cha          | anuvīdhiyatām |                 |       |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  |  |  | susushātu    | me   | ti           | dhamma-vatam | vā            | anuvī[dh]i[ya]m | tu ti |
| <i>Shāh.</i> |  |  | susrushatu   | me   | ti           | dhamma-vutam | cha           | anuvī[dh]iyatu  |       |
| <i>Mān.</i>  |  |  | susrushatu   | me   | ti           | dharma-vutam | cha           | anuvīdhiyatu    | ti    |
| <i>Dhau.</i> |  |  | [susū]s[at]u | [m]e |              | dhamma       |               |                 | [mē]  |
| <i>Jau.</i>  |  |  | susūsatu     | me   |              |              |               |                 |       |

|              |     |             |               |              |      |        |    |       |      |
|--------------|-----|-------------|---------------|--------------|------|--------|----|-------|------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | (B) | etakāya     | Devānāmpiyo   | Piyadasi     | rājā | yaso   | va | kiti  | va   |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | (B) | dhata[k]āye | Devāna[m]piye | Piyadasi     | lājā | yasho  | vā | kiti  | vā   |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (B) | etakaye     | Devanapriye   | Priyadraśi   | raya | yaśo   |    | kiṭri | va   |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | (B) | etakaye     | Devanapriye   | Priya[dra]śi | raja | yaśo   | va | kiṭi  | va   |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (B) | etakāye     |               |              |      | [yaso] | vā | kiṭi  | v[ā] |
| <i>Jau.</i>  |     |             |               |              |      |        |    |       |      |

|              |  |           |           |       |          |                 |             |            |  |
|--------------|--|-----------|-----------|-------|----------|-----------------|-------------|------------|--|
| <i>Gir.</i>  |  | i[chha]ti | (C) ya[m] | tu    | kich[i]  | parik[a]mate    | Devānām     | Priyadasi  |  |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  |  | ich[na]   | (C) am    | ch[a] | kichhi   | lakamati        | Devanāmpiye | Piyadashi  |  |
| <i>Shāh.</i> |  | ichhati   | (C) ya[m] | tu    | kichi    | parakramati     | Devanāmpiyo | Priyadraśi |  |
| <i>Mān.</i>  |  | i[chha]ti | (C) ..    | ..    | [k]ichhi | parak[r]ama[ti] | Devanapriye | Priyadraśi |  |
| <i>Dhau.</i> |  | i         | .....     | ..... | .....    | [pa]lakama[t]i  | Devānāmpiye |            |  |
| <i>Jau.</i>  |  |           |           |       |          | [t]i            | Devānāmpiye |            |  |

|              |  |      |     |          |                 |       |         |                 |                  |
|--------------|--|------|-----|----------|-----------------|-------|---------|-----------------|------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  |  | rājā | ta  | savam    | pāratrikāya     | kiṃti | sakale  | a[pa]-parisrave |                  |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  |  | lājā | ta  | [sha]va  | pālanitkyāye    | vā    | kiti    | sakale          | apa-p[ā]lāshave  |
| <i>Shāh.</i> |  | raya | taṃ | sav[r]am | paratrikaye     | va    | kiti    | sakale          | aparisrave       |
| <i>Mān.</i>  |  | raja | taṃ | savam    | parat[r]ikay[e] | va    | k[i]ṭi  | sa[kale]        | apa-pa[r]isav[c] |
| <i>Dhau.</i> |  |      |     |          | pāl[atik]a[y]e  | ..    | kiṃti   | saka[le]        | apa-pa[li]save   |
| <i>Jau.</i>  |  |      |     |          | pālatikāye      | vā    | ki[m]ti | [sa]kale        | apa-palisave     |

|              |           |          |              |          |            |         |                    |
|--------------|-----------|----------|--------------|----------|------------|---------|--------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | asa       | (D) esa  | tu           | parisave | ya         | apumñam | (E) dukaram        |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | shiyāti   | ti       | (D) [e]she   | chu      | palisave   | e       | apune (E) dukale   |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | siyaṭi    | (D) eshe | tu           | parisave | yam        | apumñam | (E) dukare         |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | siyaṭi    | ti       | (D) eshe     | chu      | pa[r]isave | e       | apu[ṇe] (E) dukare |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [hu]v[eyā | t]i      | (D) pa[l]isa | .        | .          | .       | (E) [du]ka[le]     |
| <i>Yau.</i>  | [h]uveyā  | ti       | (D) .        | .        | .          | .       | .                  |

|              |      |     |      |            |         |            |           |        |            |
|--------------|------|-----|------|------------|---------|------------|-----------|--------|------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | tu   | kho | etañ | chhudakena | va      | janena     | usaṭena   | va     | añatra     |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | chu  | kho | eshe | khudakena  | vā      | vagenā     | ushuṭena  | vā     | ana[ta]    |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | [tu] | kho | eshe | khudrakena | vagrena | usaṭena    | va        | añatra |            |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | chu  | kho | eshe | khudakena  | [va     | va]gr[e]na | [u]saṭena | va     | ana[tra]   |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | .    | .   | .    | .          | ṭ[a     | agena]     | .         | [na    | sa]vañ cha |
| <i>Yau.</i>  | .    | .   | .    | .          | .       | .          | .         | .      | .          |

|              |              |               |          |              |             |      |       |
|--------------|--------------|---------------|----------|--------------|-------------|------|-------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | agena        | parāk[r]amena | savañ    | parichajitpā | (F) et[a]   | t[u] | kho   |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | agen[ā       | pa]lakamenā   | śhava[m] | palitiditu   | (F) [h]e[ta | chu] | kho   |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | agrena       | parakramena   | sava[m]  | paritijitu   | (F) a[r]a   | chu  |       |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | a[gre]na     | para[krame]na | sav[rañ] | pariti[ji]tu | (F) atra    | tu   | [kho] |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | paliti[ji]tu | khudakena     | v[ā]     | usaṭena      | vā          |      |       |
| <i>Yau.</i>  | [l]i[ji]t[u] | khudakena     | [v]ā     | u[s]aṭena    | vā          |      |       |

|              |              |                  |
|--------------|--------------|------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | usaṭena      | dukaram          |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | [u]shaṭe[na] | vā dukale        |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | usaṭe        | .                |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | usaṭeneva    | du[kajre]        |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | u[s]aṭena]   | chu [dukalatale] |
| <i>Yau.</i>  | usaṭena      | chu dukalatale   |

## ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT

|              |                    |            |        |             |           |           |
|--------------|--------------------|------------|--------|-------------|-----------|-----------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | (A) Devinaṃpriyo   | Piyadasi   | rājā   | ev[a]ñ āha  | (B) nāsti | etārisaṃ  |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | (A) Devānaṃp[ī]ye  | Piyadashi  | [l]ājā | hevañ hā    | (B) nathi | h[e]dishe |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (A) Devana[m]priyo | Priyadraśi | raya   | evañ hahati | (B) nasti | ed[i]saṃ  |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | (A) Devanapri[y]e  | Priyadraśi | raja   | evañ aha    | (B) nasti | ediśe     |

|              |       |         |               |                   |    |           |
|--------------|-------|---------|---------------|-------------------|----|-----------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | dānaṃ | yārisaṃ | dhañma-dānaṃ  | dhañma-sañstavo   | vā | dhañma-   |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | dāne  | adiśa   | dha[m]ma-dāne |                   |    | dhamma-   |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | danam | yadiśaṃ | dhrama-dana   | dhrama-sañstav[e] |    | dh[r]ama- |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | dane  | [a]diśe | dhrama-dane   | dhrama-sañtha[v]e |    | dhrama-   |

|              |              |      |                        |    |            |              |
|--------------|--------------|------|------------------------|----|------------|--------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | samvibhāgo   | [vā] | dhañma-sambadho        | va | (C) tata   | idañ bhavati |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | shav[i]bhage |      | dhañma-samvibadh[e]    |    | (C) ta[ta] | eshe         |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | samvibhago   |      | dh[r]ama-samba[m]dha   |    | (C) tatra  | etañ         |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | samvibhaga   |      | dhrama-sa[m]ba[m]dh[e] |    | (C) tatra  | eshe         |

|              |                  |                   |                |        |       |            |
|--------------|------------------|-------------------|----------------|--------|-------|------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | dāsa-bhatakamhi  | samya-p[r]atipati | mātari         | pitara | sādhū | sus[r]usā  |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | dāsha-bhaṭakashi | shamya-paṭipati   | mātā-pitishu   |        |       | shushushā  |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | dasa-bhaṭakanam  | sammma-paṭipati   | mata-pitushu   |        |       | suśrusha   |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | dasa-bhaṭa[ka]si | samya-paṭipati    | mata-[pitu]shu |        |       | su[śru]sha |

|              |                            |                        |       |         |
|--------------|----------------------------|------------------------|-------|---------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | mita-[sa]stuta-ñatikānam   | bāmhaṇa-ṣ[r]amaṇā[naṁ] | sādhu | dā[naṁ] |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | mita-shamthuta-nāūkyānam   | samanā-[ba]mbhanānā    |       | [dā]ne  |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | mi[t]ra-samstuta-ñatikānam | śramaṇa-bramaṇana      |       | dana    |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | mitra-sam[stuta]-ñatikana  | śramaṇa-bramaṇana      |       | dan[e]  |

|              |          |             |       |           |            |          |    |          |
|--------------|----------|-------------|-------|-----------|------------|----------|----|----------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | prāṇānam | anārambho   | sādhu | (D) eta   | vataavyam  | pita     | va | putrena  |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | pānānam  | anāl[am]bhe |       | (D) eshe  | vata[v]iye | pi[t]inā | pi | pute[na] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | praṇana  | anara[m]bho |       | (D) etaṁ  | vatavo     | pituna   | pi | putrena  |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | pranana  | [ana]rabhe  |       | (D) [e]he | vataviye   | pituna   | pi | putrena  |

|              |    |            |    |                             |    |                      |    |     |
|--------------|----|------------|----|-----------------------------|----|----------------------|----|-----|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | va | bhāt[ā]    | va | mita-sastut[ā]-ñāt[i]k[e]na |    |                      | va | āva |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | pi | bhāt[t]inā | pi | sh[ā]vām[i]kyena            | pi | mita-samthutānā      |    | avā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | pi | bhratuna   | pi | [spa]nikena                 | pi | mitra-samstutana     |    | ava |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | pi | bhratuna   | pi | spamike[na]                 | pi | mitra-sam[stu]t[e]na |    | avu |

|              |                   |          |         |      |              |          |        |
|--------------|-------------------|----------|---------|------|--------------|----------|--------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | paṭivesiyehi      | ida      | sādhu   | ida  | ka[tav]ya[m] | (E) so   | t[ā]hā |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | p[ā]ṭiveshiyen[ā] | iy[ā]m   | shādhu  | iyam | kaṭaviye     | (E) [ś]e | tathā  |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | pratiśeyena       | [i]ma[m] | sadhu   | imam | kaṭavo       | (E) so   | tatha  |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | paṭiveśiyena      | iyam     | sa[dhu] | iyam | kaṭaviye     | (E) se   | tatha  |

|              |            |             |           |               |             |         |             |
|--------------|------------|-------------|-----------|---------------|-------------|---------|-------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | karu       | ilokachasa  |           | ārādho hoti   | parata      | cha     | amnamtarā   |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | kala[r]ita | hidalokikyē | cha       | kaṁ           | ālādhe hoti | palata  | ch[ā] anata |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | karata[m]  | ialoka      | cha       |               | a[r]adheti  | paratra | cha anatarā |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | karata[m]  | hi[dalo]ke  | [cha] kaṁ | aradhe ho[ti] | pa[r]a[tra] | cha     | ana[m]tarā  |

|              |        |             |        |                 |
|--------------|--------|-------------|--------|-----------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | puñnam | bhavati     | tena   | dhamma-dānena   |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | punā   | paśavati    | tenā   | dhamma-dānenā   |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | puña   | prasavati   | [te]na | dhrama-danena   |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | punnam | p[r]asavati | te[na] | dhra[ma]-danena |

## TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT

|              |                  |               |      |                   |     |
|--------------|------------------|---------------|------|-------------------|-----|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | (A) Devānampiye  | Piyad[ā]si    | rāja | sava-pāsamāṇi     | cha |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | (A) [D]evānāpiye | [P]iyadash[i] | lājā | shāvā-pāsham[ā]nā |     |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (A) Devanampriyo | Priyadraśi    | raya | savra-prashamāṇi  |     |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | (A) Devanapriye  | Priyadraśi    | raja | savra-pashaṇani   |     |

|              |                 |     |            |     |          |          |     |             |
|--------------|-----------------|-----|------------|-----|----------|----------|-----|-------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | [pa]vajitāni    | cha | gharastāni | cha | pūjayati | d[ā]nena | cha | vivādhāya   |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | pav[ā]jitā[ni]  |     | gahathāni  | vā  | pujēti   | dānena   |     | vividh[āye] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | pravrajita[ni]  |     | grahathani | cha | pujēti   | danena   |     | vividhaye   |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | [p]rava[ji]tani |     | grhathani  | cha | pujēti   | danena   |     | vividhaye   |

|              |       |          |             |          |       |       |        |    |        |
|--------------|-------|----------|-------------|----------|-------|-------|--------|----|--------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | [cha] | pūjāya   | pūjayati ne | (B) na   | tu    | tathā | Jānam  | va | pū[jā] |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | cha   | pūj[ā]ye |             | (B) n[o] | ch[u] | tathā | dāne   | vā | pūjā   |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | cha   | pujaye   |             | (B) no   | chu   | tatha | [dā]na | va | puja   |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | cha   | pujaye   |             | (B) no   | chu   | tatha | dana   | va | puja   |

TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT

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|              |    |                  |          |       |        |                |       |
|--------------|----|------------------|----------|-------|--------|----------------|-------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | va | D[ɛ]vānampiyo    | maññate  | yathā | kiti   | sāra-vaḍhi     | asa   |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | vā | Devāna[m]piye    | m[a]nati | athā  | k[i]ta | ś[a]lā-v[a]dhi | śiyāt |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | va | Devanampiyo      | mañati   | yatha | kiti   | sa[la]-vaḍhi   | siya  |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | va | [De]vana[m]priye | mañati   | atha  | kiti   | sala-vaḍhi     | siya  |

|              |                    |     |              |             |           |           |      |      |      |      |
|--------------|--------------------|-----|--------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|------|------|------|------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | sa[va-pā]śamḍanam  | (C) | sār[a]-vaḍhi | tu          | bahuvidhā | (D)       | tasa | tu   | idam |      |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | ś[a]va-pāśaḍana    | (C) | śālā-vaḍhi   | nā          | bahuvidhā | (D)       | taśa | chu  | inam |      |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | savra-prashamḍanam | (C) | sala-vaḍhi   | tu          | bahuvidha | (D)       | tasa | tu   | iyo  |      |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | savra-pashaḍana    | ti  | (C)          | sala-vruḍhi | t[u]      | bahuvidha | (D)  | tasa | chu  | iyam |

|              |       |     |              |       |                   |                    |      |         |
|--------------|-------|-----|--------------|-------|-------------------|--------------------|------|---------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | mūlam | ya  | vachi-guti   | kiṃti | ātpa-pāsamḍa-pūjā | va                 | para |         |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | mule  | a   | va[cha]-guti | kiti  | t[i]              | ata-pāśaḍa-[v]jā   | vā   | pala-   |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | mula  | yam | vacha-guti   | kiti  |                   | ata-prashamḍa-puja | va   | pa[ra]- |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | mule  | ari | vacha-guti   | kiti  |                   | ata-prashaḍa-puja  | va   | para    |

|              |                 |    |    |        |                       |        |    |      |
|--------------|-----------------|----|----|--------|-----------------------|--------|----|------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | pāsamḍa-garahā  | va | no | bhave  | aparakaraṇamhi        | lahukā | va | ata- |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | pāsamḍa-galahā  | va | no | [śa]yā | ap[a]k[a][a][a]naś[i] | lahakā | vā | śiya |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | pashamḍa-garana | va | no | siya   | [a]pakaraṇasi         | lahuka | va | siya |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | pashaḍa-garaha  | va | no | siya   | apakaraṇasi           | lahuka | va | siya |

|              |        |       |                |     |              |     |     |                  |
|--------------|--------|-------|----------------|-----|--------------|-----|-----|------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | tamhi  | tamhi | prakaraṇe      | (E) | pūjetayā     | tu  | eva | para-pāsamḍa     |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | [ta]ḍi | taśi  | pakalan[a]ś[i] | (E) | pūjetav[i]ya | chu |     | p[a]lā-pā[śa]ḍā  |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | tasi   | tasi  | prakaraṇe      | (E) | pūjetaviya   | va  | chu | para-prashaḍamḍa |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | tasi   | tasi  | pakaraṇasi     | (E) | pūjetaviya   | va  | chu | para-p[r]ashaḍa  |

|              |      |      |             |     |        |         |                    |        |
|--------------|------|------|-------------|-----|--------|---------|--------------------|--------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | tena | tana | prakaraṇena | (F) | evam   | karuṇ   | ātpa-pāsamḍam      | cha    |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | tena | tena | akālana     | (F) | heva   | kalata  | ata-pāśaḍā         | badham |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | tena | tena | akarena     | (F) | e[v]am | karataṁ | ata-p[r]ashaḍamḍam |        |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | tena | tena | akarena     | (F) | evam   | karataṁ | atva-pashaḍa       | badham |

|              |           |                   |    |     |           |     |              |
|--------------|-----------|-------------------|----|-----|-----------|-----|--------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | vaḍhayati | para-pāsamḍasa    |    | cha | upakaroti | (G) | tad-amīnātha |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | vaḍhiyati | pala-pāśaḍa       | pi | vā  | upakaleti | (G) | tadā anatha  |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | vaḍheti   | para-prashamḍamḍa | pi | cha | upakaroti | (G) | tada anātha  |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | vaḍhayati | para-pashaḍasa    | pi | cha | upakaroti | (G) | tad-amīnātha |

|              |              |                   |     |          |                   |     |     |
|--------------|--------------|-------------------|-----|----------|-------------------|-----|-----|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | karoto       | ātpa-pāśaḍam      | cha | chhaṇati | para-pāsamḍasa    | cha | pi  |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | kalata       | ata-pāśaḍa        | cha | chhanati | pala-pāśaḍa       | pi  | vā  |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | ka[ra]min[o] | ata-p[r]ashaḍamḍa |     | kshaṇati | para-[pra]shaḍasa | cha |     |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | karataṁ      | ata-pashaḍa       | cha | chhaṇati | para-pashaḍasa    | pi  | chi |

|              |           |     |    |      |        |               |          |                      |
|--------------|-----------|-----|----|------|--------|---------------|----------|----------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | apakaroti | (H) | yo | hi   | kochi  | ātpa-pāsamḍam | pūjayati | para-pāsamḍam        |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | apakaleti | (H) | ye | [h]i | kechha | [a]ta-pāśaḍa  | punāti   | pala-pāshada         |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | apakaroti | (H) | yo | hi   | kachi  | ata-prashaḍam | pūjeti   | [para]-p[r]ashaḍa[n] |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | apakaroti | (H) | ye | hi   | kechhi | atva-pashaḍa  | pūjeti   | para-pashaḍa         |

|              |      |            |       |                      |    |       |               |
|--------------|------|------------|-------|----------------------|----|-------|---------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | v[a] | garahati   | savam | ātpa-pāsamḍa-bhatiyā |    | kiṃti | ātpa-pāsamḍam |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | vā   | ga[la]hati | shave | ata-pāshamḍa-bhatiyā | vā | kiti  | ata-pāshamḍa  |
| <i>Shāh.</i> |      | garahati   | savre | ata-prashaḍa-bhatiya | va | kiti  | ata-prashamḍa |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | va   | garahati   | savre | atva-pashaḍa-bhatiya | va | kiti  | atva-pashaḍa  |

|              |            |     |     |      |       |            |                         |                 |            |
|--------------|------------|-----|-----|------|-------|------------|-------------------------|-----------------|------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | dipayema   | iti | so  | cha  | puna  | tatha      | karāto                  | ātpa-pāsaṁda[m] | bādhatarām |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | [d]ipayema | she | cha | punā | tathā | karamtarām | bādhatale               | up[a]hant[ī]    |            |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | dipayami   | ti  | so  | cha  | puna  | tatha      | karamtarām <sup>1</sup> | ba[dhata]rām    | upahanti   |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | dipayama   | ti  | .   | .    | puna  | tatha      | karatarām               | ba[dhatarām]    | upahanti   |

|              |                 |     |    |           |     |        |        |              |  |
|--------------|-----------------|-----|----|-----------|-----|--------|--------|--------------|--|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | upahanāti       | (I) | ta | samavāyo  | eva | sādhu  | kiṁti  | [a]ñamaññasa |  |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | ata-pāshaṁdashi | (I) |    | shamavāye | vu  | shādhu | kiti   | añnamanashā  |  |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | ata-prashaḍam   | (I) | so | sayamo    | vo  | sadhu  | kiti   | añamaññasa   |  |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | atva-pasha[da]  | (I) | se | samavaye  | vo  | sadhu  | ki[ti] | añamaññasa   |  |

|              |         |             |      |              |     |          |           |    |  |
|--------------|---------|-------------|------|--------------|-----|----------|-----------|----|--|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | dhammām | srūṇāru     | cha  | susuñsera    | cha | (ḥ) evaṁ | hi        |    |  |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | dhammām | shuñe[y]u   | chā  | shushusheyu  | chā | ti       | (ḥ) hevaṁ | hi |  |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | dhammā  | śruṇeyu     | cha  | suśrusheyu   | cha | ti       | (ḥ) evaṁ  | hi |  |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | dhammām | śruñ[e]y[u] | cha] | suśrushe[yu] | cha | ti       | (ḥ) evaṁ  | hi |  |

|              |                 |       |       |                 |            |       |     |  |  |
|--------------|-----------------|-------|-------|-----------------|------------|-------|-----|--|--|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | D[e]vānāmpiyasa | ichhā | kiṁti | sava-pāsaṁdā    | bahu-srutā | cha   | asu |  |  |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | Devānāmpiyashā  | ichhā | kiṁti | sava-pāshaṁda   | baha-shutā | chā   |     |  |  |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | Devanāmpriyasa  | ichha | kiti  | savra-prashamda | bahu-śruta | ch[a] |     |  |  |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | Devanapriyasa   | ichha | kiti  | savra-pashaḍa   | bahu-śruta | cha   |     |  |  |

|              |                      |     |          |        |       |       |       |          |              |
|--------------|----------------------|-----|----------|--------|-------|-------|-------|----------|--------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | kal[ā]ṇāgamā         | cha | [a]ḥu    | (K) ye | cha   | tatra | tata  | prasamñā |              |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | kayānāg <sup>2</sup> | cha | huyeyu   | ti     | (K) e | [cha] | tata  | t[a]ḥ[a] | p[n]sh[am]nā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | kal[ā]ṇāgama         | cha | siyasu   | (K) ye | cha   | tatra | tatra | prasana  |              |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | kayaṇagama           | cha | [hu]veyu | ti     | (K) e | cha   | tatra | tatra    | prasana      |

|              |          |            |                    |    |         |         |    |         |  |
|--------------|----------|------------|--------------------|----|---------|---------|----|---------|--|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | tehi     | vatavyam   | (L) Devānāmpiyō    | no | tathā   | dānam   | va | pūjām   |  |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | te[hi]   | va[taviye] | (L) Devānāpiye     | no | tathā   | dānam   | vā | pūjā    |  |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | tesha[m] | vatavo     | (L) Devanāmpriy[o] | na | [tatha] | da[na]m | va | p[u]ja  |  |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | tehi     | vataviye   | (L) Devanapriye    | no | tatha   | danam   | va | puja[m] |  |

|              |    |           |         |       |                 |        |                   |  |  |
|--------------|----|-----------|---------|-------|-----------------|--------|-------------------|--|--|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | va | maññate   | yathā   | kiṁti | sāra-vadhi      | asa    | sarva-pāsādānam   |  |  |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | vā | mañnat[ī] | athā    | kiti  | sh[ā]lā-v[a]lhi | siyā   | shava-pāshaṁdatim |  |  |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | va | mañati    | ya[tha] | kiti  | sala-vadhi      | siyati | savra-prashaḍanam |  |  |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | va | maṇati    | atha    | kiti  | sala-vadhi      | siya   | savra-pasha[la]na |  |  |

|              |              |       |            |         |          |                      |     |  |  |
|--------------|--------------|-------|------------|---------|----------|----------------------|-----|--|--|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | (M) bahakā   | cha   | etāya      | athā    | vyāpatā  | dhamma-mahāmātā      | cha |  |  |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | (M) bahukā   | ch[ā] | etāyāthāye |         | viyāpatā | dha[n]ma-mahāmātā    |     |  |  |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (M) bahuka   | cha   | etaye      | a[tha]  | vap[ā]ṭa | dh[ra]ma-ma[ha]matra |     |  |  |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | (M) [ba]huka | cha   | etaye      | athraye | vapuṭa   | dhrama-mahamatra     |     |  |  |

|              |                             |     |                  |     |     |     |             |  |  |
|--------------|-----------------------------|-----|------------------|-----|-----|-----|-------------|--|--|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | ithijhakha-mahāmātā         | cha | vacha-bhūmikā    | cha | añe | cha | nikāyā      |  |  |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | ithidhiyakha-mahāmātā       |     | vacha-bh[u]mikyā |     | ane | vā  | [n]ikyā[yā] |  |  |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | i[stidhi]yaksha-ma[ha]matra |     | [vra]cha-bhumika |     | añe | cha | nikaye      |  |  |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | istrijaksha-mahamatra       |     | vracha-bh[u]mika |     | añe | cha | nikay[ē]    |  |  |

<sup>1</sup> The five last words are repeated thus: *so cha puna tatha karatām*.



|              |     |      |     |        |          |     |                    |     |           |
|--------------|-----|------|-----|--------|----------|-----|--------------------|-----|-----------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | (N) | ayaṁ | cha | etasa  | phala    | ya  | ātpa-pāsaṁḍa-vaḍhi | cha | hoti      |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | (N) | iyam | cha | etishā | phale    | yam | ata-pāsaṁḍa-vaḍhi  | chā | hoti      |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (N) | imam | cha | etisa  | [pha]lam | yam | ata-pashaḍa-vaḍhi  |     | [bh]o[ti] |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | (N) | iyam | cha | etisa  | phale    | yam | atva-pashaḍa-vaḍhi | cha | bh[o]t[i] |

|              |           |     |          |
|--------------|-----------|-----|----------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | dhammasa  | cha | dip[a]nā |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | dhammasha | chā | dipana   |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | dhramasa  | cha | di[pana] |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | dhramasa  | cha | [di]pana |

## THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT

|              |     |                         |           |     |                   |               |        |    |
|--------------|-----|-------------------------|-----------|-----|-------------------|---------------|--------|----|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | (A) |                         |           |     |                   |               |        | ño |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | (A) | aṭha-[va]shā-           | bhishita- | shā | [De]vānaṁpiyasha  | Piyadashine   | lājine |    |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (A) | [aṭha]-vasha-a[bhis]ita | [sa       |     | Devana]pri[a]sa   | Pri[a]draśisa | ra[ño] |    |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | (A) | [aṭha]-vashabhisita     | [sa       |     | De[va]na[priyasa] | Priyadraśine  | rajine |    |

|              |          |            |     |                     |  |                        |      |  |
|--------------|----------|------------|-----|---------------------|--|------------------------|------|--|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | Kalimā   | [v . j .]  | (B) |                     |  |                        |      |  |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | Kaligā   | vijitā     | (B) | diyaḍha-mite        |  | pāna-shat[a]-shaha[śe] | ye   |  |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | Ka[liga] | vi[j]ita   | (B) | diadha-mat[r]e      |  | praṇa-śata-[saha]sre   | y[e] |  |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | [Ka]liga | [v]i[j]ita | (B) | [di]ya[dha]-mat[r]e |  | praṇa-[śata-sa]        |      |  |

|              |         |           |                        |       |       |                 |  |
|--------------|---------|-----------|------------------------|-------|-------|-----------------|--|
| <i>Gir.</i>  |         | [v . dh]e | [sa]ta-sahasra-mātraṁ  | tatrā | hataṁ | bahu-tāvatakaṁ  |  |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | [ta]phā | apavudhe  | [śa]ta-[sha]hasha-mite | tata  | hate  | bahu-tāvatake   |  |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | tato    | apavudhe  | śata-sahasra-matre     | tatra | hate  | bahu-tavata[ke] |  |
| <i>Mān.</i>  |         |           |                        |       |       |                 |  |

|              |      |        |     |        |         |          |            |             |
|--------------|------|--------|-----|--------|---------|----------|------------|-------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  |      | mata   | (C) | tatā   | pachhā  | adh[u]nā | ladhesu    | Kaliringesu |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | vā   | maṭe   | (C) | tat[o  | pa]chhā | adhunā   | ladhesha   | Kaligyeshu  |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | [va] | m[uṭe] | (C) | tato   | [pa]cha | a[dhu]na | ladh[e]shu | [Kaligeshu] |
| <i>Mān.</i>  |      | [ma]ṭe | (C) | [tato] | pacha   | adhuna   | la[dhe]shu | Kaligesu    |

|              |         |                |                 |  |                   |       |  |  |
|--------------|---------|----------------|-----------------|--|-------------------|-------|--|--|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | ti[v]o  | dhammavāyo     |                 |  |                   |       |  |  |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | tive    | dhamma[vāy]e   | dhamma-k[ā]matā |  | dhammānushathi    | chā   |  |  |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | [tivre  | dhrama-śilana] | dhra[ma-ka]mata |  | dhramanuśasti     | cha   |  |  |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | ti[vr]e | dhrama[va]ye   |                 |  | [dhra]manu[śa]sti | [cha] |  |  |

|              |                |     |       |        |            |                  |  |
|--------------|----------------|-----|-------|--------|------------|------------------|--|
| <i>Gir.</i>  |                |     |       |        | [sa]yo     | Devānaṁpriyasa   |  |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | Devānaṁpiyashā | (D) | sh[e] | athi   | anushaye   | Devānaṁpiya[sh]ā |  |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | Devanapriyasa  | (D) | so    | [a]sti | anusochana | Devanap[ri]sa    |  |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | [De]vana[pri]  | (D) |       |        |            |                  |  |

|              |            |            |     |          |     |            |                  |
|--------------|------------|------------|-----|----------|-----|------------|------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | [v . j .]  |            |     |          |     |            | [va]dho          |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | vijin[i]tu | Kaligyāni  | (E) | avijitaṁ | hi  | vijinamane | e tatā vadha     |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | vijiniti   | Kaliga[ni] | (E) | avijitaṁ | [hi | vijinamano | yo tat[r]a vadha |
| <i>Mān.</i>  |            |            |     |          |     |            |                  |

|              |    |         |    |         |      |           |       |          |
|--------------|----|---------|----|---------|------|-----------|-------|----------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | va | marañam | va | apavāho | va   | janasa    | ta    | baḍham   |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | vā | malane  | vā | apavahe | [vā] | jan[a]shā | [sh]e | bāḍha    |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | va | marañam | va | apavaho | va   | janasa    | tañ   | baḍham   |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | .  | [marape | va | apavahe | va   | janasa]   | se    | [badham] |

|              |                      |     |                |      |                   |     |        |
|--------------|----------------------|-----|----------------|------|-------------------|-----|--------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | vedana-mata          | cha | g[u]r[u]-mata  | cha  | Devā[nampi]..[sa] | (F) | ...    |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | vedaniya-mute        |     | g[u][u]-mut[e] | chā  | Devānañ[pī]yashā  | (F) | iyam   |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | v[e]dani[ya]-ma[tam] |     | guru-mata[m]   | cha  | Devanañpriyasa    | (F) | idam   |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | vedaniya-mate        |     | guru-mate      | [cha | Devanapriyasa]    | (F) | [i]yam |

|              |      |     |        |                |                  |     |      |       |
|--------------|------|-----|--------|----------------|------------------|-----|------|-------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | .    | .   | .      | .              | .                | .   | .    | .     |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | pi   | chu | tato   | galu-matatale  | D[r]vānañpiyashā | (G) | [ya] | tatā  |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | pi   | chu | [tato] | guru-matataram | [Devanañ]priyasa | (G) | ye   | tatra |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | [pi] | chu | tato   | .              | .                | .   | .    | .     |

|              |         |           |         |           |        |        |     |           |
|--------------|---------|-----------|---------|-----------|--------|--------|-----|-----------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | .       | .         | bāmhañā | va        | samañā | va     | añe | .         |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | vashati | b[ā]bhanā | va      | shama     | vā     | ane    | vā  | pāśarñḍa  |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | vasati  | bramaña   | va      | śrama[ṇa] | va     | a[m]ñe | va  | prashamda |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | .       | .         | .       | .         | .      | .      | .   | gib[i]thā |

|              |    |        |         |          |                        |                  |         |        |
|--------------|----|--------|---------|----------|------------------------|------------------|---------|--------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | .  | .      | .       | .        | .                      | [s]ā             | mātr[i] | pitari |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | vā | yeśu   | vihitā  | [e]sh[a] | a[gabhu]t[i]-shushushā | m[a]tā-piti-     | .       | .      |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | va | yesu   | vihita  | esha     | agrabhūti-suśrusa      | mata-pitushu     | .       | .      |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | .  | [ye]su | [vih]ta | esha     | [a]grabhu[ti]-suśrusa  | mata-pi[tu]sh[u] | .       | .      |

|              |            |                |                                 |       |
|--------------|------------|----------------|---------------------------------|-------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | susumsā    | guru-susumā    | mita-samstata-sahāya-ñātikē[su] | dāsa- |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | shushushā  | galu-shushā    | mita-samthuta-shahāya-ñātikeshu | dāsa- |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | suśrusa    | guruna suśrusa | mitra-samstuta-sahāya-ñātikeshu | dāsa- |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | su[śru]sha | guru-suśrusa   | mit[r]a-sa[m]stu                | dasa- |

|              |                |                   |                |               |        |       |      |   |
|--------------|----------------|-------------------|----------------|---------------|--------|-------|------|---|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | [bha]          | .                 | .              | .             | .      | .     | .    | . |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | bha[ṭa]kash[i] | sha               | m[y]ā-paṭipatu | didha-bhatitā | tesham | tatā  | hoti | . |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | bhaṭakanam     | samma-pratipa[ti] | dridha-bhatita | tesha         | tatra  | bhoti | .    | . |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | .              | .                 | .              | .             | .      | .     | .    | . |

|              |               |    |           |    |             |    |               |              |
|--------------|---------------|----|-----------|----|-------------|----|---------------|--------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | .             | .  | .         | .  | abhiratānañ | va | vinikhamaña   | (H) yesam    |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | [upa]ghāte    | vā | vadhe     | vā | abhilatānañ | vā | vinikhamane   | (H) yesam    |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | [a]pag[r]atho | va | vadhō     | va | abhiratana  | va | nikramañam    | (H) yesha    |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | .             | .  | [va]dh[e] | va | abhiratanam | va | vinik[ra]mañi | (H) yesha[m] |

|              |    |      |                 |          |            |    |         |                  |
|--------------|----|------|-----------------|----------|------------|----|---------|------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | vā | [p.] | .               | .        | .          | .  | .       | .                |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | vā | pi   | shuvihi[t]ānañ  | shunche  | avipahine  | e  | tānañ   | mita-samth[u]ta- |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | va | pi   | suvihitanam     | [si]ho   | aviprahino | [e | te]sha  | mitra-samstuta-  |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | va | pi   | s[u]vih[itanam] | si[ne]he | avipahin[e | e] | ta[nam] | mitra-[sam]....  |

|              |                      |               |           |           |      |     |              |      |
|--------------|----------------------|---------------|-----------|-----------|------|-----|--------------|------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | .                    | [h]ñya-ñātikā | vyasanañ  | prāpunati | tata | so  | pi           | tesa |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | sha[ṭi]jāya-[nā]juka | viyashanañ    | papunāta  | tatā      | she  | [p] | t[ā]namev[ā] |      |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | sahaya-ñātika        | vasana        | prapunati | [ta]tra   | tañ  | pi  | tesha        | vo   |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | .                    | .             | .         | .         | .    | .   | .            | .    |

|              |            |           |           |             |        |                  |                       |
|--------------|------------|-----------|-----------|-------------|--------|------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | [u]paghāto | hāti      | (/)       | paṭibhā[ɡ]o | chesā  | a[ava]           | . . . . .             |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | upaghāt[e] | hoti      | (/)       | paṭibhāge   | chā    | esh[a]           | sh[a]va-manu[shāna]ni |
| <i>Shāk.</i> | apaghratho | bhoti     | (/)       | pratibhagam | cha    | [e]tan           | savra-manuśanani      |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | . . . . .  | . . . . . | . . . . . | . . . . .   | [esha] | savra-manuśanani |                       |

|              |              |           |                  |           |           |           |                     |
|--------------|--------------|-----------|------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|---------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | . . . . .    | . . . . . | . . . . .        | . . . . . | . . . . . | . . . . . | . . . . .           |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | gul[u]m[a]te | chā       | Devāna[m]piyashā | (ʔ)       | n[a]thi   | chā       | she jan[a]pade yatā |
| <i>Shāk.</i> | guru-matam   | cha       | Devanampriya[sa] | (ʔ)       | nasti     | cha       |                     |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | guru-mate    | cha       | Devanampriyasa   | (ʔ)       | nasti     | cha       | se janapade yatra   |

|              |           |           |           |            |           |             |                             |
|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|-------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | . . . . . | . . . . . | . . . . . | . . . . .  | . . . . . | . . . . .   | . . . . .                   |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | . . . . . | ime       | nikāyā    | ānatra     | Yone[su]  | . . . . .   | . . . . .                   |
| <i>Shāk.</i> | . . . . . | nathi     | ime       | nikāyā     | ānatā     | Y[o]nesh[u] | bañhmane ch[ā] shamane chā  |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | . . . . . | nasti     | ime       | ni[k]a[ya] | a[ā]tra   | Yoneshu     | [bramaṇe cha] śra[maṇe] . . |

|              |           |           |           |           |               |              |                                    |
|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|---------------|--------------|------------------------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | . . . . . | . . . . . | . . . . . | . . . . . | . . . . .     | . . . . .    | . . . . .                          |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | . . . . . | nathi     | chā       | kuvāpi    | jan[a]padashi | [ya]tā       | n[a]thi m[a]nushān[a] ekatalash[i] |
| <i>Shāk.</i> | . . . . . | . . . . . | . . . . . | . . . . . | . . . . .     | . . . . .    | ekatare                            |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | . . . . . | . . . . . | . . . . . | . . . . . | pi            | [janapada]si | ya[t]ra . . . . .                  |

|              |           |             |           |           |           |           |                    |
|--------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | . . . . . | . . . . .   | . . . . . | . . . . . | . . . . . | . . . . . | . . . . .          |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | [p]i      | pāśaḍashi   | no        | n[ā]ma    | pashāde   | (K)       | she ava[ta]ke jane |
| <i>Shāk.</i> | pi        | prashaḍaspi | na        | nama      | prasado   | (K)       | so yamatro [ja]no  |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | . . . . . | . . . . .   | na        | nama      | prasade   | (K)       | se yavatake jane   |

|              |          |              |           |           |           |           |                |
|--------------|----------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | [ta]t[ā] | . . . . .    | . . . . . | . . . . . | . . . . . | . . . . . | . . . . .      |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | t[a]dā   | Kali[m]geshu | [ladheshu | ha]te     | ch[ā]     | maṭ[e]    | chā [apavudhe] |
| <i>Shāk.</i> | tada     | Kalige       | [ha]to    | cha       | muṭ[o]    | cha       | apav[udha]     |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | tada     | Kaliges[h]u  | hate      | cha       | . . . . . | . . . . . | apavudhe       |

|              |           |           |               |           |                  |    |                  |
|--------------|-----------|-----------|---------------|-----------|------------------|----|------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | . . . . . | . . . . . | . . . . .     | . . . . . | sra-bhāgo        | va | garu-maṭ[o]      |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | [chā i]   | tato      | shaṭ[e] bhāge | vā        | shah[a]sha-bhāge | vā | aja gulu-mate    |
| <i>Shāk.</i> | cha       | tato      | śata-bhage    | va        | sahasra-bhagam   | va | [a]ja guru-matam |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | cha       | ta[to]    | śata-bhage    | va        | sahasra-bhage    | va | aja guru-maṭ[te] |

|              |           |                  |           |           |           |           |                                  |
|--------------|-----------|------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------------------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | . . . . . | Devānam          | . . . . . | . . . . . | . . . . . | . . . . . | . . . . .                        |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | vā        | Devāna[m]piyashā | . . . . . | . . . . . | . . . . . | . . . . . | . . . . .                        |
| <i>Shāk.</i> | v[o]      | Devanampriyasa   | (L)       | yo        | pi        | cha       | apakareyati kshamitaviya-mate va |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | [va]      | Devanampriya[sa] | (L)       | . . . . . | pa[ka]    | . . . . . | [mi]tavi . . . . .               |

|              |           |                  |           |           |            |            |                       |
|--------------|-----------|------------------|-----------|-----------|------------|------------|-----------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | . . . . . | . . . . .        | na        | ya        | saka       | chhamitave | (M) yā cha pi aṭaviyo |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | . . . . . | . . . . .        | . . . . . | . . . . . | . . . . .  | . . . . .  | . . . . .             |
| <i>Shāk.</i> | . . . . . | Devanam[p]riyasa | yam       | śako      | kshamanaye | (M) ya     | pi cha aṭavi          |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | . . . . . | . . . . .        | . . . . . | . . . . . | . . . . .  | (M) . .    | [pi cha] aṭavi        |

|              |                   |           |           |           |           |               |                     |
|--------------|-------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|---------------|---------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | D[e]vānampiya[sa] | pijite    | pati      | . . . . . | . . . . . | . . . . .     | . . . . .           |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | . . . . .         | . . . . . | . . . . . | . . . . . | . . . . . | . . . . .     | . . . . .           |
| <i>Shāk.</i> | Devanampriyasa    | vijite    | bhoti     | ta        | pi        | anuneti       | anunijapeti         |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | Devanampriyasa    | vijitasi  | hoti      | [ta]      | pi        | a[nuna]ya[ti] | a[nu[nijha]paya[ti] |



|              |                     |                            |                         |
|--------------|---------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | [Y]o[na]-Kambo      |                            |                         |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | Yona-Kambojeshu     | Nabhak[a]-Nabhapaṃtishu    | Bhoja-Pitnikye[sh]u     |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | Yona-Ka[rh]boyeshu  | Nabhaka-Nabhitina          | Bhoja-Pitnikeshu        |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | Y[o]na-Kam[bojeshu] | Nabhaka-[Na]bhapa[rh]tishu | [Bh]o[ja-Pi]tini[ke]shu |

|              |                      |           |                      |                   |
|--------------|----------------------|-----------|----------------------|-------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | mdhra-Pārimdesu      | savata    | Devānāmpiyasa        | dhammānūs[ā]stīm  |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | [Adha]-P[ā]lade[sh]u | [sha]vatā | [D]eva[na]mpīya[shā] | dhammānūs[sha]thi |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | Am̐dhra-Palideshu    | savatra   | Devanāmpriyasa       | dhramanūsasti     |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | Adha-[Pa]            |           |                      |                   |

|              |             |             |    |                |                 |    |           |         |
|--------------|-------------|-------------|----|----------------|-----------------|----|-----------|---------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | anuv[a]tare | (S) yata    | pi | dūti           |                 |    |           |         |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | anuvataṃti  | (S) y[a]ta  | pi | dutā           | Devāna[m]piyasā | no | yaṃti     | t[e] pi |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | anuvataṃti  | (S) yatra   | pi | Devanāmpriyasa | duta            | na | vrachaṃti | te pi   |
| <i>Mān.</i>  |             | (S) [yatra] | pi | du]ta          | [De]vanapriyasa | na | yaṃti     | te pi   |

|              |       |                    |                 |                 |        |                |  |
|--------------|-------|--------------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------|----------------|--|
| <i>Gir.</i>  |       |                    |                 |                 | [na]rṇ | dhamānūsastīm  |  |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | sutu  | Dev[āna]mp[ī]nāmya | dh[arṇma]-vutaṃ | v[i]dh[a]na[rh] |        | dhammānūsastīm |  |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | śrutu | Devanāmpriyasa     | dhrāma-vutaṃ    | vidh[a]naṃ      |        | dhramanūsasti  |  |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | śrutu | Devanapriyasa      | dhrāma-vuta     | vidhana[rh]     |        | dhramanūsasti  |  |

|              |     |                |                 |                     |       |         |      |
|--------------|-----|----------------|-----------------|---------------------|-------|---------|------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | cha | dhamam         | anuvidhiyare    |                     |       |         |      |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  |     | dha[rh]ma[rh]  | anuvidhiyama    | [a]nuvidhiyisama    | [ch]ā | (T) ye  | se   |
| <i>Shāh.</i> |     | dhrāmaṃ        | [a]nuvidhiyaṃti | anuvidhiyisāṃ[ti]   | cha   | (T) yo  | [sa] |
| <i>Mān.</i>  |     | dhra[rh]ma[rh] | anuvidhiyaṃti   | [a]nuvidhiy[isāṃti] | cha   | (T) [ye | se]  |

|              |         |             |         |            |          |           |        |        |
|--------------|---------|-------------|---------|------------|----------|-----------|--------|--------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  |         |             |         |            | [v]ijayo | savathā   | puna   | vijayo |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | [la]dhe | etakenā     | hoti    | savatā     | vi[ja]ye |           |        |        |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | ladhe   | etakena     | bho[ti] | savatra    | vijayo   | sava[tra] | pu[na] | vijayo |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | ladhe   | e[ta]ke[na] | ho[ti]  | savra[tra] | vi[jaye] |           |        |        |

|              |           |    |           |    |         |      |      |                    |
|--------------|-----------|----|-----------|----|---------|------|------|--------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | pīti-raso | sā | (U) ladhā | sā | pīti    | hoti |      | dhamma-vijayamhi   |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | pīti-lase | se | (U) gadhā | sā | hoti    | pīti | pīti | dhamm[a]-vijayashi |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | pīti-raso | so | (U) ladha |    | bh[oti] | pīti |      | dhrāma-vijayaspi   |
| <i>Mān.</i>  |           |    |           |    |         |      |      |                    |

|              |            |      |     |    |      |                       |            |  |
|--------------|------------|------|-----|----|------|-----------------------|------------|--|
| <i>Gir.</i>  |            |      |     |    |      |                       |            |  |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | (V) lahukā | v[u] | kho | sā | pīti | (W) pālaṃtikayameve   | maha-phalā |  |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (V) lahuka | tu   | kho | sa | pīti | (W) parat[ri]ka[meva] | maha-phala |  |
| <i>Mān.</i>  |            |      |     |    |      | (W) paratrikameva     | maha-phala |  |

|              |            |                   |           |            |             |      |            |
|--------------|------------|-------------------|-----------|------------|-------------|------|------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  |            |                   | m[pi]riyo | (X) etā[ya | athā]ya     | ayaṃ | dhamma-    |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | maṃnam[ti] | Dev[e]na[m]p[ī]ne | (X) etāye | chā        | āthāye      | iyaṃ | dha[rh]ma- |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | meṇati     | Devana[rh]priyo   | (X) etāye | cha        | āthāye      | ayi  | dhrāma-    |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | [ma]ṇati   | De[va]napri[ye]   | (X) etāye | cha        | [a]thray[e] | iyaṃ | dhamma-    |

|              |      |           |      |       |            |        |         |          |
|--------------|------|-----------|------|-------|------------|--------|---------|----------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | [l]  |           |      |       |            | [va]rṇ | vijayaṃ | mā       |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | līpi | līkhita   | kiti | putā  | papotā     | me     | a[su]   | nava[rh] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | dīpi | nīp[ī]sta | kiti | putra | papotra    | me     | asu     | navarṇ   |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | dīpi | lī[khi]ta | kiti | putra | prap[o]tra | me     | a[su]   | nava[rh] |

|              |              |          |            |     |             |          |     |        |
|--------------|--------------|----------|------------|-----|-------------|----------|-----|--------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | vijetavyam   | maññā    | sarasake   | eva | vijaye      | chhāti   | cha | .      |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | vijayataviya | manishu  | shayakashi | no  | vi[ja]yashi | khamti   | chā | la[hu- |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | vijetav[i]ja | mañishu  | spa[kaspi] | yo  | vijay[e     | ksham]ti | cha | lahu-  |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | ...[tavi]yam | mañ[ishu | saya]      | .   | .           | .        | .   | .      |

|              |           |       |         |        |     |         |        |           |
|--------------|-----------|-------|---------|--------|-----|---------|--------|-----------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | .         | .     | .       | .      | .   | .       | .      | .         |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | damḍatā   | [chā] | lochetu | tameva | chā | vijayam | manatu | ye        |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | da[m]ḍata | cha   | rochetu | tañ    | cha | yo      | vija   | mañña[tu] |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | .         | .     | .       | .      | .   | .       | .      | .         |

|              |               |         |             |        |      |                 |           |   |
|--------------|---------------|---------|-------------|--------|------|-----------------|-----------|---|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | .             | .       | .           | kik[o] | ch[a | pā[r[alo]ki[ko] | .         | . |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | dhama-vijaye  | (Y) she | hidalokikya | .      | .    | palalokiye      | (Z) shavā | . |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | dhrama-vijayo | (Y) so  | hidalokiko  | .      | .    | paralokiko      | (Z) sava- | . |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | .             | (Y) .   | hidaloke    | .      | .    | paralokike      | (Z) sava  | . |

|              |            |      |        |        |                |             |        |    |
|--------------|------------|------|--------|--------|----------------|-------------|--------|----|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | .          | .    | .      | .      | .              | .           | .      | .  |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | cha        | ka   | nilati | hot[u] | uyāma-lati     | (A) shā     | hi     | .  |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | chatī-rati | .    | bhotu  | ya     | [dh]rañma-rati | (A) sa      | hi     | .  |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | cha        | [ka] | nirati | hotu   | ya             | dhrama-rati | (A) sa | hi |

|              |              |     |               |     |
|--------------|--------------|-----|---------------|-----|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | ilokikā      | cha | pāralokikā    | cha |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | hi[da]lokika | .   | pa[la]lokikyā | .   |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | hidalokika   | .   | paralokika    | .   |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | [i]aloki[ka] | .   | paraloki[ka]  | .   |

## FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT

|              |            |             |                     |               |          |
|--------------|------------|-------------|---------------------|---------------|----------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | (A) ayam   | dhama-lipi  | Devānampriyena      | Priyadasinā   | r[a]ñā   |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | (A) iyam   | dhama-lipi  | Dev[āna]m[pi]y[e]nā | [P]riyadasinā | lajinā   |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (A) ayi    | dhrama-dipi | Devanañpriyena      | Priśi[na]     | rañña    |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | (A) [i]yam | dhrama-dipi | De[va]ñapriyena     | Pri[ya]       | [jina]   |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (A) iyam   | dhama-lipi  | De[v]ānañpiyena     | Piyada[sin]ā  | laj[inā] |
| <i>Yau.</i>  | .          | .           | .                   | .             | .        |

|              |             |      |      |              |        |               |        |            |
|--------------|-------------|------|------|--------------|--------|---------------|--------|------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | [e]khāpitā  | asti | eva  | samkhit[e]na | asti   | majhamena     | asti   | vistatana  |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | likhāpitā   | athi | yevā | sukhitenā    | [a]thi | majhimenā     | athi   | vithaṇenā  |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | nipesapita  | asti | vo   | samkshitena  | asti   | yo            | .      | vistriṇena |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | [likhapita] | .    | .    | .            | .      | .             | .      | .          |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [likhā]     | .    | .    | .            | athi   | ma[jh]imena]  | .      | .          |
| <i>Yau.</i>  | .           | .    | .    | .            | .      | [ma]jhime[na] | ath[i] | vithaṇena  |

|              |          |      |         |           |           |              |    |         |
|--------------|----------|------|---------|-----------|-----------|--------------|----|---------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | (B) na   | cha  | sarvam  | [sa]rvata | ghaṭitam  | (C) mahālake | hi | vijitam |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | (B) no   | hi   | savatā  | save      | [gha]ṭite | (C) mahālake | hi | vijite  |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (B) na   | hi   | savatra | sasavre   | gaṭite    | (C) mahalake | hi | vijite  |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | .        | .    | .       | .         | .         | .            | .  | .       |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (B) .    | [h]i | save    | sav[a]ta  | ghaṭite   | (C) mahamte  | hi | vijaye  |
| <i>Yau.</i>  | (B) [no] | hi   | save    | savata    | ghaṭite   | (C) mahamte  | hi | vijaye  |

|              |          |     |          |                |         |          |      |            |
|--------------|----------|-----|----------|----------------|---------|----------|------|------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | bahu     | cha | likhitaṁ | likhāpayisaṁ   | cheva   | (D)      | asti | cha        |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | bahu     | cha | likhite  | lekhāpeśami    | cheva   | nikyaṁ   | (D)  | athi chā   |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | bahu     | cha | likhite  | likha[p]eśami  | cheva   |          | (D)  | asti chu   |
| <i>Mān.</i>  |          |     | [likhite | likha]pe[śa]mi | che[va] | ni . . . | (D)  | [asti chu] |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | bahu[k]e | cha | likhite  | likhiyis       |         |          | (D)  | [a]jhi . . |
| <i>Ṭau.</i>  |          |     |          |                |         |          |      |            |

|              |        |     |      |        |            |        |        |           |               |
|--------------|--------|-----|------|--------|------------|--------|--------|-----------|---------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | eta    | kaṁ | puna | puna   | vutaṁ      | tasa   | tasa   | athasa    | mādhūratāya   |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | hetā   |     | puna | pun[ā] | la[p]i[t]e | tasha  | tashā  | athashā   | madhuliyāye   |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | atra   |     | puna | puna   | [la]pitaṁ  | tasa   | tasa   | [a]thasa  | madhuriyaye   |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | [a]tra |     | puna | puna   | la[p]ite   | tasa   | ta[sa] | a[thra]sa | [madhu]riyaye |
| <i>Dhau.</i> |        |     |      |        | [vu]te     | ta[sa] |        |           | [y]āy[e]      |
| <i>Ṭau.</i>  |        |     |      |        |            |        | [sa]   |           | mādhuliyāye   |

|              |         |     |        |         |                |     |     |              |
|--------------|---------|-----|--------|---------|----------------|-----|-----|--------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | kiṁti   |     | jano   | tathā   | paṭipajetha    | (E) |     | tatra        |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | yena    |     | jane   | tathā   | paṭipajeyā     | (E) | she | shāyā ata    |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | ye[na]  |     | jana   | tatha   | paṭipajeyati   | (E) | so  | siya va atra |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | [ye]na  |     | jane   | ta[tha] | paṭipaje[ya]ti | (E) | se  | [si]ya atra  |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [k]iṁti | cha | j[ā]ne | tathā   | paṭipajeyā ti  | (E) | e   | pi chu heta  |
| <i>Ṭau.</i>  | kiṁt[i] | cha | jane   | tathā   | paṭipajeyā ti  | (E) | e   | pi chu heta  |

|              |          |            |            |           |         |     |                |              |
|--------------|----------|------------|------------|-----------|---------|-----|----------------|--------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | ekadā    | asamāt[a]ṁ | likhita[m] | asa       | desaṁ   | va  | sachhāya       | [kā]raṇaṁ va |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | k[i]chhi | asamati    | likhite    |           | dishā   | vā  | shaṁkheye      | kālanam vā   |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | kiche    | asamataṁ   | likhitaṁ   |           | deśaṁ   | va  | samkhay[a]     | karana va    |
| <i>Mān.</i>  | k[i]chhi | . . .      | [t]i       | likhi[t.] | . . . . | va  | [samkha]ya     | . . . .      |
| <i>Dhau.</i> |          | asamati    | likhi[t]e  | s)        | . . . . | sam | .. [lochay]itu | . . . .      |
| <i>Ṭau.</i>  |          |            |            |           |         |     |                |              |

|              |               |                     |               |
|--------------|---------------|---------------------|---------------|
| <i>Gir.</i>  | [a]lochetaṭpā | lipikarāparadhena   | va            |
| <i>Kāl.</i>  | alochayitu    | li[p]ikalapālādhena | vā            |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | alocheti      | dipikarasa          | va aparadhena |
| <i>Mān.</i>  |               |                     |               |
| <i>Dhau.</i> |               | k[a][ā]             | [t]i          |
| <i>Ṭau.</i>  |               |                     |               |

## II. THE TWO SEPARATE ROCK-EDICTS

## FIRST SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT

|              |     |                    |            |           |                          |
|--------------|-----|--------------------|------------|-----------|--------------------------|
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (A) | [Devāna]n[pi]y[asa | vacha]nena | Tosaliyaṁ | ma[hā]māta               |
| <i>Ṭau.</i>  | (A) | Dev[ā]nampiye      | he[va]n    | [ā]hā     | (B) Sam[a]pāyaṁ mahāmātā |

|              |                          |           |               |      |        |                |
|--------------|--------------------------|-----------|---------------|------|--------|----------------|
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [naga]la-[v]i[yo]hālak[ā | va]taviya | (B)           | [a]n | kichhi | dakhā]mi       |
| <i>Ṭau.</i>  | [na]gala-viyohālaka      | he[va]n   | va]tav[i]y[ā] | (C)  | aṁ     | kichhi dakhāmi |

|              |         |       |          |           |          |                     |
|--------------|---------|-------|----------|-----------|----------|---------------------|
| <i>Dhau.</i> | hakam   | taṁ   | ichhāmi  | k[i]n[t]i | kaṁ[mana | pa]ṭipādayaṁ        |
| <i>Ṭau.</i>  | ha[k]aṁ | [taṁ] | ichhām[i | k]iṁt[i   | kaṁ      | kamana pa]ṭipādayaṁ |

*Dhav.* duvalate cha ālabhehaṁ (C) esa cha me mokhya-mata duvā[la]  
*Ṭau.* duvalate cha ālabhehaṁ (D) es[a] cha me mokhya-mata duvālaṁ

*Dhav.* [etasi aṭha]si aṁ tupa[esu] anusathi (D) tuphe hi bahūsu pāna-  
*Ṭau.* [aṁ] tuphesu anusathi (E) phe hi bahūsu pāna-

*Dhav.* sahasesuṁ āyata] p[a]na[yaṁ] ga]chh[e]ma su munisānaṁ  
*Ṭau.* sahasesu [ā]ya[ta] p[a]na[yaṁ] gachhema [su] m[u]n[i]ś[ā]na[m]

*Dhav.* (E) save munise pajā mamā (F) ath[ā] pajāye ichhāmi h[a]ka[m]  
*Ṭau.* (F) sava-mu[n]ā me pajā (G) atha pa[jā]ye ichhām[i]

*Dhav.* [kiṁti] sa]ve[na] hi]ta-sukhena hidal[o]kika-pālalokike[na] y[ū]jev[ū]  
*Ṭau.* [kiṁ]t[i] me savena hita-sukhena y[ū]jeyū ti hi[dal]o[g]ik[a]-pālalokikena

*Dhav.* [t]i [tathā] . . . . muni]sesu pi [i]chhāmi [ha]ka[m] (G) no cha  
*Ṭau.* [he]meva me ichha sava-munis[e]su (H) no chu tu[phe]

*Dhav.* pāpunātha āv[a]-ga[m]u[k]e [iyaṁ aṭhe] (H) [k]e[chha] v[a] eka-  
*Ṭau.* [e]taṁ [p]ā[p]unātha āva-gamu[k]e [i]yaṁ aṭhe (I) kechā eka-

*Dhav.* puli[se] . . . . nāti e]ta]ṁ se pi desaṁ no savaṁ (J) de[kha]t[a] hi  
*Ṭau.* [muni]ś[e] pā[p]unāti se pi desaṁ no savaṁ (J) dakhatha hi

*Dhav.* [t]u[phe] etaṁ suvi[hi]tā pi (J) [n]itiyaṁ eka-pulise [pi athi] y[e]  
*Ṭau.* [tuphe] pi suvitā [p]i (K) bahuka aṭhi ye eti eka-munise

*Dhav.* baṁdhanam vā p[a]likilesam vā pāpunāti (K) tata hoti akasmā  
*Ṭau.* ba[m]dhanam pa[li]kile]sam [p]i pāpunāti (L) tata [ho]t[i] aka]sm[ā]

*Dhav.* tena badhana[m]tik[a] aṁne cha . . . . hu jane da[v]iye  
*Ṭau.* ti ten[a] badhana[m]ti]ka anye cha [va]ge bahuke

*Dhav.* dukhīyati (L) tata ichhitaviye tuphehi kiṁti m[a]jhaṁ paṭipādayamā  
*Ṭau.* vedayati (M) tata tuphehi ichhi]taye kiṁti majhaṁ [pa]ṭipāyem[a]

*Dhav.* ti (M) imeh[i] chu [jāteh]i no saṁpaṭipajati isāya āsulopena  
*Ṭau.* (N) imehi jāte[hi] no [pa]ṭipa[ja]ki i[sā]ya āsulopena

*Dhav.* nī[ṭhū]liyena tūlanā[ya] anāvūtiya ālasiyena k[i]lāmathena  
*Ṭau.* [nī]ṭhū[li]ye[na] tūlā]ya [a]nā[v]uti]ya āla]s[y]e[na] ki]lāmath[e]na

*Dhav.* (N) se ichhitaviye kiṁti ete [jātā] no huvevu ma[m]ā  
*Ṭau.* (O) hevaṁ ichhi]t[a]v[i]ye kiṁti me et[ā]ni jātā[ni] n]o hveyd

*Dhav.* ti (O) etasa cha sava[sa] mūle anāsulope a[tū]l[a]nā cha  
*Ṭau.* ti (P) savasa chu iyaṁ mū]le a[n]ā[s]u[lo]p[e] atulanā] cha

*Dhav.* (P) niti[ya]ṁ e kilamte siyā [na] te uga[chha]  
*Ṭau.* (Q) nī]tiya]ṁ e]y[am] kī]lāmt[e] [siya] . . . . saṁchalitu utthāy[ā]



*Dhau.* sañchalitaviy[e] tu va[i]ṭita[v]iṭy[e] etaviye vā (Q) hevañmeva  
*ṭau.* sañchalitavye tu v[a]ṭitaviya [pi] etaviye pi niṭ[i]yañ (R) eve

*Dhau.* e da[kheya] t[u]pāḥk[a] tena vataviye ānañne dekhata  
*ṭau.* dakh[ē]yā āna[r]ñe nijhap[ē]ta[vi]ye

*Dhau.* hevañ cha hev[a]ñ cha [D]evānañpiyasa anusathi (R) se  
*ṭau.* hevā[r]ñ hevañ cha Devānañ[p]i[ya]sa an[u]sa[thi ti] (S) [eta]ñ

*Dhau.* mah[ā-pha]ḷe [e] t[a]sa [sañpa]ṭipāda mahā-apāye asañpaṭipati  
*ṭau.* [sañpaṭipā]ta[yañ]tañ mahā-phale hoti asañpaṭipati mahāpāy[e] hoti

*Dhau.* (S) [vi]paṭ[i]pādayamīne hi etañ nathi svagasa [ā][a]dhi no lāṭ[ā]l[adh]i  
*ṭau.* (T) vipaṭipātayañtañ no svag[a]-aladhi no lāṭadhi

*Dhau.* (T) duā[ha]ḷe hi i[ma]sa kañm[asa] m[e] kute mañ[o]-atīleke  
*ṭau.* (U) du[ā]hale etasa [kañ]masa sa me k[u]ṭ[ē] mañ[o-ati]ḷe[ke]

*Dhau.* (U) sa[r]ñpaṭipajam[i]n[e] chu [etañ] svaga[r]ñ ālādha[yi]sa[tha]  
*ṭau.* (V) [etañ] sañpaṭipajamīne mama] cha ānanyañ esatha

*Dhau.* [mama cha ā]naniyañ ehatha (V) iyañ cha l[i]p[i] t[i]sa-na[kha]tena  
*ṭau.* svagañ cha ālā[dha]yisa[th]a (W) iyañ chā l[i]p[i] anutisañ

*Dhau.* so[ta]viy[ā] (W) aṁta[l]ā [p]i cha [t]i[s]e[na kha]nasi kha[nas]i  
*ṭau.* so[ta]v[i]yā (X) [a]ā [p]i khañe[na kha]ñe[na] sota[vi]ya

*Dhau.* ekena pi sotaviya (X) hevañ cha kamañtañ tuphe chaghattha  
*ṭau.* ek[a]k[e]na pi (Y) . . . . . m[i]ñe ch[aghattha]

*Dhau.* sampaṭ[i]pād[a]ḷ[i]tave (Y) [e]ṭi[ā]ye aṭhāye iya[m]l[i]p[i] likhit[a h]ida ena  
*ṭau.* . . . . . tave (Z) eṭāye cha aṭh[ā]ye iyañ [li]khitā [li]p[i] ena

*Dhau.* nagala-vi[y]o[hā]lakā sa[s]vatañ samayañ yūjevū t[i] . . .  
*ṭau.* mahāmātā nagalaka sa[s]vata[r]ñ sama[ya]ñ [etañ] yu[i]ṭey[u] t[i] ena

*Dhau.* . . [na]sa akasmā [pa]libodhe va [a]k[a]smā paliki[l]e[s]e va no siyā  
*ṭau.* [muni]s[ā]nañ [a] . . . . . ne [pal]i[k]i . . . . .

*Dhau.* ti (Z) eṭāye cha aṭhāye haka[r]ñ . . . . . mate p[a]ñchasu pañchasu  
*ṭau.* . . . . . ye [pa]ñchasu pañchasu

*Dhau.* [va]sesu [n]i[khā]may[i]sāmi e akhakhase a[cha]m[k]e  
*ṭau.* va[sesu] anu[say]ānañ nikhāma[y]sāmi mahānāta[r]ñ achanḍa[r]ñ

*Dhau.* s[a]khināmbhe hosati etañ aṭhañ jānitu . . . . . [ta]thā kala[r]ñti  
*ṭau.* apha[usa]ñ ta . . . . .

*Dhau.* atha mama anusathi ti (AA) Ujenite pi chu kumāle eṭāye v[a]  
*ṭau.* . . . . . pi kumāle [v] . . . . .

*Dhau.* aṭhāye [n]khāma[yisa] . . . . . hedisameva vagarāṁ no cha atikāmayisati  
*Ṭau.* . . . . . m[ayi]

*Dhau.* tirinī vasāni (BB) hemeva T[a]kha[s]ilāte pi (CC) [a]dā a . . . . .  
*Ṭau.* . . . . . [lā]t[e]

*Dhau.* te mahāmātā nikhamisarānti anusayānarāṁ tadā ahāpayitu atane  
*Ṭau.* vachanik[a] ada [anusa]yānarāṁ n[ikha]m[isam]ti a[ta]ne

*Dhau.* kaṁmaṁ etarāṁ pi jānisarānti tarāṁ pi ta[th]ā kalārānti  
*Ṭau.* ka[r̥ma]m . . . . . [yitu] tarāṁ pi tathā kalārānti

*Dhau.* a[tha] lājine anusathī ti  
*Ṭau.* [athā]

## SECOND SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT

*Dhau.* (A) Devānāmpiyas[a] vachanena Tosaliyarāṁ kumāle mahāmātā cha  
*Ṭau.* (A) Devānāmpīye hevarāṁ ā[ha] (B) Samāpāyarāṁ mahamātā

*Dhau.* . . . . . vataviya (B) arāṁ kichhi dakhām[i] h[akam] tarāṁ i] . . . .  
*Ṭau.* l[ā]ja-vachanik[a] vataviyā (C) arāṁ kichhi dakh[ā]mi hakarāṁ tarāṁ i[chh]āmi

*Dhau.* . . . . . duvālate cha ālabheharāṁ (C) esa  
*Ṭau.* hakarāṁ k[im]ti karāṁ kamana paṭipātayeharāṁ duvā[la]te cha ālabheharāṁ (D) esa

*Dhau.* cha me mokhya-mata duvālā etasi aṭhasi arāṁ tuphe[s]ju . . . .  
*Ṭau.* cha me mokhiya-mat[a] duvāl[a] etasa a[tha]sa a[m] t[uph]esu anusa[thi]

*Dhau.* . . . . . mama (E) ath[a] pajāye ichhāmi hakarāṁ k[im]ti  
*Ṭau.* (E) sava-munisā me pajā (F) atha pajāy[e] ichhāmi kiṁti me

*Dhau.* savena hi[ta-sukhe]na hidalokika-pālalokikāye yujevū ti  
*Ṭau.* savenā hita-su[kh]ena yu[je]yū<sup>1</sup> ti hidalogika-pālalokik[ā]y[e]ṇa

*Dhau.* h[e]v[am] . . . . . (F) siyā aṁtānarāṁ avijitānarāṁ  
*Ṭau.* hevarāṁmeva me ichha sava-munisese (G) siyā aṁtānarāṁ [a]vijitānarāṁ

*Dhau.* ki-chha[mde] su lājā [aphesu] . . (G) . . . . m[a]va ichha mama aṁtesu  
*Ṭau.* kiṁ-chhāṁde su lājā aphesū ti (H) etākā [vā] me ichha [a]ṁtesu

*Dhau.* . . . i [p]ā[p]unevu te iti Devānāmp[iy] . . . . . [anu]v[i]g[ina] mamāye  
*Ṭau.* pāpunevu lājā hevam ichh[ā]ti anu[v]i[g]ina hve[yū]

*Dhau.* huvevū ti asvasevu cha sukharāṁmeva lahevu mamat[e]  
*Ṭau.* mamīyāye [a]svaseyu cha me sukharā[m]ev[a] cha lahey[ū] mamate

*Dhau.* no dukha[m] h[e]va[m] . . . un[e]vū iti khamisati ne  
*Ṭau.* [n]o kha[m] hevarāṁ cha pāpunevu kha[m]i[sa]ti ne

<sup>1</sup> The last eight words are repeated thus: [a]tha pajāye ichhāmi kiṁti m[e] savena hita-sukh[e]na yujevū.

*Dhau.* Devānaṃpiye [aph]ākā ti e chakiye khamitave mama nimitaṃ [va]  
*Ṭau.* lājā e s[a]kiye khamitave mamaṃ nimitaṃ

*Dhau.* cha dhammaṃ chalevū hidaloka palaloka[m] cha  
*Ṭau.* cha dhamma[m] chaley[ū] ti hidaloga[m] cha palalogaṃ cha

*Dhau.* ālādhayevū (H) etasi aṭhasi haka[m] anusāsāmi tuphe  
*Ṭau.* ālādhayey[ū] (I) etāye cha aṭhāye hakaṃ tupheni anusāsāmi

*Dhau.* ana[n]e [e]akena hakaṃ anusāsitu chhamdaṃ cha veditu  
*Ṭau.* ana[n]e eta[kena] [ha]kaṃ tupheni a[nu]sāsitu chhamda[m] cha vedī[t]u

*Dhau.* ā [hi] dhi[t]i paṭimā cha mamā [a]jalā (I) s[e] hevaṃ kaṭu  
*Ṭau.* ā mama dhiti paṭimā cha achala (Ṭ) sa hevaṃ [ka]tū

*Dhau.* kaṃme chal[i]t[a]v[i]e asv[āsa] . . . . i [cha] tāni ena  
*Ṭau.* k[ā]mme [cha]litaviye asvāsa[n]jiyā ch[a] te en[a] te

*Dhau.* pāpunevū iti aṭha pitā tatha Devānaṃpiye aphāka athā cha  
*Ṭau.* pāpuneyu a[th]ā pita [h]evaṃ [n]e lājā ti aṭha

*Dhau.* atānaṃ hevaṃ Devānaṃpiye [a]nukaṃpati aphe athā cha pajā  
*Ṭau.* [a]tānaṃ anukaṃpa[t]i hevaṃ a[ph]eni anuka[m]pa[ti] athā pajā

*Dhau.* hevaṃ may[e] D[e]vānaṃpiyasa (Ṭ) se hakaṃ anusāsitu [chha]mda[m]  
*Ṭau.* hevaṃ [may]e lā[j]ine (K) tupheni hakaṃ anusāsita [chh]amdaṃ

*Dhau.* ch[a] veditu tu[phāk]a[ ] desāvutike  
*Ṭau.* [cha] v[e]d[ita] [ā ma]ma dhiti paṭi[m]nā chā achala [saka]la-desā-āyut[i]ke

*Dhau.* hosāmi etāye aṭhāye (K) paṭibalā hi tuph[e] asvāsanāye hita-  
*Ṭau.* hosāmi et[a]si [a]thas[i] (L) [a]laṃ [h]i tuphe asvāsa[nā]ye hi[ta]-

*Dhau.* sukhāye cha [tesa] hidalokika-pālalo[k]kāye (L) hevaṃ cha  
*Ṭau.* sukhāye [cha] te[sa]m hidalogi[ka]-p[ā]la[o]ki[k]āy[e] (M) hevaṃ cha

*Dhau.* kalaṃtaṃ tuphe svagaṃ ālādhayisatha mama ch[a] ānaniyaṃ  
*Ṭau.* kalaṃtaṃ svaga[m] cha ālādhayisa[tha] mama cha āna[n]eyaṃ

*Dhau.* ehatha (M) etāye cha aṭhāye iyaṃ lipi likhitā hida e[na]  
*Ṭau.* es[a]tha (N) etāye cha a[th]āye iya[m] lipi li[kh]i[ta] hi[k]a e[na]

*Dhau.* [ma]hāmāṭā svasata[m] sa[ma] yujisaṃti as[vā]s[a]nāye dhamma-  
*Ṭau.* [ma]h[ā]māṭā sāsavataṃ samaṃ yujeyū asvāsanāye cha dhamma-

*Dhau.* chala[n]āye cha tes[a] aṃtānaṃ (N) iyaṃ cha lipi [anu]chātum[māsa]ṃ  
*Ṭau.* chala[nā]ye [cha] aṃtā[nā]m (O) iyaṃ cha lipi a[nu]ch[ā]tum[m]āsaṃ

*Dhau.* tisena nakhatena sotaviyā (O) kāmaṃ chu [kha]ṇas[i] khanasi  
*Ṭau.* s[ota]viyā tisena (P) aṃta[lā] pi cha sotaviyā

*Dham.* aññatā pi tisena ekena [p]i [so]taviya (P) hevaññ kala[m]taññ  
*Jau.* (Q) khane saññatā eke[ua] pi [sota]v[i]yā (R) heva[m] cha [ka]lañ[ta]ññ

*Dham.* [t]uphe chagghatha saṃpaṭipādayitave  
*Jau.* chagghatha saṃpaṭipātayit[av]e

### III. THE SIX PILLAR-EDICTS

#### FIRST PILLAR-EDICT

*Tōp.* (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaññ āhā (B) saḍuvisati-vasa-abhisitena  
*Ar.* (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaññ āhā (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena  
*Nand.* (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaññ ā[ha] (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena  
*Rām.* (A) Devānaṃpiye P[i]yadasi lāja heva āhā (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena  
*All.* (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaññ āhā (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena

*Tōp.* me iyañ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā (C) hidata-pālate dusaṃpaṭipādaye  
*Ar.* me iyañ dhamma-lip[i] likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusaṃpaṭipādaye  
*Nand.* me iyañ dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusaṃpaṭipādaye  
*Rām.* me iyañ dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusaṃpaṭipādaye  
*All.* me iyañ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā (C) hidata-pālate dusaṃpaṭipādaye

*Tōp.* aññata agāyā dhamma-kāmatāyā agāya palikhāyā agāya su[su]sāyā  
*Ar.* aññata agāya dhamma-kāmatāyā agāya palikhāy[a] agāya susūsāya  
*Nand.* aññata agāya dhamma-kāmatāyā agāya palikhāyā agāya susūsāya  
*Rām.* aññata agāya dhamma-kāmatāyā agāya palikhāyā agāya susūsāya  
*All.* aññata agāya dhamma-kāmatāyā agāya palikhāyā agāya susūsāyā

*Tōp.* aṇena bhayenā aṇena usāhenā (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiyā  
*Ar.* aṇena bhayena aṇena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya  
*Nand.* aṇena bhayena aṇena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya  
*Rām.* aṇena bhayena aṇena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya  
*All.* aṇena bhayena a[g]ena usāhenā (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiyā

*Tōp.* dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vadhitā vadhisati chevā  
*Ar.* dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vadhita vadhisati cheva  
*Nand.* dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vadhita vadhisati cheva  
*Rām.* dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vadhita vadhisati cheva  
*All.* dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vadhitā vadhisati ch[e]vā

*Tōp.* (E) pulisā pi chā me ukasā chā gevayā chā majhimā chā  
*Ar.* (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha  
*Nand.* (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha  
*Rām.* (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha  
*All.* (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha

*Tōp.* anuvīdhīyañti saṃpaṭipādayaṃti chā alaṃ chapalaṃ samādapayitave  
*Ar.* anuvīdhīyañti saṃpaṭipādayaṃti cha alaṃ chapalaṃ samādapayitave  
*Nand.* anuvīdhīyañti saṃpaṭipādayaṃti cha alaṃ chapalaṃ samādapayitave  
*Rām.* anuvīdhīyañti saṃpaṭipādayaṃti cha alaṃ chapalaṃ samādapayitave  
*All.* anuvīdhīyañti saṃpaṭipādayaṃti cha alaṃ chapalaṃ samādapayitave

|              |             |               |    |         |    |       |    |        |          |
|--------------|-------------|---------------|----|---------|----|-------|----|--------|----------|
| <i>Tōp.</i>  | (F) hemevā  | aṁta-mahāmātā | pi | (G) eṣa | hi | vidhi | yā | iyam   | dhammena |
| <i>Mtr.</i>  |             |               |    |         |    |       |    |        |          |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | (F) hemeva  | aṁta-mahāmātā | pi | (G) eṣā | hi | vidhi | yā | iyam   | dhammena |
| <i>Nand.</i> | (F) hemeva  | aṁta-mahāmātā | pi | (G) eṣā | hi | vidhi | yā | iyam   | dhammena |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | (F) hemeva  | aṁta-mahāmātā | pi | (G) eṣā | hi | vidhi | yā | iyam   | dhammena |
| <i>All.</i>  | (F) hehमेवा | aṁta-mahāmātā | pi | (G) eṣā | hi | vidhi | yā | [i]yam | dhammena |

|              |           |            |             |                 |             |          |
|--------------|-----------|------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|----------|
| <i>Tōp.</i>  | pālana    | dhammena   | vidhāne     | dhammena        | sukhiyanā   | dhammena |
| <i>Mtr.</i>  | ....[naṁ] | dhammen[a] | v[i]dh[āne] | dha[me]         |             |          |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | pālana    | dhammena   | vidhāne     | dhammena        | sukh[i]yana | dhammena |
| <i>Nand.</i> | pālana    | dhammena   | vidhāne     | dhammena        | sukhiyana   | dhammena |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | pālana    | dhammena   | vidhāne     | dha[r̥i]m[c̥]na | sukhiyana   | dhammena |
| <i>All.</i>  | pālana    | dhammena   | vidhāne     | dhammena        | sukhiyanā   | dhammena |

|              |         |          |
|--------------|---------|----------|
| <i>Tōp.</i>  | goti    | ti       |
| <i>Mtr.</i>  |         |          |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | goti    | ti       |
| <i>Nand.</i> | goti    | ti       |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | goti    | ti       |
| <i>All.</i>  | [gut̪i] | [ti cha] |

## SECOND PILLAR-EDICT

|              |                     |          |      |        |     |               |           |
|--------------|---------------------|----------|------|--------|-----|---------------|-----------|
| <i>Tōp.</i>  | (A) Devānaṁpiye     | Piyadasi | lāja | hevaṁ  | āhā | (B) dhamme    | sādhū     |
| <i>Mtr.</i>  | (A) De[vā]n[a]ṁpiye | Piyadasi | lāja | [hevaṁ | ā]  | (B) dh[am̐]me | s[ā]dh[u] |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | (A) Devānaṁpiye     | Piyadasi | lāja | hevaṁ  | āha | (B) dhamme    | sādhū     |
| <i>Nand.</i> | (A) Devānaṁpiye     | Piyadasi | lāja | hevaṁ  | āha | (B) dhamme    | sādhū     |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | (A) Devānaṁpiye     | Piyadasi | lāja | hevaṁ  | āha | (B) dhamme    | sādhū     |
| <i>All.</i>  | (A) Devānaṁpiye     | Piyadasi | lājā | hevaṁ  | āhā | (B) dhamme    | sādhū     |

|              |         |     |        |       |     |           |             |        |        |      |       |       |
|--------------|---------|-----|--------|-------|-----|-----------|-------------|--------|--------|------|-------|-------|
| <i>Top.</i>  | kiyaṁ   | chu | dhamme | ti    | (C) | apāsinave | bahu        | kayāne | dayā   | dāne | sache |       |
| <i>Mtr.</i>  | k[iya]ṁ | .   | .      | [m̐]e | ti  | (C)       | a[pā]sinave | bahu   | kayāne | dayā | dāne  | sache |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | kiyaṁ   | chu | dhamme | ti    | (C) | apāsinave | bahu        | kayāne | daya   | dāne | sache |       |
| <i>Nand.</i> | kiya    | chu | dhamme | ti    | (C) | apāsinave | bahu        | kayāne | daya   | dāne | sache |       |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | kiyaṁ   | chu | dhamme | ti    | (C) | apāsinave | bahu        | kayāne | daya   | dāne | sache |       |
| <i>All.</i>  | kiyaṁ   | chu | dhamme | ti    | (C) | apāsinave | bahu        | kayāne | dayā   | dāne | sache |       |

|              |         |     |               |             |     |           |           |       |           |         |
|--------------|---------|-----|---------------|-------------|-----|-----------|-----------|-------|-----------|---------|
| <i>Top.</i>  | sochaye | (D) | chakhu-dāne   | pi          | me  | bahuvidhe | diṁne     | (E)   | dupada-   |         |
| <i>Mtr.</i>  | sochaye | (D) | [chakhu-dā]nā | [pi         | me] | bahuvidhe | diṁne     | (E)   | du[pa]da- |         |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | socheye | ti  | (D)           | chakhu-dāne | pi  | me        | bahuvidhe | diṁne | (E)       | dupada- |
| <i>Nand.</i> | socheye | ti  | (D)           | chakhu-dāne | pi  | me        | bahuvidhe | diṁne | (E)       | dupada- |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | socheye | ti  | (D)           | chakhu-dāne | pi  | me        | bahuvidhe | diṁne | (E)       | dupada- |
| <i>All.</i>  | sochaye | (D) | chakhu-dāne   | pi          | me  | bahuvidhe | diṁne     | (E)   | dupada-   |         |

|              |                 |                     |           |    |           |      |   |       |
|--------------|-----------------|---------------------|-----------|----|-----------|------|---|-------|
| <i>Tōp.</i>  | chatupadesu     | pakhi-vālichalesu   | vividhe   | me | anugahe   | kaṭe | ā | pāna- |
| <i>Mtr.</i>  | ch[a]tu[pa]desu | pakhi-vālicha[le]su | viv[i]dhe | me | anu[ga]he | kaṭe | ā | pāna- |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | chatupadesu     | pakhi-vālichalesu   | vividhe   | me | anugahe   | kaṭe | ā | pāna- |
| <i>Nand.</i> | chatupadesu     | pakhi-vālichalesu   | vividhe   | me | anugahe   | kaṭe | ā | pāna- |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | chatupadesu     | pakhi-vālichalesu   | vividhe   | me | anugahe   | kaṭe | ā | pāna- |
| <i>All.</i>  | chatupadesu     | pakhi-vālichalesu   | vividhe   | me | anugahe   | kaṭe | ā | pāna- |

|              |           |     |          |    |     |    |          |          |        |     |       |
|--------------|-----------|-----|----------|----|-----|----|----------|----------|--------|-----|-------|
| <i>Tōp.</i>  | dakḥināye | (F) | aṁnāni   | pi | cha | me | bahūni   | kayānāni | kaṭāni | (G) | eṭāye |
| <i>Mīr.</i>  | dākḥināye | (F) | a[ṁ]hāni | pi | cha | me | bah[ūni] | kayānāni | kaṭāni | (G) | eṭāye |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | dakḥināye | (F) | a[ṁ]hāni | pi | cha | me | bahūni   | kayānāni | kaṭāni | (G) | eṭāye |
| <i>Nand.</i> | dakḥināye | (F) | aṁnāni   | pi | cha | me | bahūni   | kayānāni | kaṭāni | (G) | eṭāye |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | dakḥināye | (F) | aṁnāni   | pi | cha | me | bahūni   | kayānāni | kaṭāni | (G) | eṭāye |
| <i>All.</i>  | dakḥināye | (F) | aṁnāni   | pi | cha | me | bahūni   | kayānāni | kaṭāni | (G) | eṭāye |

|              |    |        |      |             |             |         |                |           |
|--------------|----|--------|------|-------------|-------------|---------|----------------|-----------|
| <i>Tōp.</i>  | me | aṭhāye | iyam | dhamma-lipi | likhāpitā   | hevaṁ   | anupaṭipajamtu | chilam-   |
| <i>Mīr.</i>  | me | aṭhāye | iyam | dhamma-lipi | li[khāpitā] | . . . . | anupaṭipajamtu | chil[am]- |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | me | aṭhāye | iyam | dhamma-lipi | likhāpitā   | hevaṁ   | anupaṭipajamtu | chilam-   |
| <i>Nand.</i> | me | aṭhāye | iyam | dhamma-lipi | likhāpitā   | hevaṁ   | anupaṭipajamtu | chilam-   |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | me | aṭhāye | iyam | dhamma-lipi | likhāpitā   | hevaṁ   | anupaṭipajamtu | chilam-   |
| <i>All.</i>  | me | aṭhāye | iyam | dhamma-lipi | likhāpitā   | hevaṁ   | anupaṭipajamtu | chila-    |

|              |           |     |        |    |     |     |       |           |                  |                  |    |
|--------------|-----------|-----|--------|----|-----|-----|-------|-----------|------------------|------------------|----|
| <i>Tōp.</i>  | thitikā   | cha | hotū   | ti | ti  | (H) | ye    | cha       | hevaṁ            | samṭaṭṭipajisati | se |
| <i>Mīr.</i>  | [th]itikā | cha | hot[ū] | ti | (H) | ye  | [cha] | . . . . . | [sa]ti           | se               |    |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | thitikā   | cha | hotū   | ti | (H) | ye  | cha   | hevaṁ     | samṭaṭṭipajisati | se               |    |
| <i>Nand.</i> | thitikā   | cha | hotū   | ti | (H) | ye  | cha   | hevaṁ     | samṭaṭṭipajisati | se               |    |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | thitikā   | cha | hotū   | ti | (H) | ye  | cha   | hevaṁ     | samṭaṭṭipajisati | se               |    |
| <i>All.</i>  | thitikā   | cha | hotū   | ti | (H) | ye  | cha   | hevaṁ     | samṭaṭṭipajisati | se               |    |

|              |         |            |    |
|--------------|---------|------------|----|
| <i>Tōp.</i>  | sukataṁ | kachhati   | ti |
| <i>Mīr.</i>  | sukaṭaṁ | ka[chha]ti | ti |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | sukaṭaṁ | kachhati   | ti |
| <i>Nand.</i> | sukaṭaṁ | kachhati   |    |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | sukaṭaṁ | kachhati   | ti |
| <i>All.</i>  | sukaṭaṁ | kachhati   | ti |

## THIRD PILLAR-EDICT

|              |     |             |          |      |       |     |     |               |           |
|--------------|-----|-------------|----------|------|-------|-----|-----|---------------|-----------|
| <i>Tōp.</i>  | (A) | Devānaṁpiye | Piyadasi | lāja | hevaṁ | āha | (B) | kayānaṁmeva   | dekhati   |
| <i>Mīr.</i>  | (A) | Devānaṁpiye | Piyadasi | lāja | hevaṁ | āha | (B) | kayānaṁm[eva] | de] . . . |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | (A) | Devānaṁpiye | Piyadasi | lāja | hevaṁ | āha | (B) | kayānaṁmeva   | dekhamti  |
| <i>Nand.</i> | (A) | Devānaṁpiye | Piyadasi | lāja | hevaṁ | āha | (B) | kayānaṁmeva   | dekhamti  |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | (A) | Devānaṁpiye | Piyadasi | lāja | hevaṁ | āha | (B) | kayānaṁmeva   | dekhamti  |
| <i>All.</i>  | (A) | Devānaṁpiye | Piyadasi | lāja | hevaṁ | āha | (B) | kayānameva    | dekhati   |

|              |           |        |        |      |     |     |        |       |         |           |      |    |
|--------------|-----------|--------|--------|------|-----|-----|--------|-------|---------|-----------|------|----|
| <i>Tōp.</i>  | iyam      | me     | kayāne | kaṭe | ti  | (C) | no     | mina  | pāpaṁ   | d[e]khati | iyam | me |
| <i>Mīr.</i>  | . . . . . | kayāne | kaṭe   | ti   | (C) | no  | min[ā] | pāpaṁ | dekhati | iyam      | me   |    |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | iyam      | me     | kayāne | kaṭe | ti  | (C) | no     | mina  | pāpaṁ   | dekhamti  | iyam | me |
| <i>Nand.</i> | iyam      | me     | kayāne | kaṭe | ti  | (C) | no     | mina  | pāpaṁ   | dekhamti  | iyam | me |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | iyam      | me     | kayāne | kaṭe | ti  | (C) | no     | mina  | pāpaṁ   | dekhamti  | iyam | me |
| <i>All.</i>  | iyam      | me     | kayāne | kaṭe | ti  | (C) | no     | mina  | pāpakaṁ | dekhati   | iyam | me |

|              |        |      |    |      |     |         |      |    |           |               |           |           |
|--------------|--------|------|----|------|-----|---------|------|----|-----------|---------------|-----------|-----------|
| <i>Tōp.</i>  | pāpe   | kaṭe | ti | iyam | vā  | āsinave | nāmā | ti | (D)       | dupaṭivekhe   | chu       | kho       |
| <i>Mīr.</i>  | pāp[e] | kaṭe | ti | iyam | va] | āsinave | nāmā | ti | (D)       | [du]paṭivekhe | chu       | kho       |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | pāpe   | kaṭe | ti | iyam | va  | āsinave | nāmā | ti | (D)       | dupaṭivekhe   | chu       | kho       |
| <i>Nand.</i> | pāpe   | kaṭe | ti | iyam | va  | āsinave | nāmā | ti | (D)       | dupaṭivekhe   | chu       | kho       |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | pāpe   | kaṭe | ti | iyam | va  | āsinave | nāmā | ti | (D)       | dupaṭivekhe   | chu       | kho       |
| <i>All.</i>  | pāpake | kaṭe | ti | iyam | vā  | āsinave | nāmā | ti | . . . . . | . . . . .     | . . . . . | . . . . . |

|              |     |     |       |     |     |      |          |     |       |                  |      |
|--------------|-----|-----|-------|-----|-----|------|----------|-----|-------|------------------|------|
| <i>Tōp.</i>  | esā | (E) | hevaṃ | chu | kho | esa  | dekhiye  | (F) | imāni | āsinava-gāmini   | nāma |
| <i>Mir.</i>  | esā | (E) | hevaṃ | chu | kho | [esa | de]khiye | (F) | imāni | āsinav[a-gāmini] | nāma |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | esa | (E) | hevaṃ | chu | kho | esa  | dekhiye  | (F) | imāni | āsinava-gāmini   | nāma |
| <i>Nand.</i> | esa | (E) | hevaṃ | chu | kho | esa  | dekhiye  | (F) | imāni | āsinava-gāmini   | nāma |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | esa | (E) | hevaṃ | chu | kho | esa  | dekhiye  | (F) | imāni | āsinava-gāmini   | nāma |

|              |      |            |               |           |       |      |          |          |
|--------------|------|------------|---------------|-----------|-------|------|----------|----------|
| <i>Tōp.</i>  | atha | chaṃḍiye   | niṭhūliye     | kodhe     | māne  | isyā | kālanena | va       |
| <i>Mir.</i>  | atha | chaṃḍ[i]ye | ni[ṭhū]ḷi[y]e | k[o]dhe   | māne  | isyā | kālanena | [va]     |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | ti   | atha       | chaṃḍiye      | niṭhūliye | kodhe | māne | isya     | kālanena |
| <i>Nand.</i> | ti   | atha       | chaṃḍiye      | niṭhūliye | kodhe | māne | isya     | kālanena |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | ti   | atha       | chaṃḍiye      | niṭhūliye | kodhe | māne | isya     | kālanena |

|              |       |    |                    |     |     |         |         |         |      |      |
|--------------|-------|----|--------------------|-----|-----|---------|---------|---------|------|------|
| <i>Tōp.</i>  | hakam | mā | palibhasayisaṃ     | (G) | esa | bāḍha   | dekhiye | (H)     | iyam | me   |
| <i>Mir.</i>  | hakam | mā | palibha[say]i[sam] | (G) | ... | bāḍham] | dekhiye | (H)     | iyam | me   |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | hakam | mā | palibhasayisaṃ     | ti  | (G) | esa     | bāḍham  | dekhiye | (H)  | iyam |
| <i>Nand.</i> | hakam | mā | palibhasayisaṃ     | ti  | (G) | esa     | bāḍham  | dekhiye | (H)  | iyam |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | hakam | mā | palibhasayisaṃ     | (G) | esa | bāḍham  | dekhiye | (H)     | iyam | me   |

|              |                |          |    |            |
|--------------|----------------|----------|----|------------|
| <i>Tōp.</i>  | hidatikāye     | iyammana | me | pālatikāye |
| <i>Mir.</i>  | [hi]da[tikā]ye | iyam     | me | pālatikāye |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | hidatikāye     | iyammana | me | pālatikāye |
| <i>Nand.</i> | hidatikāye     | iyammana | me | pālatikāye |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | hidatikāye     | iyammana | me | pālatikāye |

## FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT

|              |     |             |          |       |       |     |     |                            |
|--------------|-----|-------------|----------|-------|-------|-----|-----|----------------------------|
| <i>Tōp.</i>  | (A) | Devānaṃpiye | Piyadasi | [ā]ja | hevaṃ | āhā | (B) | saḍuvīsati-vasa-abhisitena |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | (A) | Devānaṃpiye | Piyadasi | lāja  | hevaṃ | āha | (B) | saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena   |
| <i>Nand.</i> | (A) | Devānaṃpiye | Piyadasi | lāja  | hevaṃ | āha | (B) | saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena   |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | (A) | Devānaṃpiye | Piyadasi | lāja  | hevaṃ | āha | (B) | saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena   |

|              |    |      |             |           |     |        |    |        |                    |
|--------------|----|------|-------------|-----------|-----|--------|----|--------|--------------------|
| <i>Tōp.</i>  | me | iyam | dhamma-lipi | likhāpita | (C) | lajūkā | me | bahūsu | pāna-sata-sahasasu |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | me | iyam | dhamma-lipi | likhāpita | (C) | lajūkā | me | bahūsu | pāna-sata-sahasasu |
| <i>Nand.</i> | me | iyam | dhamma-lipi | likhāpita | (C) | lajūkā | me | bahūsu | pāna-sata-sahasasu |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | me | iyam | dhamma-lipi | likhāpita | (C) | lajūkā | me | bahūsu | pāna-sata-sahasasu |

|              |        |       |     |       |    |          |    |         |    |            |    |
|--------------|--------|-------|-----|-------|----|----------|----|---------|----|------------|----|
| <i>Tōp.</i>  | janasi | āyatā | (D) | tesaṃ | ye | abhihāle | vā | daṃḍe   | vā | ata-patiye | me |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | janasi | āyata | (D) | tesaṃ | ye | abhihāle | va | d[a]ṇḍe | va | ata-patiye | me |
| <i>Nand.</i> | janasi | āyata | (D) | tesaṃ | ye | abhihāle | va | daṃḍe   | va | ata-patiye | me |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | janasi | āyata | (D) | tesaṃ | ye | abhihāle | va | daṃḍe   | va | ata-patiye | me |

|              |      |       |        |         |        |          |            |        |
|--------------|------|-------|--------|---------|--------|----------|------------|--------|
| <i>Tōp.</i>  | kaṭe | kiṃti | lajūkā | asvatha | abhita | kaṇṇmāni | pavatayevū | janasa |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | kaṭe | kiṃti | lajūka | asvatha | abhita | kaṇṇmāni | pavatayevū | ti     |
| <i>Nand.</i> | kaṭe | kiṃti | lajūka | asvatha | abhita | kaṇṇmāni | pavatayevū | ti     |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | kaṭe | kiṃti | lajūka | asvatha | abhita | kaṇṇmāni | pavatayevū | ti     |

|              |            |             |           |             |     |              |            |
|--------------|------------|-------------|-----------|-------------|-----|--------------|------------|
| <i>Tōp.</i>  | jānapadasā | hita-sukhaṃ | upadahevu | anugahinevu | chā | ( <i>Ḥ</i> ) | sukhiyana- |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | jānapadasa | hita-sukhaṃ | upadahevu | anugahinevu | cha | ( <i>Ḥ</i> ) | sukhiyana- |
| <i>Nand.</i> | jānapadasa | hita-sukhaṃ | upadahevu | anugahinevu | cha | ( <i>Ḥ</i> ) | sukhiyana- |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | jānapadasa | hita-sukhaṃ | upadahevu | anugahinevu | cha | ( <i>Ḥ</i> ) | sukhiyana- |

|              |             |           |               |     |               |       |           |
|--------------|-------------|-----------|---------------|-----|---------------|-------|-----------|
| <i>Tōp.</i>  | dukkhiyanaṃ | jānisamti | dhamma-yutena | cha | viyovadisamti | janaṃ | jānapadaṃ |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | dukkhiyanaṃ | jānisamti | dhamma-yutena | cha | viyovadisamti | janaṃ | jānapadaṃ |
| <i>Nand.</i> | dukkhiyanaṃ | jānisamti | dhamma-yutena | cha | viyovadisamti | janaṃ | jānapadaṃ |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | dukkhiyanaṃ | jānisamti | dhamma-yutena | cha | viyovadisamti | janaṃ | jānapadaṃ |

|              |       |         |     |         |     |            |    |              |        |    |          |
|--------------|-------|---------|-----|---------|-----|------------|----|--------------|--------|----|----------|
| <i>Tōp.</i>  | kiṃti | hidataṃ | cha | pālatāṃ | cha | ālādhayevū | ti | ( <i>Ḥ</i> ) | lajūkā | pi | laghaṃti |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | kiṃti | hidataṃ | cha | pālatāṃ | cha | ālādhayevu |    | ( <i>Ḥ</i> ) | lajūkā | pi | laghaṃti |
| <i>Nand.</i> | kiṃti | hidataṃ | cha | pālatāṃ | cha | ālādhayevū | ti | ( <i>Ḥ</i> ) | lajūkā | pi | laghaṃti |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | kiṃti | hidataṃ | cha | pālatāṃ | cha | ālādhayevū | ti | ( <i>Ḥ</i> ) | lajūkā | pi | laghaṃti |

|              |               |     |              |            |    |    |               |                |
|--------------|---------------|-----|--------------|------------|----|----|---------------|----------------|
| <i>Tōp.</i>  | paṭichalitave | maṃ | ( <i>G</i> ) | pulisāni   | pi | me | chhamādaṃnāni | paṭichalisamti |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | paṭichalitave | maṃ | ( <i>G</i> ) | pulisāni   | pi | me | chhamādaṃnāni | paṭichalisamti |
| <i>Nand.</i> | paṭichalitave | maṃ | ( <i>G</i> ) | pulis[ā]ni | pi | me | chhamādaṃnāni | paṭichalisamti |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | paṭichalitave | maṃ | ( <i>G</i> ) | pulisāni   | pi | me | chhamādaṃnāni | paṭichalisamti |

|              |              |    |    |     |      |               |      |     |        |           |
|--------------|--------------|----|----|-----|------|---------------|------|-----|--------|-----------|
| <i>Tōp.</i>  | ( <i>Ḥ</i> ) | te | pi | cha | kāni | viyovadisamti | yena | maṃ | lajūkā | chaghaṃti |
| <i>Mir.</i>  |              |    |    |     |      |               |      |     | [ka]   | chaghaṃti |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | ( <i>Ḥ</i> ) | te | pi | cha | kāni | viyovadisamti | yena | maṃ | lajūka | chaghaṃti |
| <i>Nand.</i> | ( <i>Ḥ</i> ) | te | pi | cha | kāni | viyovadisamti | yena | maṃ | lajūka | chaghaṃti |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | ( <i>Ḥ</i> ) | te | pi | cha | kāni | viyovadisamti | yena | maṃ | lajūka | chaghaṃti |

|              |                   |              |      |    |       |          |         |          |         |
|--------------|-------------------|--------------|------|----|-------|----------|---------|----------|---------|
| <i>Tōp.</i>  | ālādhayitave      | ( <i>I</i> ) | athā | hi | pajaṃ | viyatāye | dhātiye | nisijitu | asvathe |
| <i>Mir.</i>  | [a]lādha[y][tave] | ( <i>I</i> ) |      |    |       |          |         | tu       | asvathe |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | ālādhayitave      | ( <i>I</i> ) | athā | hi | pajaṃ | viyatāye | dhātiye | nisijitu | asvathe |
| <i>Nand.</i> | ālādhayitave      | ( <i>I</i> ) | athā | hi | pajaṃ | viyatāye | dhātiye | nisijitu | asvathe |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | ālādhayitave      | ( <i>I</i> ) | athā | hi | pajaṃ | viyatāye | dhātiye | nisijitu | asvathe |

|              |        |        |       |          |    |        |        |             |          |
|--------------|--------|--------|-------|----------|----|--------|--------|-------------|----------|
| <i>Tōp.</i>  | hoti   | viyata | dhāti | chaghati | me | pajaṃ  | sukhaṃ | palihaṭave  | hevaṃ    |
| <i>Mir.</i>  | [ho]ti | vi[ya] |       |          |    |        |        | [l][ha]ṭave | hev[am]  |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | hoti   | viyata | dhāti | chaghati | me | paṃjaṃ | sukhaṃ | palihaṭave  | ti hevaṃ |
| <i>Nand.</i> | hoti   | viyata | dhāti | chaghati | me | pajaṃ  | sukhaṃ | palihaṭave  | ti hevaṃ |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | hoti   | viyata | dhāti | chaghati | me | pajaṃ  | sukhaṃ | palihaṭave  | ti hevaṃ |

|              |        |            |      |            |              |              |              |        |               |
|--------------|--------|------------|------|------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------|---------------|
| <i>Tōp.</i>  | mamā   | lajūkā     | kaṭā | jānapadasa | hita-sukhāye | ( <i>Ḥ</i> ) | yena         | ete    | abbhīta       |
| <i>Mir.</i>  | [mam]ā | [la]jū[k]a |      |            |              | ye           | ( <i>Ḥ</i> ) | yen[a] | ete a[bb]hīta |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | mama   | lajūka     | kaṭa | jānapadasa | hita-sukhāye | ( <i>Ḥ</i> ) | yena         | ete    | abbhīta       |
| <i>Nand.</i> | mama   | lajūka     | kaṭa | jānapadasa | hita-sukhāye | ( <i>Ḥ</i> ) | yena         | ete    | abbhīta       |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | mama   | lajūka     | kaṭa | jānapadasa | hita-sukhāye | ( <i>Ḥ</i> ) | yena         | ete    | abbhīta       |

|              |         |        |           |         |                |    |           |
|--------------|---------|--------|-----------|---------|----------------|----|-----------|
| <i>Tōp.</i>  | asvatha | saṃtaṃ | avimānā   | kaṃmāni | pavatayevū     | ti | etena     |
| <i>Mir.</i>  | asvatha | saṃ    |           |         | [pa]vataye[v]ū | ti | [e]te[na] |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | asvathā | saṃtaṃ | achhimāna | kaṃmāni | pavatayevū     | ti | etena     |
| <i>Nand.</i> | asvathā | saṃtaṃ | avimāna   | kaṃmāni | pavatayevū     | ti | etena     |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | asvathā | saṃtaṃ | avimāna   | kaṃmāni | pavatayevū     | ti | etena     |



|              |    |                 |            |    |       |    |                |        |
|--------------|----|-----------------|------------|----|-------|----|----------------|--------|
| <i>Top.</i>  | me | lajūkānaṃ       | abh[i]hāle | va | daṃḍe | vā | ata-patiye     | kaṭe   |
| <i>Mir.</i>  | me | [laj]ū[kā]n[an] |            |    |       |    | ata-patiye     | kaṭ[e] |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | me | lajūkānaṃ       | abhihāle   | va | daṃḍe | va | ata-patiye     | kaṭe   |
| <i>Nand.</i> | me | lajūkānaṃ       | [a]bhihāle | va | daṃḍe | va | ata-patiye     | kaṭe   |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | me | lajūkānaṃ       | abhihāle   | va | daṃḍe | va | ata-patiye     | kaṭe   |
| <i>All.</i>  |    | [kānaṃ]         | abhihāle   | vā | daṃḍe | vā | ata-pa[t]i[y]e | kaṭe]  |

|              |     |                       |      |       |           |                 |       |      |
|--------------|-----|-----------------------|------|-------|-----------|-----------------|-------|------|
| <i>Top.</i>  | (K) | ichhitaviye           | [h]i | esā   | kiṃti     | vijohāla-samatā | cha   | siya |
| <i>Mir.</i>  | (K) | ichhitavi             |      |       |           | [h]āla-samatā   | ch[a] | siyā |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | (K) | ichhitaviye           | hi   | esa   | kiṃti     | vijohāla-samatā | cha   | siya |
| <i>Nand.</i> | (K) | ichhitaviye           | hi   | esa   | kiṃti     | vijohāla-samatā | cha   | siya |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | (K) | ichhitaviye           | hi   | esa   | ki[m]ti   | vijohāla-samatā | cha   | siya |
| <i>All.</i>  | (K) | [i]chh[i]j[a]v[i]y[e] | h[i] | e[s]a | k[iṃ]t[i] | la-sama[t]ā     | cha   | siyā |

|              |                |     |     |     |     |    |     |      |       |             |
|--------------|----------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|-----|------|-------|-------------|
| <i>Top.</i>  | daṃḍa-samatā   | chā | (L) | ava | ite | pi | cha | me   | āvuti | baṃdhana-   |
| <i>Mir.</i>  | daṃḍa-sa[ma]   |     |     |     |     |    |     | [me] | āvuti | [ba]ndhana- |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | daṃḍa-samatā   | cha | (L) | āvā | ite | pi | cha | me   | āvuti | baṃdhana-   |
| <i>Nand.</i> | daṃḍa-samatā   | cha | (L) | āvā | ite | pi | cha | me   | āvuti | baṃdhana-   |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | daṃḍa-samatā   | cha | (L) | āvā | ite | pi | cha | me   | āvuti | baṃdhana-   |
| <i>All.</i>  | da[ṃ]da-samatā | cha | (L) | āvā | ite | pi | cha | me   | āvuti | baṃdhana-   |

|              |            |             |                 |               |               |          |            |
|--------------|------------|-------------|-----------------|---------------|---------------|----------|------------|
| <i>Top.</i>  | badhānaṃ   | munisānaṃ   | ti[l]i          | ta-daṃḍānaṃ   | pata-vadhānaṃ | tiṃni    | divasā[n]i |
| <i>Mir.</i>  | [badh]ānaṃ | munisā[naṃ] |                 |               | vadhānaṃ      | tiṃni    | di[va]sāni |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | badhānaṃ   | munisā[na]ṃ | tilita-daṃḍānaṃ | pata-vadhānaṃ | tiṃni         | divasāni |            |
| <i>Nand.</i> | badhānaṃ   | munisānaṃ   | tilita-daṃḍānaṃ | pata-vadhānaṃ | tiṃni         | divasāni |            |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | badhānaṃ   | munisānaṃ   | tilita-daṃḍānaṃ | pata-vadhānaṃ | tiṃni         | divasāni |            |
| <i>All.</i>  | badhānaṃ   | munisānaṃ   | tilita-daṃḍānaṃ | pata-vadhānaṃ | tiṃni         | divasāni |            |

|              |      |        |       |     |         |    |      |                |              |
|--------------|------|--------|-------|-----|---------|----|------|----------------|--------------|
| <i>Top.</i>  | me   | yote   | diṃne | (M) | nātikā  | va | kāni | nijhapayisaṃti | jivitāye     |
| <i>Mir.</i>  | [m]e | y[o]te | diṃne | (M) |         |    |      | payisa[m]ti    | j[i]v[i]tāye |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | me   | yote   | diṃne | (M) | nātikā  | va | kāni | nijhapayisaṃti | jivitāye     |
| <i>Nand.</i> | me   | [yo]te | diṃne | (M) | nātikā  | va | kāni | nijhapayisaṃti | jivitāye     |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | me   | [y]ote | diṃne | (M) | nātikā  | va | kāni | nijhapayisaṃti | jivitāye     |
| <i>All.</i>  |      | yote   | diṃne | (M) | ...[k]ā | va | kāni | nijhapayisaṃti | jivitāye     |

|              |         |          |      |               |       |         |           |
|--------------|---------|----------|------|---------------|-------|---------|-----------|
| <i>Top.</i>  | tānaṃ   | nāsaṃtaṃ | vā   | nijhapayitā   | dānaṃ | dāhaṃti | pālatikaṃ |
| <i>Mir.</i>  | tāna[m] | nāsaṃtaṃ | [v]ā | ni            |       | ti      | pālatikaṃ |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | tānaṃ   | nāsaṃtaṃ | va   | nijhapayitāve | dānaṃ | dāhaṃti | pālatikaṃ |
| <i>Nand.</i> | tānaṃ   | nāsaṃtaṃ | va   | nijhapayitāve | dānaṃ | dāhaṃti | pālatikaṃ |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | tānaṃ   | nāsaṃtaṃ | va   | nijhapayitave | dānaṃ | dāhaṃti | pālatikaṃ |
| <i>All.</i>  | tānaṃ   | nāsaṃtaṃ | vā   | nijhapayitā   | dānaṃ | dāhaṃti | pālatikaṃ |

|              |            |    |               |     |       |      |    |       |           |    |
|--------------|------------|----|---------------|-----|-------|------|----|-------|-----------|----|
| <i>Top.</i>  | upavāsaṃ   | va | kachhaṃti     | (N) | ichhā | hi   | me | hevaṃ | niludhasi | pi |
| <i>Mir.</i>  | u[pa]vāsaṃ | vā | k[a]          | (N) |       |      |    | hevaṃ | niludhasi | pi |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | upavāsaṃ   | va | kachhaṃti     | (N) | ichhā | hi   | me | hevaṃ | niludhasi | pi |
| <i>Nand.</i> | upavāsaṃ   | va | kachhaṃti     | (N) | ichhā | hi   | me | hevaṃ | niludhasi | pi |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | upavāsaṃ   | va | kachhaṃti     | (N) | ichhā | hi   | me | hevaṃ | niludhasi | pi |
| <i>All.</i>  | upavāsaṃ   | vā | [ka]chha[m]ti | (N) | ...   | [h]i | me | hevaṃ | niludhasi | pi |

|              |          |           |              |            |            |         |           |         |
|--------------|----------|-----------|--------------|------------|------------|---------|-----------|---------|
| <i>Tōp.</i>  | kālasī   | pālatam   | ālādhayevū   | ti         | (O) janasa | cha     | vaḍhati   | vividhe |
| <i>Mir.</i>  | [k]ālasī | pā[la]tam | ālādha[ye]   | .          | .          | .       | vaḍhati   | vividhe |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | kālasī   | pālatam   | ālādhayevū   | ti         | (O) janasa | cha     | va[ḍha]ti | vividhe |
| <i>Nand.</i> | [kālas]i | pālatam   | ālādhayevū   | t[i]       | (O) janasa | cha     | vaḍhati   | vividhe |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | kālasī   | pālatam   | ālādhayevū   | ti         | (O) janasa | cha     | vaḍhati   | vividhe |
| <i>All.</i>  | kālasī   | pālatam   | ālādhayev[u] | (O) janasa | cha        | vaḍhati | vividhe   |         |

|              |                  |         |                 |    |   |   |   |   |
|--------------|------------------|---------|-----------------|----|---|---|---|---|
| <i>Tōp.</i>  | dhamma-chalane   | saṃyame | dāna-savibhāge  | ti |   |   |   |   |
| <i>Mir.</i>  | dhamma-chal[a]ne | saṃyame | dā[na]          | .  | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | dha[m]ma-chalane | sayame  | dāna-saṃvibhāge | ti |   |   |   |   |
| <i>Nand.</i> | dhamma-chalane   | sayame  | dāna-savibhāge  | ti |   |   |   |   |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | dhamma-chalane   | sayame  | dāna-savibhāge  | ti |   |   |   |   |
| <i>All.</i>  | dhamma-chalane   | sayame  | dāna-savibhāge  |    |   |   |   |   |

## FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT

|              |                      |          |      |       |     |                               |
|--------------|----------------------|----------|------|-------|-----|-------------------------------|
| <i>Tōp.</i>  | (A) Devānaṃpiye      | Piyadasi | lāja | hevaṃ | āha | (B) saḍvīsati-vasa-abhisitena |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | (A) Devānaṃpiye      | Piyadasi | lāja | hevaṃ | āha | (B) saḍvīsati-vasābhisitasa   |
| <i>Nand.</i> | (A) Devānaṃpiye      | Piyadasi | lāja | hevaṃ | āha | (B) saḍvīsati-vasābhisitasa   |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | (A) Devānaṃpiye      | Piyadasi | lāja | hevaṃ | āha | (B) saḍvīsati-[va]sābhisitena |
| <i>All.</i>  | (A) . . . . . [p]iye | Piyadasi | lāja | hevaṃ | āhā | (B) saḍvīsati-vasābhisitena   |

|              |    |       |    |        |            |        |           |      |        |       |
|--------------|----|-------|----|--------|------------|--------|-----------|------|--------|-------|
| <i>Tōp.</i>  | me | imāni |    | jātāni | avadhiyāni | kaṭāni | seyathā   | suke | sālikā | alune |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | me | imāni | pi | jātāni | avadhyāni  | kaṭāni | seyatha   | suke | sālika | alune |
| <i>Nand.</i> | me | imāni | pi | jātāni | avadhyāni  | kaṭāni | seyath[ā] | suke | salika | alune |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | me | imāni | pi | jātāni | avadhyāni  | kaṭāni | seyatha   | suke | sālika | alune |
| <i>All.</i>  | me | imāni |    | jātāni | avadhiyāni | kaṭāni | seyatha   | suke | salikā | alune |

|              |             |       |                |        |          |               |      |
|--------------|-------------|-------|----------------|--------|----------|---------------|------|
| <i>Tōp.</i>  | chakavāke   | hamse | naṃdimukhe     | gelāte | jatūkā   | ambā-kapilika | duḷi |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | chakavāke   | hamse | naṃdimukhe     | gelāte | jatūka   | ambā-kapilika | duḷi |
| <i>Nand.</i> | chakavāke   | hamse | naṃdimukhe     | gelāte | jatūka   | ambā-kapilika | duḷi |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | chakavāke   | hamse | naṃdimukhe     | gelāte | jatūka   | ambā-kapilika | duḷi |
| <i>All.</i>  | chaka[v]āke | .     | [naṃdi]m[u]khe | gelāte | jatūk[a] | ambā-kipilika | duḷi |

|              |                 |            |                 |                |            |
|--------------|-----------------|------------|-----------------|----------------|------------|
| <i>Tōp.</i>  | anāthika-machhe | vedaveyake | Gaṃgā-puṇṭake   | saṃkuja-machhe | kaphaṭ[a]- |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | anāthika-machhe | vedaveyake | Gaṃgā-puṇṭake   | saṃkuja-machhe | kaphaṭa-   |
| <i>Nand.</i> | anāthika-machhe | vedaveyake | Gaṃgā-puṇṭake   | saṃkuja-machhe | kaphaṭa-   |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | anāthika-machhe | vedaveyake | Gaṃgā-puṇṭake   | saṃkuja-machhe | kaphaṭa-   |
| <i>All.</i>  | anāthika-machhe | vedaveyake | Gaṃgā-p[u]ṇṭake | saṃkuja-machhe | kaphaṭa-   |

|              |                |              |        |         |          |          |             |
|--------------|----------------|--------------|--------|---------|----------|----------|-------------|
| <i>Tōp.</i>  | sayake         | paṃna-sase   | simale | saṃḍake | okapiṃḍe | palasate | seta-kapote |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | seyake         | paṃna-sase   | simale | saṃḍake | okapiṃḍe | palasate | seta-kapote |
| <i>Nand.</i> | seyake         | paṃna-sase   | simale | saṃḍake | okapiṃḍe | palasate | seta-kapote |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | scyake         | paṃna-sase   | simale | saṃḍake | okapiṃḍe | palasate | seta-kapote |
| <i>All.</i>  | . . . . . k[e] | p[ā]ṃna-sase | simale | saṃḍa   | .        | .        | [ta]-kapote |

|              |             |        |             |    |              |      |     |    |     |
|--------------|-------------|--------|-------------|----|--------------|------|-----|----|-----|
| <i>Tōp.</i>  | gāma-kapote | save   | chatupade   | ye | paṭibhogam   | no   | eti | na | cha |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | gāma-kapote | save   | chatupade   | ye | paṭipogam    | no   | eti | no | cha |
| <i>Nand.</i> | gāma-kapote | save   | chatupade   | ye | paṭibhogam   | no   | eti | na | cha |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | gāma-kapote | save   | chatupade   | ye | paṭibhogam   | no   | eti | na | cha |
| <i>All.</i>  | gāma-kapote | sa[v]e | chatu[pa]de | ye | paṭ[i]bhogam | [no] | .   | .  | .   |

|              |             |     |         |         |       |        |        |          |          |          |               |
|--------------|-------------|-----|---------|---------|-------|--------|--------|----------|----------|----------|---------------|
| <i>Top.</i>  | khādiyati   | (C) | ..... i | [e]lakā | chā   | sūkali | chā    | gabbhīni | va       | pāyaminā |               |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | khādiy[ati] | (C) | ajakā   | nāni    | eḍakā | cha    | sukali | cha      | gabbhīni | va       | pāyaminā      |
| <i>Nand.</i> | khādiyati   | (C) | ajakā   | nāni    | eḍakā | cha    | sūkali | cha      | gabbhīni | va       | pāyaminā      |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | khādiyati   | (C) | ajakā   | nāni    | elākā | cha    | sūkali | cha      | gabbhīni | va       | pāyaminā      |
| <i>All.</i>  |             |     | .....   | nā      |       |        |        |          |          |          | [p]ā[ya]mi .. |

|              |    |          |          |    |      |          |            |     |              |                |
|--------------|----|----------|----------|----|------|----------|------------|-----|--------------|----------------|
| <i>Top.</i>  | va | avadhīy. | p. ta]ke | pi | cha  | kāni     | āsarmāsike | (D) | vadhi-kukuṭe |                |
| <i>Mir.</i>  |    |          | [potake  | pi | cha] | k[ā]n[i] |            | ke  | (D)          | [vadh]i-kukuṭe |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | va | avadhya  | potake   |    | cha  | kāni     | āsarmāsike | (D) | vadhi-kukuṭe |                |
| <i>Nand.</i> | va | avadhya  | potake   |    | cha  | kāni     | āsarmāsike | (D) | vadhi-kukuṭe |                |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | va | avadhya  | potake   |    | cha  | kāni     | āsarmāsike | (D) | vadhi-kukuṭe |                |

|              |    |          |     |      |         |    |               |     |      |            |    |
|--------------|----|----------|-----|------|---------|----|---------------|-----|------|------------|----|
| <i>Top.</i>  | no | kaṭaviye | (E) | tuse | sajīve  | no | jhāpetaviye   | (F) | dāve | anathāye   | vā |
| <i>Mir.</i>  | no | kaṭaviye | (E) | tuse | saj[ve] |    | ta[v]iye      | (F) | dāve | [a]nathāye | vā |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | no | kaṭaviye | (E) | tuse | sajīve  | no | jhāpayitaviye | (F) | dāve | anathāye   | va |
| <i>Nand.</i> | no | kaṭaviye | (E) | tuse | sajīve  | no | jhāpayitaviye | (F) | dāve | anathāye   | va |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | no | kaṭaviye | (E) | tuse | sajīve  | no | jhāpayitaviye | (F) | dāve | anathāye   | va |
| <i>All.</i>  |    |          |     |      | sajīve  | no | jhā[pa]       |     |      |            |    |

|              |          |    |    |                 |     |          |         |    |              |
|--------------|----------|----|----|-----------------|-----|----------|---------|----|--------------|
| <i>Top.</i>  | vihiṣāye | vā | no | jhāpetaviye     | (G) | jīvena   | jīve    | no | pusitaviye   |
| <i>Mir.</i>  | vihiṣāye | vā | no | [jhāpe]ta[vi]ye | (G) | jī[v]ena | jī[iv]e | no | pusi[ta]viye |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | vihiṣāye | va | no | jhāpayitaviye   | (G) | jīvena   | jīve    | no | pusitaviye   |
| <i>Nand.</i> | vihiṣāye | va | no | jhāpayitaviye   | (G) | jīvena   | jīve    | no | pusita iye   |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | vihiṣāye | va | no | jhāpayitaviye   | (G) | jīvena   | jīve    | no | pusitaviye   |

|              |     |      |              |             |                      |       |          |
|--------------|-----|------|--------------|-------------|----------------------|-------|----------|
| <i>Top.</i>  | (H) | tīsu | chātummasīsu | tisāyaṃ     | puṃnamāsīyaṃ         | tīṃni | divasāni |
| <i>Mir.</i>  | (H) | tīsu | chātummasīsu | [t]isāya[m] | pu[m]na[mā]sī[ya][m] | tīṃni | divasāni |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | (H) | tīsu | chātummasīsu | tisyaṃ      | puṃnamāsīyaṃ         | tīṃni | divasāni |
| <i>Nand.</i> | (H) | tīsu | chātummasīsu | tisīyaṃ     | puṃnamāsīyaṃ         | tīṃni | divasāni |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | (H) | tīsu | chātummasīsu | tisyaṃ      | puṃnamāsīyaṃ         | tīṃni | divasāni |
| <i>All.</i>  |     |      |              |             |                      |       | [n]i     |

|              |                |              |              |            |     |             |
|--------------|----------------|--------------|--------------|------------|-----|-------------|
| <i>Top.</i>  | chāvudasaṃ     | paṃnaḍasaṃ   | paṭipadāy[e] | dhuṇvāye   | chā | anuposathaṃ |
| <i>Mir.</i>  | chāvudasaṃ     | paṃnaḍasaṃ   | p[a]ṭipadā   | dh[r]uvāye | cha | anuposathaṃ |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | chāvudasaṃ     | paṃnalasaṃ   | paṭipadaṃ    | dhuṇvāye   | cha | anuposathaṃ |
| <i>Nand.</i> | chāvudasaṃ     | paṃnaḷasaṃ   | paṭipadaṃ    | dhuṇvāye   | cha | anuposathaṃ |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | chāvudasaṃ     | paṃnaḍasaṃ   | paṭipadaṃ    | dhuṇvāye   | cha | anuposathaṃ |
| <i>All.</i>  | chā[v]u[ḍa]saṃ | [pa]ṃcha[ḍa] |              |            |     |             |

|              |        |          |    |    |              |     |         |      |          |         |
|--------------|--------|----------|----|----|--------------|-----|---------|------|----------|---------|
| <i>Top.</i>  | machhe | avadhiye | no | pi | viketaviye   | (I) | etāni   | yeṇā | divasāni | nāga-   |
| <i>Mir.</i>  | machhe | avadhiye | no | pi | viketav[i]ye | (I) | etān[i] | yeṇā | divasāni | n[ā]ga- |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | machhe | avadhye  | no | pi | viketaviye   | (I) | etāni   | yeṇā | divasāni | nāga-   |
| <i>Nand.</i> | machhe | avadhye  | no | pi | viketaviye   | (I) | etāni   | yeṇā | divasāni | nāga-   |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | machhe | avadhye  | no | pi | viketaviye   | (I) | etāni   | yeṇā | divasāni | nāga-   |

|              |          |                |        |        |    |                 |    |               |
|--------------|----------|----------------|--------|--------|----|-----------------|----|---------------|
| <i>Top.</i>  | vanasi   | kevaṭa-bhogasi | yāni   | aṃnāni | pi | jīva-nikāyāni   | no | haṃtaviyāni   |
| <i>Mir.</i>  | van[ā]si | kevaṭa-bhogasi | y[ā]ni | aṃnāni | pi | jīva-nikāyān[i] | no | [ha]ṃtaviyāni |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | vanasi   | kevaṭa-bhogasi | yāni   | aṃnāni | pi | jīva-nik[ā]yāni | no | haṃtaviyāni   |
| <i>Nand.</i> | vanasi   | kevaṭa-bhogasi | yāni   | aṃnāni | pi | jīva-nikāyāni   | no | haṃtaviyāni   |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | vanasi   | kevaṭa-bhogasi | yāni   | aṃnāni | pi | jīva-nikāyāni   | no | haṃtaviyāni   |

|              |                               |               |               |        |            |      |
|--------------|-------------------------------|---------------|---------------|--------|------------|------|
| <i>Top.</i>  | ( <i>Ÿ</i> ) aṭhami-pakhāye   | chāvudasāye   | paṁnaḍasāye   | tisāye | punāvasune | tisu |
| <i>Mir.</i>  | ( <i>Ÿ</i> ) aṭham[i-pakhā]ye | [chā]vudasāye | paṁ[na]ḍasāye | tisāye | punāvasune | tisu |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | ( <i>Ÿ</i> ) aṭhami-pakhāye   | chāvudasāye   | paṁnaḍasāye   | tisāye | punāvasune | tisu |
| <i>Nand.</i> | ( <i>Ÿ</i> ) aṭhami-pakhāye   | chāvudasāye   | paṁnaḍasāye   | tisāye | punāvasune | tisu |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | ( <i>Ÿ</i> ) aṭhami-pakhāye   | chāvudasāye   | paṁnaḍasāye   | tisāye | punāvasune | tisu |

|              |              |            |      |    |                 |       |       |        |
|--------------|--------------|------------|------|----|-----------------|-------|-------|--------|
| <i>Top.</i>  | chāturmāsīsu | sudivasāye | gone | no | nīlakhitaviye   | ajake | eḍake | sūkale |
| <i>Mir.</i>  | chāturmāsīsu | sudivasāye | gone | no | nīlakhitavi[ŷ]e | ajake | eḍake | sūkale |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | chāturmāsīsu | sudivasāye | gone | no | nīlakhitaviye   | ajake | eḍake | sūkale |
| <i>Nand.</i> | chāturmāsīsu | sudivasāye | gone | no | nīlakhitaviye   | ajake | eḍake | sūkale |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | chāturmāsīsu | sudivasāye | gone | no | nīlakhitaviye   | ajake | eḍake | sūkale |

|              |                |                |      |               |                      |              |
|--------------|----------------|----------------|------|---------------|----------------------|--------------|
| <i>Top.</i>  | e vā pi aṁne   | nīlakhīyati    | no   | nīlakhitaviye | ( <i>K'</i> ) tisāye | punāvasune   |
| <i>Mir.</i>  | e vā pi aṁ[n]e | nī[la]khi[ya]u | [no] | nīlakhitaviye | ( <i>K'</i> ) tisāye | punāvasun[c] |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | e vā pi aṁne   | nīlakhīyati    | no   | nīlakhitaviye | ( <i>K'</i> ) tisāye | punāvasune   |
| <i>Nand.</i> | e vā pi aṁne   | nīlakhīyati    | no   | nīlakhitaviye | ( <i>K'</i> ) tisāye | punāvasune   |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | e vā pi aṁne   | nīlakhīyati    | no   | nīlakhitaviye | ( <i>K'</i> ) tisāye | punāvasune   |

|              |              |                      |        |        |         |    |             |
|--------------|--------------|----------------------|--------|--------|---------|----|-------------|
| <i>Top.</i>  | chāturmāsīye | chāturmāsī-pakhāye   | asvasā | gonasā | lakhane | no | kaṭaviye    |
| <i>Mir.</i>  | chāturmāsīye | chātu[m]māsī-pakhāye | asvasā | gonasā | lakhane | no | ....[v]iye  |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | chāturmāsīye | chāturmāsī-pakhāye   | asvasa | gonasa | lakhane | no | kaṭaviye    |
| <i>Nand.</i> | chāturmāsīye | chāturmāsī-pakhāye   | asvasa | gonasa | lakhane | no | kaṭaviye    |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | chāturmāsīye | chāturmāsī-pakhāye   | asvasa | gonasa | lakhane | no | kaṭaviye    |
| <i>All.</i>  |              |                      |        |        |         |    | [lakha]n[e] |

|              |   |    |       |              |             |
|--------------|---|----|-------|--------------|-------------|
| <i>Top.</i>  | ( <i>L</i> ) yāva-saḍvīsati-vasa-abhisitena     | me | etāye | aṁtalikāye   | paṁnavīsati |
| <i>Mir.</i>  | ( <i>L</i> ) yā[va]-saḍvīsati-[va]sa-abhisitena | me | etāye | a[m]talikāye | paṁnavīsati |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | ( <i>L</i> ) yāva-saḍvīsati-vasābhisitasa       | me | etāye | aṁtalikāye   | paṁnavīsati |
| <i>Nand.</i> | ( <i>L</i> ) yāva-saḍvīsati-vasābhisitena       | me | etāye | aṁtalikāye   | paṁnavīsati |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | ( <i>L</i> ) yāva-saḍvīsati-vasābhisitena       | me | etāye | aṁtalikāye   | paṁnavīsati |
| <i>All.</i>  | ( <i>L</i> ) [y]ā                               |    |       |              |             |

|              |                  |        |
|--------------|------------------|--------|
| <i>Top.</i>  | baṁdhana-mokhāni | kaṭāni |
| <i>Mir.</i>  | baṁdhana-mokhāni | kaṭāni |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | baṁdhana-mokhāni | kaṭāni |
| <i>Nand.</i> | baṁdhana-mokhāni | kaṭāni |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | baṁdhana-mokhāni | kaṭāni |

## SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT

|              |                          |          |             |       |     |                            |
|--------------|--------------------------|----------|-------------|-------|-----|----------------------------|
| <i>Top.</i>  | ( <i>A</i> ) Devānaṁpiye | Piyadasi | lāja        | hevaṁ | aha | ( <i>B</i> ) duvāḍasa-     |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | ( <i>A</i> ) Devānaṁpiye | Piyadasi | lāja        | hevaṁ | aha | ( <i>B</i> ) duvā[ḍa]sa-   |
| <i>Nand.</i> | ( <i>A</i> ) Devānaṁpiye | Piyadasi | lāja        | hevaṁ | aha | ( <i>B</i> ) duvā[ḍa]s[a]- |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | ( <i>A</i> ) Devānaṁpiye | Piyadasi | lāja        | hevaṁ | aha | ( <i>B</i> ) duvāḍasa-     |
| <i>All.</i>  | ( <i>A</i> ) . . . . .   | [p]iye   | [P]iyada[s] | l[a]  |     |                            |

|              |                 |    |             |           |        |              |    |     |
|--------------|-----------------|----|-------------|-----------|--------|--------------|----|-----|
| <i>Top.</i>  | vasa-abhisitena | me | dhamma-lipi | likhāpita | lokasā | hita-sukhāye | se | taṁ |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | vasābhisitena   | me | dhamma-lipi | likhāpita | lokasa | hita-sukhāye | se | taṁ |
| <i>Nand.</i> | [va]sābhisitena | me | dhamma-lipi | likhāpita | lokasa | hita-sukhāye | se | taṁ |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | vasābhisitena   | me | dhamma-lipi | likhāpita | lokasa | hita-sukhāye | se | taṁ |

|              |          |      |           |               |          |     |         |          |       |
|--------------|----------|------|-----------|---------------|----------|-----|---------|----------|-------|
| <i>Top.</i>  | apahaṭṭa | taṃ  | taṃ       | dhaṃma-vaḍḍhi | pāpovā   | (C) | hevaṃ   | lokasā   | hita- |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | apahaṭṭa | taṃ  | taṃ       | dhaṃma-vaḍḍhi | pāpova   | (C) | hevaṃ   | lokasa   | hita- |
| <i>Nand.</i> | apahaṭṭa | taṃ  | taṃ       | dhaṃma-vaḍḍhi | pāpova   | (C) | hevaṃ   | lokasa   | hita- |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | apahaṭṭa | taṃ  | taṃ       | dhaṃma-vaḍḍhi | pāpova   | (C) | hevaṃ   | lok[a]sa | hita- |
| <i>All.</i>  | . . . .  | [aṃ] | . . . . . | [dḥ]          | [pā].... | (C) | heva[m] | lokasa   | hita- |

|              |         |    |             |      |        |         |       |                    |  |
|--------------|---------|----|-------------|------|--------|---------|-------|--------------------|--|
| <i>Top.</i>  | [sukhe] | ti | paṭivekhāmi | atha | iyaṃ   | nāṭisu  | hevaṃ | patiyāsamnesu      |  |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | sukhe   | ti | paṭivekhāmi | athā | iyaṃ   | nāṭisu  | hevaṃ | patyāsamnesu       |  |
| <i>Nand.</i> | sukhe   | ti | paṭivekhāmi | athā | iyaṃ   | nāṭisu  | hevaṃ | patyāsamnesu       |  |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | sukhe   | ti | paṭivekhāmi | atha | iyaṃ   | nāṭisu  | hevaṃ | patyāsamnesu       |  |
| <i>All.</i>  | sukhe   | ti | paṭivekhāmi | atha | [iya]ṃ | . . . . | [va]ṃ | [paty]āsa[m]ne[su] |  |

|              |         |                |        |          |         |         |         |         |         |
|--------------|---------|----------------|--------|----------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| <i>Top.</i>  | hevaṃ   | apakaṭṭhesu    | kiṃmaṃ | kāni     | sukhaṃ  | āvahāmi | ti      | tatha   | cha     |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | hevaṃ   | apakaṭṭhesu    | kiṃmaṃ | kāni     | sukhaṃ  | āvahāmi | ti      | tathā   | cha     |
| <i>Nand.</i> | hevaṃ   | apakaṭṭhesu    | kiṃmaṃ | kāni     | sukhaṃ  | āvahāmi | ti      | tathā   | cha     |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | hevaṃ   | apakaṭṭhesu    | kiṃmaṃ | kāni     | sukhaṃ  | āvahāmi | ti      | tathā   | cha     |
| <i>All.</i>  | [heva]ṃ | apaka[ṭṭ]e[su] | kiṃmaṃ | [k]ā[ni] | . . . . | [va]ṃ   | . . . . | . . . . | . . . . |

|              |             |     |           |                   |             |     |                |  |
|--------------|-------------|-----|-----------|-------------------|-------------|-----|----------------|--|
| <i>Top.</i>  | vidahāmi    | (D) | hemevā    | sava-nikāyesu     | paṭivekhāmi | (E) | sava-pāsaṃdā   |  |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | vidahāmi    | (D) | hemeva    | sava-nikāyesu     | paṭivekhāmi | (E) | sava-pāsaṃdā   |  |
| <i>Nand.</i> | vidahāmi    | (D) | hemeva    | sava-nikāyesu     | paṭivekhāmi | (E) | sava-pāsaṃdā   |  |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | vidahāmi    | (D) | hemeva    | sava-n[i]kāyesu   | paṭivekhāmi | (E) | sava-pāsaṃdā   |  |
| <i>All.</i>  | [v][d]ahāmi | (D) | hevaṃmeva | [sa]va...[k]āyesu | paṭivekhāmi | (E) | [sa]va-pāsaṃdā |  |

|              |         |         |         |           |          |         |         |         |         |         |               |
|--------------|---------|---------|---------|-----------|----------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------------|
| <i>Top.</i>  | pi      | me      | pūjita  | vividhāya | pūjāyā   | (F)     | e       | chu     | iyaṃ    | at[a]nā | pachūpagamane |
| <i>Mīr.</i>  | . . . . | . . . . | . . . . | . . . .   | . . . .  | . . . . | . . . . | . . . . | . . . . | . . . . | ūpagamane     |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | pi      | me      | pūjita  | vividhāya | pūjāyā   | (F)     | e       | chu     | iyaṃ    | atana   | pachūpagamane |
| <i>Nand.</i> | pi      | me      | pūjita  | vividhāya | pūjāyā   | (F)     | e       | chu     | iyaṃ    | atana   | pachūpagamane |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | pi      | me      | pūjita  | vividhāya | pūjāyā   | (F)     | e       | chu     | iyaṃ    | atana   | pachūpagamane |
| <i>All.</i>  | pi      | me      | pūjita  | vividhāya | [pū]jāyā | (F)     | e       | chu     | iy[a]ṃ  | atanā   | pachupagamane |

|              |    |    |             |     |                            |           |           |           |
|--------------|----|----|-------------|-----|----------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| <i>Top.</i>  | se | me | mokhya-mate | (G) | saḍvīsati-vasa-abhisitena  | me        | iyaṃ      | dhaṃma-   |
| <i>Mīr.</i>  | se | me | mokhya-mate | (G) | saḍu . . . . isitena       | me        | iyaṃ      | dhaṃma-   |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | se | me | mukhya-mute | (G) | saḍvīsati-vasābhisitena    | me        | iyaṃ      | dhaṃma-   |
| <i>Nand.</i> | se | me | mokhya-mute | (G) | saḍvīsati-va[s]ābhisitena  | me        | iyaṃ      | dhaṃma-   |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | se | me | mokhya-mute | (G) | saḍvīsati[i]-vasābhisitena | me        | iyaṃ      | dhaṃma-   |
| <i>All.</i>  | se | me | mukhya-mute | (G) | . . . . .                  | . . . . . | . . . . . | . . . . . |

|              |        |              |    |
|--------------|--------|--------------|----|
| <i>Top.</i>  | lipi   | likhāpita    |    |
| <i>Mīr.</i>  | li[pi] | li . . . . . |    |
| <i>Ar.</i>   | lipi   | likhāpita    |    |
| <i>Nand.</i> | lipi   | likhāpita    |    |
| <i>Rām.</i>  | lipi   | likhāpita    |    |
| <i>All.</i>  | lipi   | likhāpita    | ti |

#### IV. THE RUPNATH ROCK-INSRIPTION AND COGNATE INSRIPTIONS

|              |                        |           |       |                    |                     |
|--------------|------------------------|-----------|-------|--------------------|---------------------|
| <i>Rup.</i>  | (A) Devānāmpīye        | heva[rh]  | āhā   | (B) sāti[rā]kekāni | adhāti[y]āni        |
| <i>Sak.</i>  | (A) Devānāmpīye        | he[va]m   | a]    |                    | [iyāni]             |
| <i>Bair.</i> | (A) Devānāmpīye        |           | āh[ā] | (B) s[ā]ki         |                     |
| <i>Mas.</i>  | (A) Dev[ā]na[rh]piyasa | Asok[a]sa |       |                    | [a]dh[a]k[i] . . ni |
| <i>Brak.</i> | (B) Devānāmpīye        | ānapayati |       | (C) adhikāni       | adhātīyāni          |
| <i>Sidd.</i> | (B) [Dev]ā[nā]mpīye    | heva[m]   | āha   | (C) adhikāni       | a[dhā]k[i]y[āni]    |
| <i>Jaṭ.</i>  | (B) Dev[ā]n[a]         |           |       |                    |                     |

|              |               |      |              |              |           |      |            |
|--------------|---------------|------|--------------|--------------|-----------|------|------------|
| <i>Rup.</i>  | va            | ya   | sumi prakāsa | [Sa]k[e]     | (C) no    | chu  | bādhi      |
| <i>Sak.</i>  | [savachhalāni | a]rh | upāsake      | sumi         | (C) na    | chu  | bādham     |
| <i>Bair.</i> | vasān[i]      | ya   | hakam        | upāsake      | (C) [no   | chu] | bādham     |
| <i>Mas.</i>  | vashā[ni]     | a[m] | sum[i]       | Bu[dha]-Śake |           |      |            |
| <i>Brak.</i> | v[a]sāni      | ya   | hakam        | . . . sa[ke] | (D) no    | tu   | kho bādham |
| <i>Sidd.</i> | vasāni        | ya   | ha[kam]      | u]pāsake     | (D) no    | tu   | kho bādha  |
| <i>Jaṭ.</i>  | . . .         | ya   | hakam        | . . . .      | (D) . . . | kho  | bādha      |

|              |                |       |        |             |                  |     |     |
|--------------|----------------|-------|--------|-------------|------------------|-----|-----|
| <i>Rup.</i>  | pakate         |       |        |             | (D) sātīleke     | chu |     |
| <i>Sak.</i>  | [palaka]rh[t]e |       |        |             | (D) sav[a]chhale |     |     |
| <i>Bair.</i> |                |       |        |             |                  |     |     |
| <i>Mas.</i>  |                |       | (C)    |             | [t]ire . .       |     |     |
| <i>Brak.</i> | prakamte       | husam | ekam   | savachharam | (E) sātīreke     | tu  | kho |
| <i>Sidd.</i> | pakamte        | husam | ek[am] | sa[vachha]  | (E) [sātīre]ke   | tu  | kho |
| <i>Jaṭ.</i>  |                |       |        |             | (E) . . ti[reke] |     |     |

|              |                |         |               |              |           |         |         |
|--------------|----------------|---------|---------------|--------------|-----------|---------|---------|
| <i>Rup.</i>  | chhavachhare   | ya      | sumi haka[rh] | sagh[a]      | up[e]te   | bādhi   | ch[a]   |
| <i>Sak.</i>  | sādhi[ke       | am]     |               |              |           |         |         |
| <i>Bair.</i> |                | am      | mamayā        | saghe        | [u]payāte | [bā]dha | cha     |
| <i>Mas.</i>  |                | . . . . | [m]           | [s]amgha[rh] | u[pa]gate | [u]h    | . . . . |
| <i>Brak.</i> | samvachhare[m] | yam     | mayā          | samghe       | upayite   | bādham  | cha     |
| <i>Sidd.</i> | samvachhare    | [yam]   | mayā          | sam]ghe      | upayite   | bādham  | [cha]   |
| <i>Jaṭ.</i>  |                | [ya]m   | . . [yā]      |              |           |         |         |

|              |          |           |             |         |           |                  |  |
|--------------|----------|-----------|-------------|---------|-----------|------------------|--|
| <i>Rup.</i>  |          | pakate    | (E) yā      | [i]māya | kālāya    | jambudipasi      |  |
| <i>Sak.</i>  | . . . .  | [te]      | (E) [etena  | cha     | amta]lena | Jambudipasi      |  |
| <i>Bair.</i> |          |           |             |         |           | Jambudipasi      |  |
| <i>Mas.</i>  | . . m[i] | u[pa]gate | (D) pure    |         |           | Jambu . . . s[i] |  |
| <i>Brak.</i> | me       | pakamte   | (F) iminā   | chu     | kālana    | amisā samānā     |  |
| <i>Sidd.</i> | [me]     | p[akam]te | (F) i[m]inā | chu     | kālana    | [a]misā samā[nā] |  |
| <i>Jaṭ.</i>  |          |           |             |         |           |                  |  |



|              |                     |     |      |               |      |     |         |       |        |
|--------------|---------------------|-----|------|---------------|------|-----|---------|-------|--------|
| <i>Rāp.</i>  | iya paka[rā         | va] | kiti | chira-ṭhitike | siyā | (/) | iya     | hi    | aṭhe   |
| <i>Sak.</i>  | chila-ṭhit[ke]      | cha |      | p[a][ā]kame   | hotu | (/) | iya[rh] | cha   | [aṭhe] |
| <i>Bair.</i> | [ch]ila-ṭhit        |     |      |               |      |     |         |       |        |
| <i>Mas.</i>  | [se a]              |     |      | t[i]k[e]      | cha  |     |         |       |        |
| <i>Brah.</i> | chira-ṭhitūke       | cha | iyam | [paka]        |      | (ʔ) | iyam    | cha   | aṭhe   |
| <i>Sidd.</i> | [chira]-ṭhi[t]ik[e] | cha | iyam | pakame        | hoti | (ʔ) |         |       |        |
| <i>Ṭaṭ.</i>  |                     |     |      |               |      |     |         | [cha] |        |

|              |       |             |            |      |     |            |     |              |  |
|--------------|-------|-------------|------------|------|-----|------------|-----|--------------|--|
| <i>Rāp.</i>  | vaḍhi | vaḍhisiti   | vipula     |      | cha | vaḍhisiti  |     |              |  |
| <i>Sak.</i>  |       | vaḍhisati   | vipulam    | pi   | cha | vaḍhisati  |     | diyaḍhiyam   |  |
| <i>Bair.</i> |       |             | lam        | pi   |     | vaḍhisati  |     |              |  |
| <i>Mas.</i>  |       |             |            |      |     | va[ḍhi]iti | chā | diya[ḍhi]yam |  |
| <i>Brah.</i> |       | vaḍhisiti   | vipulam    | pi   | cha | vaḍhisiti  |     |              |  |
| <i>Sidd.</i> |       | va[ḍh]isiti | vipu[la]m  | p[i] | cha | vaḍhisiti  |     |              |  |
| <i>Ṭaṭ.</i>  |       | .. [ḍhi]s   | .. [p]ulam | pi   |     |            |     |              |  |

|              |               |               |             |     |     |     |       |            |  |
|--------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|-----|-----|-----|-------|------------|--|
| <i>Rāp.</i>  | apaladhiyenā  | diyaḍhiya     | vaḍhisata   | (ʔ) | iya | cha | aṭhe  | pavatis[u] |  |
| <i>Sak.</i>  | ava[ā]dhiyenā | diy[a]ḍhiyam  | vaḍhisati   | (L) | ima | cha | aṭham | pavatesu   |  |
| <i>Bair.</i> |               | diyaḍhiyam    | vaḍhi[sā]ti |     |     |     |       |            |  |
| <i>Mas.</i>  | he[vaṁ]       | ti            |             |     |     |     |       |            |  |
| <i>Brah.</i> | avaradhiyā    | diyaḍhiyam    | [vaḍh]isiti |     |     |     |       |            |  |
| <i>Sidd.</i> | [a]           | .. [yaḍhiya]m | vaḍhisiti   |     |     |     |       |            |  |
| <i>Ṭaṭ.</i>  |               | .. [ya]ḍhiyam | ..          |     |     |     |       |            |  |

|             |                |        |     |       |      |        |               |                 |      |
|-------------|----------------|--------|-----|-------|------|--------|---------------|-----------------|------|
| <i>Rāp.</i> | lekhāpeta      | vāyata | (K) | hadha | cha  | athi   | sālā-ṭh[abh]e | silā-           |      |
| <i>Sak.</i> | [likhāpa]yāthā |        | (M) | ya .. | [vā] | ath[i] | hetā          | silā-thanh[bh]ā | tata |

|             |              |               |     |     |       |     |            |          |  |
|-------------|--------------|---------------|-----|-----|-------|-----|------------|----------|--|
| <i>Rāp.</i> | ṭha[th]bhāsi | lakhāpetavaya | ta  | (L) | etina | cha | vayajanenā | yāvataka |  |
| <i>Sak.</i> | pi           | [likhāpayatha | t]i |     |       |     |            |          |  |
| <i>Sār.</i> |              |               |     |     |       |     | (/)        | āvate    |  |

|             |        |          |        |                |             |       |       |             |  |
|-------------|--------|----------|--------|----------------|-------------|-------|-------|-------------|--|
| <i>Rāp.</i> | tupaka | ahāle    | savara | vivasetavā[ya] | ti          |       |       |             |  |
| <i>Sār.</i> | cha    | tuphākam | ahāle  | savata         | vivāsayātha | tuphe | etena | viyamjanena |  |

|              |     |        |            |          |              |     |           |         |  |
|--------------|-----|--------|------------|----------|--------------|-----|-----------|---------|--|
| <i>Rāp.</i>  | (M) |        | vy[u]ṭhenā | sāvane   | kaṭe         |     |           |         |  |
| <i>Sak.</i>  | (ʔ) | iyam   | [cha       | savane   | v]ivuthena   | (K) | duve      | saparnā |  |
| <i>Brah.</i> | (K) | iyam   | cha        | sāvan[e] | sāv[ā]p[i]te |     | vyūthēna  |         |  |
| <i>Sidd.</i> | (K) | i[ya]m | [cha]      | sā[va]ṇe |              |     |           |         |  |
| <i>Ṭaṭ.</i>  | (K) | i      |            | s[āvaṇe] |              |     | [th]e[na] |         |  |

|              |           |         |     |       |    |   |      |        |    |
|--------------|-----------|---------|-----|-------|----|---|------|--------|----|
| <i>Rāp.</i>  |           |         | (N) | 200   | 50 | 6 | sata | vivāsā | ta |
| <i>Sak.</i>  | lati-satā | vivuthā | ti  | 200   | 50 | 6 |      |        |    |
| <i>Brah.</i> |           |         | (L) | 200   | 50 | 6 |      |        |    |
| <i>Sidd.</i> |           |         | (L) | [200] | 50 | 6 |      |        |    |
| <i>Ṭaṭ.</i>  |           |         | (L) | 200   | 50 | 6 |      |        |    |



# INDEX

THIS index contains every word of Afāka's inscriptions, with the exception of a few particles (*cha*, *pi*, *ra*, *ā*). Of the six pillar-edicts, only the Delhi-Tōprā version is quoted; but one of the five other copies of these edicts is referred to if the reading of one or more of them differs from the standard text. The following abbreviations are employed:

Gir. = Girnār.  
Kāl. = Kālat.  
Shāh. = Shāhbāgarhī.  
Mān. = Māneshrī.  
Dhau. = Dhauli.  
Jau. = Jangada.  
Sep. = Separate edicts (of Dhauli and Jangada).  
Sōp. = Sōpārā.  
Tōp. = Delhi-Tōprā.

Mīr. = Delhi-Mīrath.  
Ar. = Lauriyā-Arārā.  
Nand. = Lauriyā-Nandangarh.  
Rām. = Rāmpurvā.  
All. = Allahabad-Kōsam.  
Qu. = Queen's edict.  
Kaus. = Kausāmbī edict.  
Sām. = Sārchit.  
Sār. = Sārānāth.  
Rum. = Rummindēl.

Nig. = Nigālī Sagar.  
Rūp. = Rūpnāth.  
Sah. = Sahasrām.  
Bair. = Bairāt.  
Calc. = Calcutta-Bairāt.  
Mas. = Maski.  
Brah. = Brahmagiri.  
Sidd. = Siddāpura.  
Jat. = Jātīngā-Rāmētvara.  
Bar. = Barābar.

## A

a (= a) Kāl. XIII, 6; Shāh. XIII, 9; Mān. XIII, 9, 10.  
a (= ya) Kāl. XII, 31.  
aa Mān. VI, 36.  
aam Mān. VI, 30.  
am Kāl. IV, 12, X, 28; Mān. IV, 17, XII, 2; Dhau. VI, 3, 5, Sep. I, 2, 3, II, 1, 2; Jau. VI, 3, 5, Sep. I, 1, 2, II, 1, 2; Sah. 1, 2; Bair. 3; Mas. 2.  
-anāthā Mān. XII, 4.  
-anāthā Gir. XII, 5.  
-anāthā Shāh. VIII, 17.  
-anāthā Gir. V, 5, VIII, 5; Shāh. II, 4, V, 13, XIII, 4.  
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antarā Gir. IV, 1, V, 3, VI, 1, VIII, 1; Shāh. IV, 7; Mān. V, 21.  
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antālikā Tōp. V, 20.  
[antā] pēna Sah. 2.  
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Antāyoke Dhau. II, 1; Jau. II, 1.  
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Antāyoge Kāl. II, 5.  
[A]ntāyogastā Kāl. XIII, 7.  
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antevānā Brah. 10; Jat. 16.  
[a]nt[ā]k[a] (vī) Sidd. 19.  
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Andhra-Palidehu Shāh. XIII, 10.  
[A]ndhra-Pāridhehu Gir. XIII, 9.  
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anānāth Tōp. VII, 27.  
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antā-kapilika Tōp. V, 4.  
antā-kapilika All. V, 2.  
antā-vadika All. Qu. 3.  
antā-vadika Tōp. VII, 27.  
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[achā] [n] Dhau. Sep. I, 22.  
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[a]jāk Dhau. Sep. II, 7.



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-adhihāne Dhau. V, 7.  
-adhihānīyē Shāh. XII, 9.  
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-anuvānti Kāl. III, 7; Dhau. IV, 3; Jan. IV, 4.  
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-anuvānti Gir. III, 3.  
-anuvānti Gir. IV, 5.  
-anuvānti Gir. VIII, 4.  
-anuvānti Gir. IV, 10; Kāl. IV, 12.  
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anuvānti Gir. IV, 9; Kāl. IV, 12; Dhau. IV, 6.  
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dhammānupātipati Mān. III, 6.

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dhammānupātipati Mān. XIII, 2.

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dhammānupātipati Mān. IV, 16.

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dhammānupātipati Mān. IV, 8;

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dhammānupātipati Mān. IV, 14.

dhammānupātipati Mān. III, 10.

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dhammānupātipati Mān. IV, 16.

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na Dham. Tōp. V, 3.

na Dham. Sep. II, 10.

na Dham. Sep. I, 17.

na Dham. Sep. I, 13; Mān. V,

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na Dham. Sep. I, 10.

[na] Dham. Sep. I, 1.

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 -bhikkhuniye Calc. 7.  
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**-maṇigala** Shāh. IX, 18.  
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Mān. IX, 3; Dhau. IX, 1, 2,  
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**-maṇigalam** Gur. IX, 5; Shāh. IX,  
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**maṇigale** Gur. IX, 4; Kāl. IX, 25;  
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Yona - Kamt[o]ja - Gamdhāraṇam Kāl. V, 15.

Yona - Kamboja Gaudharana Mān. V, 22.

Yona-Kamboeshu Kāl. XIII, 9. Mān. XIII, 13.

Yona - Kamboja - Gar dharaṇa Shāh. V, 1.

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lukhāni Kāl. II, 6; Dhau. II, 4; Jau. II, 4.

lupāni Kāl. IV, 10.

lōpāni Dhau. 3; Jau. IV, 3.

lekḥāpitaṁ Gir. IV, 11, 12.  
lekḥāpita Gir. I, 2, VI, 13, XIV, 1.  
lekḥāpeta Rūp. 4.  
lekḥāpetaṁ Kāl. XIV, 21.  
lekḥiā Kāl. I, 1, 3, IV, 13, V, 17, VI, 20.  
-loka Dhau. Sep. II, 6.  
-loka- Gir. VI, 9, 11, 14, colophon;  
Kāl. VI, 19, 20; Shāh. VI, 15, 16; Mān. VI, 30, 32; Dhau. VI, 4, 5, 7; Jau. VI, 5, 7.  
-loka[m] Dhau. Sep. II, 6.  
lokasa Tōp. VII, 28; Ar. VI, 1, 2.  
lokasā Tōp. VI, 2, 4.  
loke Tōp. VII, 24, 28.  
-logaṁ Jau. Sep. II, 7.  
-lochayitu Kāl. XIV, 23; Dhau. XIV, 3.  
lochetaṁ Gir. IV, 12.  
-locheṭi Shāh. XIV, 14.  
lochetu Kāl. XIII, 17.  
-lochetpā Gir. XIV, 6.  
lo[ch]e[sh]u Shāh. IV, 10.  
lopāpiti Kāl. II, 6; Dhau. II, 3, 4; Jau. II, 4; Tōp. VII, 23.  
lopāpitāni Dhau. II, 4; Tōp. VII, 23.  
lopiāni Kāl. II, 6.

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va (= ɛva) Kāl. IX, 26; Shāh. IX, 18, 19, X, 22, XII, 3, 5, XIII, 7, XIV, 14; Mān. III, 10, IX, 6, 7, X, 10, XII, 3, 5, XIII, 7; Dhau. IV, 1, Sep. I, 7, 23, II, 5; Jau. IV, 1; Tōp. III, 21, VII, 30; Ar. III, 2; Rūp. 3; Sah. 3; Msa. 6.  
va (= va) Gir. V, 5, 8, VI, 2, 3, 7, 9, VII, 2, 3, IX, 6, 7, 8, X, 1, 2, 4, XI, 1, 3, XII, 2, 3, 6, 8, XIII, 2, 3, 4, 6, XIV, 5, 6; Kāl. XII, 31, XIII, 37; Shāh. V, 22, &c.; Mān. V, 22, &c.; Dhau. V, 1, 2, 6, 7, VI, 1, 3, VII, 2, Sep. I, 20, 21; Jau. V, 2, VI, 1, 3, VII, 2; Tōp. IV, 14, 17, 18, V, 8; Ar. IV, 2, 7, 8, V, 7; All. Qu. 3.  
va (abbreviation for vaṣaṁ) Rūp. 1.  
vaṁhanaro Shāh. III, 7.  
vaṁḥ Dhau. Sep. I, 24.  
[va]ge Jau. Sep. I, 5.  
vagenā Kāl. 28.  
vagreṇa Shāh. X, 22; Mān. X, 11.  
vacha-guti Kāl. XII, 31; Shāh. XII, 2; Mān. XII, 2.  
-vachanik[a] Jau. Sep. I, 12, II, 1.  
vachanena Dhau. Sep. I, 1, II, 1; Brah. 1; Śidd. 2.  
v[a]chanenā All. Qu. 1.  
vacha-bh[ū]mikyā Kāl. XII, 34.  
vacha-bhūmika Gir. XII, 9.  
vachamhi Gir. VI, 3.  
vachasi Kāl. VI, 18; Dhau. VI, 2; Jau. VI, 2.  
vachi-guti Gir. XII, 3.  
v[a]ṭivaya Jau. Sep. I, 7.  
v[a]ṭi[vay]e Dhau. Sep. I, 13.  
-vaṭikā All. Qu. 3.

-vaṭikyā Tōp. VII, 23.  
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vadhī Shāh. IV, 10; Rūp. 4.  
-vadhī Kāl. XII, 31, 34, 35; Shāh. XII, 2, 8, 9; Mān. XII, 2, 7, 9; Tōp. VI, 3, VII, 29, 30.  
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vadhitaṁ Shāh. IV, 9.  
vadhita Tōp. I, 6, VII, 28, 29, 30.  
vadhite Gir. IV, 5, 7; Kāl. IV, 10; Shāh. IV, 8; Mān. IV, 14; Dhau. IV, 1, 3, 5; Jau. IV, 1, 5, Nig. 2.  
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vadhithā Tōp. VII, 14, 17.  
-vadhya Shāh. V, 12.  
vadhyaṁ Kāl. XII, 32.  
-vadhya Kāl. V, 15; Tōp. VII, 13, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22.  
-[va]dhye Dhau. V, 4.  
vadhīṣati Shāh. IV, 9.  
vadhīṣanti Tōp. VII, 29.  
vadhīṣata (read "siti") Rūp. 4.  
vadhīṣati Tōp. VII, 22, 28; Ar. I, 4; Sah. 5, 6; Baur. 7, 8.  
vadhīṣiti Rūp. 4; Mas. 7 f.; Brah. 7, 8; Śidd. 14, 15.  
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-vadhī Gir. XII, 2, 8, 9.  
vadhīṣati Tōp. I, 6.  
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vadbeyā Tōp. VII, 13, 16, 18.  
-vatam Kāl. X, 27.  
vataviya Dhau. Sep. I, 2, II, 1.  
vataviyam Brah. 10; Śidd. 17; Jat. 14.  
vataviyā Jau. Sep. I, 1, II, 1; All. Qu. 2; Mas. 6 f.; Brah. 1; Śidd. 3.  
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-vadhānam Tōp. IV, 16.  
vadhī Gir. IV, 11; Kāl. IV, 12, 13.  
vadhī-kukute Tōp. V, 9.  
vadhite Kāl. IV, 9, 11; Mān. IV, 12.  
-vadhī[y.] Tōp. V, 8.  
-vadhīyāni Tōp. V, 2.  
vadhīyisati Kāl. IV, 11.  
-vadhīye Tōp. V, 13.  
[va]dhi Gir. IV, 11.  
vadhī Kāl. XIII, 37; Mān. XIII, 5.  
vadhī Gir. XIII, 2; Shāh. XIII, 5.  
-vadhya Ar. V, 6.  
-vadhīyāni Ar. V, 1.  
-vadhīye Ar. V, 8.  
vadhīra(dhri) Mān. IV, 18.  
vadhīṣati Mān. IV, 15.  
vadhī Mān. IV, 17.  
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-vanasi Tōp. V, 14.  
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-vayata Shāh. III, 7; Mān. III, 11.  
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-vayasa- Gir. VIII, 2.  
-valakeṣu Tōp. VII, 29.  
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vaṣa-ṣatani Shāh. IV, 7; Mān. IV, 12.  
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vaṣā[ni] Mas. 2.  
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vaṣa-ṣatehi Kāl. IV, 10; Dhau. IV, 3; Jau. IV, 3.  
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vaṣāni Dhau. IV, 8, Sep. I, 24; Baur. 2; Brah. 2; Śidd. 4.  
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v[a]ṭave Calc. 4.  
-vadhāni Calc. 6.  
vāta Rūp. 4.  
-vāṭhaleṣu Tōp. II 13.  
-vaṣa- Gir. III, 1, IV, 12, V, 4.  
vaṣa-ṣatani Gir. IV, 1.  
v[a]ṣa-ṣatehi Gir. IV, 4.  
v[a]ṣa[ṣ]pectavye[ṣ] Sam. 7.  
vaṣeṣu Gir. II, 2.  
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vāṭadhi Rūp. 2.  
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vijayavaya Kāl. XIII, 16.  
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-vijayashī Kāl. XIII, 13 f.  
-vijayashī Shāh. XIII, 11.  
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-vijaye Kāl. XIII, 5, 17; Mān. XIII, 9.  
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-vijayo Shāh. XIII, 8, 12.  
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 vijitā Kāl. XIII, 35.  
 vijitānān Dhau. Sep. II, 4; Jau. Sep. II, 4 f.  
 vijite Gir. III, 2; Kāl. XIV, 20 f.; Shāh. II, 3, III, 6, V, 13, XIII, 7, XIV, 13.  
 vijinamane Kāl. XIII, 36.  
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 vijin[ī]tu Kāl. XIII, 36.  
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 vijatena Jau. XIV, 1.  
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 Vinaya-samukase Calc. 4.  
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 vinitāsi Shāh. VI, 14; Mān. VI, 27.  
 vintāmbi Gir. VI, 4.  
 vinitāsi Dhau. VI, 2; Jau. VI, 2.  
 vipatāpāyāntān Jau. Sep. I, 8.  
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 -vipahine Kāl. XIII, 38; Mān. XIII, 5.  
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 -viprahno Shāh. XIII, 5.  
 -vimana Nand. IV, 7.  
 vimana-dasan[ā] Kāl. IV, 9.  
 vimana-drasāna Mān. IV, 13.  
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 vijayjanena Sār. 10, 11.  
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 vijāyāne Tōp. IV, 10.  
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 -vijayhāla Jau. Sep. I, 1.  
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 -visavāsi Kāl. XIII, 9.  
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 -visavāsi Shāh. XIII, 9.  
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 -visagasi Tōp. VII, 27.  
 -visagesu Tōp. VII, 27.  
 -vij[ā]yāmbi Gir. XIII, 9.  
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 vihara-yatra Shāh. VIII, 17; Mān. VIII, 34.  
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 -vihāta Kāl. IV, 9; Dhau. IV, 1.  
 -vihāta Kāl. IV, 10; Dhau. IV, 4; Jau. IV, 4.  
 -vihāsiye Tōp. V, 10.  
 -vihāsi Gir. IV, 6.  
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 -śake Mān. 2.  
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hedisāye Dhau. IX, 2; Jan. IX, 2.  
hedise Dhau. IX, 3; Jan. IX, 3.  
hemmeva Dhau. Sep. I, 24; Jan. Sep. I, 3; Tōp. VII, 25; Ar. I, 5, VI, 4; Sar. 10; Brah. 9, 10; Sidd. 18, 19; Jat. 12, 13, 16, 19.  
hemmevā Tōp. I, 8, VI, 6.  
heva Kāl. XII, 32; Rām. I, 1.  
hevaṇ Kāl. III, 6, VI, 17, 19, XI, 29, XII, 33; Dhau. III, 1, 2, V, 1, VI, 1, 4, IX, 1, 5, Sep. I, 14, 18, II, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11; Jan. III, 1, VI, 1, 4, Sep. I, 1, 6, 7, II, 1, 5, 6, 9, 10 f., 13, 16; Tōp. I, 1, II, 11, 15, 16, III, 17, 19, IV, 1, 12, 19, V, 1, VI, 1, 4, 5, VII, 11, 12, 14, 15, 19, 22, 23, 25, 26, 28, 29, 31; All. Qu. 4; Sar. 5, 6; Rūp. 1; Sah. 1; Calc. 3; Maa. 5, 7, 8; Brah. 1, 8, 12; Sidd. 3; Jat. 15, 20, 22.  
hevashmeva Dhau. Sep. I, 13; Jan. Sep. II, 4; All. VI, 2.  
hevashmevā Calc. 8.  
hevamevā Kāl. XIII, 8.  
hou Gir. VIII, 3, XI, 4, XII, 9, XIII, 10; Kāl. IV, 12, VI, 19, VIII, 23, IX, 27, XI, 30, XII, 35, XIII, 37, 38, 39; Shāh. VIII, 17; Mān. IV, 17, VI, 28, VIII, 35, 36, IX, 8, XI, 14, XIII, 8, 12; Dhau. IV, 7, VI, 3, VIII, 2, 3, Sep. I, 4; Jan. IV, 7, VI, 3, VIII, 2, 3, Sep. I, 4, 8; Sōp. VIII, 6, 9; Tōp. IV, 11, VII, 31; Sidd. 13.  
hotu Kāl. V, 17, VI, 20, XIII, 18; Mān. V, 26, VI, 31, XIII, 23; Dhau. V, 8, VI, 6; Jan. VI, 6; Tōp. VII, 31; Sah. 5.  
hoti Tōp. II, 16.  
hoastu Tōp. VII, 23.  
hoastu Dhau. Sep. I, 22.  
hoast Calc. 4.  
hoastu Dhau. Sep. II, 8.  
hoastu Jan. Sep. II, 12.  
hobastu Tōp. VII, 25, 26, 27.  
hveyā Jan. Sep. I, 6, II, 8.

## CORRIGENDA

Introduction, pages xlv-xlvii.—Since I wrote chapter IV of the Introduction, I have lost my belief in the correctness of the meaning 'on tour', assigned to *vyushka*, and am now convinced that this past participle has to be taken in the same sense as e.g. in the *Bauddhāyana-Dharmasūtra*, IV, 5, 30, viz. 'having spent the night (in prayer)'. Cf. JRAS, 1904. 364 f. (Kielhorn); 1911. 1106 (Fleet); 1916. 113 ff. (Thomas). I would now translate sections J-K of the Sahasrām edict (Text, p. 171) as follows: 'And this proclamation (was issued) by (me after I had) spent the night (in prayer). Two hundred and fifty-six nights (had then been) spent (in prayer).' The translations of the corresponding portions of the Rūpnāth and Brahmagiri edicts (Text, pp. 169 and 177 f.) have to be modified in a similar way. But *vivāsayāthā* at Sarnāth (section I, p. 162) and *vivasetavā[ya]* (read *vivāsetaviye*) at Rūpnāth (section L, p. 167) probably mean nothing but 'expel ye (schismatic monks or nuns)'; and *vivāśāpayāthā* at Sarnāth (section J, p. 162) would mean 'issue ye orders to expel (schismatic monks or nuns)'. See Thomas, JRAS, 1915. 111 f.

Introduction, page li, lines 14, 15, 17. For instruction read exhortation.

Introduction, page lxxvi, line 13 from bottom. Read as follows: The two Sanskrit masculines *prāṇa* and *vyikṣa* are used as neuters: *pānāni* (I, 3, 4) and [*tu*]kṣāni<sup>2</sup> (II, 6).

Page 2, note 6. Add: According to the *Suttanipāta*, II, 7, verse 25, king Okkāka sacrificed many times 100,000 cows.

Page 12, Roman text, line 12. For ta<sup>2</sup> (M) etāya read (M) ta etāya.

„ „ Cancel note 2.

„ 13, section (M). For: For the following purpose read: Now for the following purpose.

„ 15, note 7, line 4. For XIII, I read XIII, l. 4.

„ 56, note 21. For the Rāshṭrikas see the Introduction, p. xxxviii, line 2 from bottom.

„ 69, section (M). For converts read exhort.

„ „ note 3. Add: See also *Kāvyaprakāśa*, sec. ed., p. 57. महा इवन्ति occurs already in the *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇ. IV, 1, 48, *Vārtika* 3.

„ 73, Roman text, line 9. For duva[.a]śa- read duva[da]śa-.

„ 95, line 3. For (thus) read (this).

„ 96, section (N). For arise to you read arise in you.

„ „ „ (T). For badly fulfils this duty read fulfils this duty badly.

„ 97, „ (V). For edict read rescript.

„ „ „ (CC), line 3. For thus, as read just as.

„ 99, Translation, section (A). For (thus) read (this).

„ „ „ „ (E), line 2. For thus read so.

„ 100, section (I). For inspire confidence to them read inspire them with confidence.

- Page 100, section (J). *For* entertain *read* maintain.
- " " " (K). *For* inspire confidence to those (borderers) *read* inspire those (borderers) with confidence.
- " 100, section (M). *For* inspire confidence to those borderers (of mine) *read* inspire those borderers (of mine) with confidence.
- " 119, Nāgari text, line 4. *For* सुवृषाया *read* सुवृषाया.
- " " Roman text, line 4. *For* su[sū]yāyā *read* su[sū]sāyā.
- " 133, note 6, line 3. *For* kākāpāda *read* kākāpāda.
- " 137, sections (JJ), (KK), and (NN). *For* conversion *read* exhortation.
- " 142, Second Pillar-Edict, Roman text, line 4. *For* sukaṭaṃ *read* sukaṭaṃ.
- " 145, Sixth Pillar-Edict, Nāgari text, line 3. *For* सुक *read* सुक.
- " 147, Second Pillar-Edict, Roman text, line 5. *For* sukaṭaṃ *read* sukaṭaṃ.
- " 179, line 19. *For* . . . [ki]ti *read* . . [ki]ti.
- " 184, line 23. *For* tim *read* tim.
- " 235, second column, line 22 from bottom. *For* [āl]as[y]e[na] *read* [āla]s[y]e[na].



बोर सेवा मन्दिर

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